

The Worthies of the World :

OR,

The Lives

Of the most Heroick

GREEKS and ROMANS
COMPARED;

By that Learned and great Historiographer,
PLUTARCH of Chaeronea.

Englished and Abridged according to the direction of *Photius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, in his
BIBLIOTH. Fol. 245.

μεγαλυνται ἐκ τῶν Πλουτάρχου παρὰ ἑλλήνων διάφοροι λόγοι ἐν ἡ ἑκδοσί κατὰ
σύνοψιν ἐκλέγεται διάφοροι χρησιμαίται, &c. i. e. There are several
Books of *Plutarch's Parallels* read amongst us, an exact
Compendium whereof would conduce much to Universal
Learning.

To which are added

MORE LIVES,

Out of *Æmilius Probus* and others,

By several Hands.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Williams*, *William Gifford*, and
Henry Marsh, 1665.

2. His Majesty's to the Duke of



Εἰς ἑξέτα Πλατάρχην.

Σὺ πολυκλήνη τὸν τύπον τίσαντο Κίεον

Πλατάρχη κατεργάων υἱὸς Αὐσόνων

Ὅττι παρὰλλοῖς Ἑλλήνας ἀρίστους

Ῥώμης εὐκλειήμους ἑμίστας ἐναίτας

Ἀλλὰ τὸν βίτοστον παρὰλλόν βίον ἄλλον

Ὅνδ' οὐ γὰρ γράφεις ἃ εἶδ' ἄμεινον ἔχεις.



TO THE
Right Noble and Excellent

His Grace

J A M E S,

Duke of

MONMOUTH, &c.

May it please your Grace,



After *Hayward* returned
this Answer to Qu: *Mary*
(demanding the reason of
his repair to Court) that
it was partly to see her
Majestie, and partly that her *Majestie*
might see him: An Answer, which
though more witty than Court-like, more
blunt than witty, was well given, be-
cause well taken. Should this impor-
tunity alledge the first of these reasons,
and that I make this addresse, that I
may know your Grace, your *hopefulnessse*
will excuse the *Curiosity*, should it in-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

list upon the second; and that I did it to be *known to you*, my *fortune* would justify the *ambition*.

But (apart from either of these inducements) in your Highness perusal of the English Chronicle, You have observed, that Cardinal *Wolsey* on his Death-bed enjoyned those to *serve none but Kings*, that had served him when Cardinal, and a Kings fellow. *Plutarch's Lives* written in the Original to the Senators, *Senecio* and *Vasco*; in the transcript devoted to the Emperours *Nerva* and *Trajan*; in Manuscript purchased by the Princes *Adrian* and *Antonius*: And since Printing was invented, dedicated in Greek to the Emperour *Maximilian*; in Greek and *Latine*, to *Lewis* the thirteenth; in *Italian*, to *Gregory* the fifteenth, and the Duke of *Tuscany*; in *French*, to Cardinal *Perron* and the Prince of *Conde*; in the *English* from the *French*, to Queen *Elizabeth*; and declared by that great Critick of Books and Men, *Lipsius* [*Liber si quis alius Principe dignus*] will not own a lower Patronage than your Graces, nor need he aspire to an higher. --- It's in *English*, my Lord, because the *a unevenness* of his *Greek* should not exercise your

a Haud sibi
similis *Plu-*
tarchus. Cæl.
Rhodig. Ant.
Lcæ. 86.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

your patience; it's abridged, because the tediousness of the *Story* should not tire your *Industry*. It is fit that *Learning* in all the parts of it should put off it's harshness and impertinence, to endear its Notions to such its noble Votaries as your Honour, in a way at once most *pithy*, and most *polite*.

May the most comprehensive prudence, the most large capacity, the most regular conduct, the most commanding and obliging address, the most generous activity, the exactest justice and integrity, the strictest temperance, the most serious devotion, the most distinct consideration, the most apprehensive judgement, the most reserved caution, the most noble resentments, the happiest successes, the most undaunted fortitude, the readiest accommodations, and the most renowned resolution, represented in these Worthies as the result of your Reading, crown you as Ornaments, and the place you live in as Blessings: may you observe what *is past*, to make a judgement of what *is present*, and a Conjecture of what *is to come*. And since the occurrences of your own Life, and the observations of your own age will be

b Herodotus incertus, Suetonius nudus, Cassius simplex, Tacitus durusculus & obscurus, Herodianus & Marcellinus difficiles; grandis Salustius, brevis Nepos, Plutarchus perlongus. *Possius de Historicis.*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

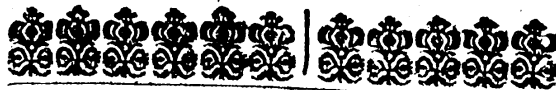
too short and narrow ; May all Ages
conspire to your Instruction , and all
the World to your Experience.-- May
the venerated Triplicity of *Hermes*
[viz. 1. The power and eminence of
a Prince ; 2. The knowledge and il-
lumination of a Priest ; 3. The learn-
ing and universality of a Philosopher]
which was but a wish in others, be a
reality in you.-- May your virtue con-
tend with your Fortune , and your
Goodnesse with your Greatnesse ;
that your worth may convey your
Honour to Fame , Fame to History,
History to Eternity , wherein you
may stand above Death and Time,
the Patron of one Book of *Worthies* , and
the subject of another , as the most He-
roick instance of that great Maxime---
That Greatnesse hath nothing greater
than a power to do the good one will ; and
Goodnesse nothing better than a will to do
the good he can. --- This is the expe-
ctation of all that know you , and the
heartty prayer of

Your Graces

in all due observance,

D A: L L O Y D.

FCid. de Nav.
Deor. p. 25.
Mare. Anton.
p. 120.



PLUTARCH's Life.

To the READER.



I were pity that Plutarch who
writ to Eternity , should not
live so too ; and that he who
rescued so much worth and
glory from Oblivion , should
perish in it himself among the
common throng ; the Author
of so many Lives bestowed on others, that will last
beyond time , wanting one himself. --- Himself
yet not to be described by any words besides his
own , nothing becomming his memory , but what
is as sacred as that , and as eternall as his Works
(θαυμάσιος μανθάνει ἡ ἀθάνατος) whose real excellen-
cies were such as exceeded all ordinary measures
of commendation and capacity , extending to
something of Admiration, or Extasie. None
but those whose mindes are enlarged to some pro-
portions of his Accomplishments , can be able
to comprehend his worth and amplitude : so vast
and transcendent his Learning , so accurate his
Notions , so astonishing his Reach , that I have
onely the power of one poor wish , that may his
just Fame from what he did and writ , be precious
to succeeding Times, grow up, and flourish still.--
While

PLUTARCH'S Life

a Called formerly Arne, from Arne the daughter of *Atilus*, and afterwards *Cheronea* from *Chiron*, Apollo's son, that altered the situation of it for his health's sake. *b* A place of a thick ayr neer *Attica*, yet happy in many wits. *c* See *Antony's* life. *d* Whom he brings in his book touching the instruction of Statesmen, teaching him, when giving an account of his Embassie, to say, Not I, but we, taking in his fellow-Commissioners in every action. See his *Δειπνο-σοφιστε*. *a* A way of Education *Plutarch* commends in his discourse of Tutors. *b* See the beginning of *Demosthenes* his Life. *c* Even of *Sparta* it self.

While a Chæroneæ not more famous for any other instance, boasts him her Denizen, and b *Bœotia*, that lodge of dull and gross Spirits, her Native--- where his extract was noble for two Ages, and his Education nobler, to his Grandfather's *c* *Nicarchus* his Philosophy, and his Father *d* *Lamprias* his Oratory -- A sweet disposition was hereditary to the Family, a studious one was peculiar to him; whereby with his Brother *Timon's* assistance (whose entire love he esteemed the greatest favour Fortune bestowed on him) and *Ammonius* the Egyptians tuition (who stole Philosophy into him by familiar discourse, and more familiar Exercises) he exceedingly profited in that Philosophy that was then taught in the Greek Tongue; neither his Genius nor his *b* leisure allowing him the study of many Languages, yea not so much as the Latine now spoken throughout the world; the elegance and propriety whereof he esteemed rather an Ornament, than an advantage, and waived guessing in the perusal of Books in that Tongue rather at the words through the sence, than at the sence through the words; That age wearing not youths best years with Notions (as ours) but admitting them in their full vigour to the search of things. His Father's Table taught him temperance, his own Study contentment, & both that happy temper of soul and body that enabled him first to travel to *Ægypt*, (where he made his Collection of *Isis* and *Osiris*) and then all over Greece, reducing all Books, Discourses, *c* Records, Inscriptions, Statues, Conferences, Edicts, *d* See the beginning of *Demosthenes* his Life. *pitaphs*,

to the READER.

pitaphs, *Apophthegms* he met with, with no less judgement than memory, to that exact body of Philosophy and History the world is now blessed with --- Some parts whereof are onely his first thoughts, some his second, but his Lives and Morals onely his last, wherein his method is discreet and plain, his reason strong, his inductions pleasing; his discourses, whether Historical, Polemical, or Practical, pithy and close, bespeaking a vast man that in an astonished way of diligence and study, had searched the depth of Books and Men, especially the *Platonists*, to whom he modestly sticks against the *Epicureans* and *Stoicks*.

Rational, *Natural*, and *Mathematical* Philosophy was his recreation, but *Morality* and a solid *Wisdom* was his businesse, which he digested well himself, and taught the world to his old age, to which after severall Offices in the *Common-wealth* managed with honour, what with his habit of temperance and sobriety, what with his skill in *Physick* which he studied for his own use; what with his moderate *a* Exercises (all according to his rules in the book of *Health*, and the *Students* dyet) he arrived, as his good soul in a well-tempered body equally made up of complaisance and gravity promised. --- Pity it is so excellent a person should be yet an instance of *Natures* weaknesse in *Divine* things, and rather a *b* Priest of *Apollo*, (in which capacity he writ excellent things of the defect of Oracles, the Jewish Religion, and the inscription *ΕΙ* at *Delphos*) than a Minister of the Gospel --- seeing onely wherein the *Heathens*

d Particularly of the *Pythagoreans*, the *Platonists*, the *Epicureans*, the *Stoicks*, the *Peripateticks*.

a His chiefest exercises were walking, discoursing at Table.

b Voss. de Hist. Græc. l. 2. c. 10.

PLUTARCH'S Life

e See his dif-
course of Su-
perstition.

thens cerred, and not wherein the Christians
were in the right, especially since he was a wise,
plain, modest, temperate, noble, upright,
grave, and sweet man; a prudent Tutor, a great
Politician, an exact Historian; a deep Phi-
losopher, a knowing Governour, an elegant Wri-
ter; a choice Friend, and a powerful Discour-
ser of Vertue and Vice; a person of true honour,
careful not onely to seem excellent, but also

d How he rea-
soned the case
with his slave,
See A. Gellius
26. N. A.

e See his con-
solation to
her: and his
Symposium, c. 8.

f Among the
rest to Sossius-
Senecio, vid. p.
1. to whom he
dedicated his
Lives, and his
nine volumes
of his Symposia,
or discourses
at Table.

g To whom he
dedicated his
Apophthegms;
his Treatise
That Princes
should be wise.
The sage Sena-
tor, That Phi-
losophers
should con-
verse with
Princes.

to be so: a great Master of his passions, which
he kept under, with two remedies, whereof
the first was an observation of others infirmities,

(curing his anger as the Spartans did drunken-
nesse, by looking on the loathsomnesse of it) the
second, delay and consideration under his own.

Neither was he so immersed in Contemplation,
but that he was a publick spirited Common-
wealths-man under Trajan, an excellent Master

of his family, as careful a Father of his Chil-
dren, and indulgent Husband to his accomplish-
ed Lady, as he had been a dutiful and gentle

son to his Father — Accomplishments that had
been lost, had they not been invited from the

shades of Chæronea to the Theatre of Rome,
where coming to compleat his Collection, under

Titus and Domitian, his converse was so
taking, that he was company for f Consuls;

his Lectures so revered, that Rusticus would
not open a Letter from the Emperour, until he

had dispatched his Declamation; and he so emi-
nent, that (saith Suidas) he was either g Tra-
jan's Tutor, or his Privy-Counsellor — Lectu-
ring at once to that Prince, and to his Empire,

whom he polished to that goodnesse, justice, tem-
per,

to the READER.

per, noblenesse to Scholars, and clemency, that b In his Pance-
Pliny hath celebrated, and the Christian gyrrick,

world enjoyed; (and might even yet enjoy, did
either PRINCES, who cannot see or do
all themselves, converse with Philosophers, or
Philosophers deal plainly with PRINCES;
or did not lewd men prevail over both, debau-
ching the one, and awing the other) Plutarch's
writings being but Transcripts of that good

Emperours life, or his life, but a copy of these
writings: so well did he govern i himself and his

Empire, no lesse to that great Philosophers satis-
faction while alive, than his renown when dead,

—to whose instructions the Romanes thought
they owed the peace of the world at that time;

when those two souls met in one age that could
give and take the best instructions, for which
Plutarch (however Diva, out of envy, forget

fulnesse, or both, hath passed it by) was made
Consul: In which place (had we Marcius Maxi-

mus, Fabius Marcellinus, Aurelius Verus, Sta-
tius Valerius, Plutarch's own letter to Trajan,

and other Writings which his son Lamprias men-
tioneth in the * Catalogue now to be seen in St.

Marks Library in Venice) we might find him as
active in his life, as he is wise in his books, the

chiefest whereof is his Parallels, an equal monu-
ment of his unspotted integrity, and profound

judgement, written at his last retirement in
Chæronea, where being Major, and having

been serviceable to Mankind by advice or action
to his last, He died full of years and honour a-
mong his friends and children, long surviving
his fate in his own Monument and Statue,

i When it was
told him Sora
would kill him,

he dismissed
his Guard, and
went to sup

with his the-
very fami-
ly.

When it should
be told him
when he

came, see what
ayled his eye,
yea, and send

for a Barber to
trim him too.

More fortune-
ate than Au-
gustus, & bet-
ter than Trajan

was perfection.
* That Cata-
logue mentio-
neth his Lives

of Spaminond,
Augustus, Me-
tellus, Scipio,

&c.

longer

PLUTARCH'S Life

longer in his Citizens hearts & love, longest of all in his Writings and Works, whereof the very fragments are precious, as appears from a Stobæus his Collections. 1. That wisdom consisteth not in shew, but businesse, and in a reflection on what is past, with a providence for what is to come, a circle of things past, present, and to come. 2. *b* That pleasures enslave, weaken, embase, debauch; blinde and disorder Mankind. 3. *c* That wine discovereth a man, and betrayeth what is the highest wisdom to keep, viz. SECRETS. 4. *d* Impartiality, Gentleness, and Prudence govern Common-wealths. 5. *e* A mans strength is his discourse, and his life his soul. 6. *f* Necessity is the Mother of Arts. 7. *g* Love at the lowest is lust, at the highest is fury. -- *g* Its flame is pleasant and innocent; but its coals burn; Its a state of variableness, that a man understands not how by little degrees it comes, or what it is. 8. *h* Vertue and its proportion is the beauty of the soul, as colour and its proportion is that of the body. 9. *i* What is Nobility but riches heap'd by Ancestors? what is riches but superfluity? what is poverty but temperance, and a summary observation of Lawes? — Excellent things which he at once taught the world (as he writes of his Lives) and himself, imprinting the Heroick discourses first on his Papers, and then on his Soul—making his Observations all over the world, and composing them and himself at Charonea to an History, that may be truly called in Cicero's stile, The light of Truth, the life of Memory, the Mistris

a Out of the book concerning the profit of knowing things to come.

b The book against pleasure.

c The book touching womens learning.

d The book of Accusation, the book of friendship.

e The books of the strength of the body.

f The Book of Divination.

g The book shewing that love & judgment are diverse.

h The book for Beauty.

i The Book against Nobility and Riches.

to the READER.

stris of Life, the excellent witness of Antiquity, and the sum of Greek & Latine History made up of great Maxims, and greater Instances, noble precepts, and nobler examples, set off with exact truths, discreet moderation, and vigorous eloquence in expressing, 1. Persons. 2. Things. And 3. Circumstances, as Laws, Apophthegmes, Speeches, Oracles, Battels, Prodigies, with a variety and exactnesse that pleaseth and satisfieth. None observing Counsels more closely, none expressing the execution of those Counsels more lively, none comprehending all Circumstances more happily—none inferring grand Rules and Maxims of life from all these together more prudently.—Some things indeed in Plutarch are strange, and it may be untrue, be reporting them from others not true, and some things contradictory: but opere in longo fas est obrepere somnum.—Books which run to great volumes, cannot be spun with so even a thread, but they will run courser here and there—His Discourses are long, say some; yes, but they are useful, and by his similitudes and examples pleasing; his Parallels are not exact, but they are likely chosen, and wisely managed—His style is not easie, polished, or flowing; but its sharp, learned, and short, carrying all before it; for other men persuade as friends, Plutarch commands as a Master; they delight, he teacheth as much as need be known of men & things, insomuch that Budæus Gaza, &c. did judge, that if prophane ignorance drew one great and dismal blot over such sacred Monuments of civill, ingenious, and good learning, as the world was happy in,

k But intimating the weaknesses of good men, and expressing the virtues of the bad. Vid. Cassiod. Var. 3. Plotin. En. 3.

l See the 72 errors, faults, and miscarriages observed in Plutarch by Rualdus, and his notes upon them: and Amiot's Preface, from whose French translation, Sir Thomas North turned it to English. a Testimonies concerning Plutarch.

PLUTARCH'S Life

all might be recovered in one great Plutarch whose works are the Idæa of Wisdom, rayes from experience, fixed by judgement, and compleated by memory; of whom the Learned have written thus; Πολυμαθέστατος ἀνὴρ καὶ μάλ' πολυπύκνως Πλάταρχος, The most universally learned, and experienced man Plutarch. Theod. lib. 1. de Orac.

Θεώτατος Πλάταρχος, &c. The most divine Plutarch. Euseb. Prep. Evan. 3. & Eunap. Pref. vit. Sophist.

Ὁ πρῶτος Πλάταρχος ἐν τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς, &c. Among whom I reckon Plutarch as chief, who in his discourses of the Soul, &c. Orig. 5. cont. Celsum.

Ισχυρὸς ἄγαν Πλάταρχος, &c. Plutarch that very clear, acute, and sinuous Author. Cyril l. 1. cont. Julian.

Gravis auctor. — Taur. in Gellii. N. A. 4. C. 41.

Καὶ ὁ Πλάταρχος διδάσκει ἰουvenēs — Plutarch teacheth nobly. Xiphilin. Epit. 44.

Fidelis sententiis, verbis luculentus, morum magnus arbiter.

Magnus vir. Petrarch. Apol. contra Gallos. Sarisb. l. 4. c. 8. & præfat.

Magne autoritatis vir, quo nemo equalium plura scivit. P. Victor. Var. l. 10. c. 3.

Judicium mirifice informat diffusa & planis scribendi via — ad Virtutem ubique & Prudentiam ducit, sed ad illam magis, &c. Lypsius — Virtutes Plutarchi. 1. Πολυμάθεια. 2. Prudentia. 3. Perspicuitas. 4. Gravitas. 5. Aecumen. 6. Varietas. Rualdus in Vit. Plut. &

Muret.

to the READER.

Muret. de Var. Mauffacus, ibid. Joseph Scalig. Emend. temp. p. 106. Bodin Method. Stud. cap. 4.

Ὁ πανὶ Πλάταρχος, Eustath. in Hom. l. 2.

Macrobian Saturnalia nihil aliud sunt quam excerpta Plutarchi. Casaub.

Virtutum pariter & Scientiarum Encyclopædia. Turneb. advers. cap. 15. & Andræ Schotti Stob.

Alphonsus was cured of a Feaver by reading Curtius; and Crußerus of a fit of the Stone, by translating a piece of Plutarch's Moral Experiences, p. 63.

Exempla Philosophiæ illustrat, & exemplis Philosophiam. Ludovic. Servinus.

See more (Reader) in Vossius his Book of the Greek Historians; and wish for those Ages wherein men of Action performed things worthy to be written, and men of Contemplation writ things worthy to be performed.

PHI.



PHILIP MELANCTHON, His
Narration concerning *Philip*
Prince Palatine to *Rhenus*.

I Have often heard *Capino* relate thus ; u S M E R.
When *Dalburgius*, the Bishop of the *Van-* Annales.
gions, *Rudolphus Agricola* and My self Preface.
were with *Philip* Prince Palatine Elector ;
not onely in common Discourse , but also
in serious debates about the Affairs of the
Common-wealth , they would often bring
notable Examples, or from the *Persian* or *Gre-*
cian, or *Roman* Affairs : Whereby the Prince
was very much inflamed with the desire of
Knowledge in History ; but said, he observed
the distinction of Times , Nations, and Em-
pires was very requisite to that end : And
therefore desired them , that out of all Anti-
quities , as far as they were known from the
Hebrew Fountains, *Greek* and *Latine* Authors,
they would in order dispose the several Mo-
narchies, that so the Times of the world, and
the Series of the most considerable Mutations
might be known.

According to this great intimation, you are to observe, That these our Lives (whereof twenty four are *Gracians*, and bred in the Common-wealth of *Sparta* and *Athens*, and twenty five are *Romanes*, and bred under the seven successive Governments of *Rome*) begin in the *Gracians* at *Theseus*, in the year of the world 2750. seventy years before the destruction of *Troy*, fifty years before the first Olympiad; and end in *Philopamen*, in the year of the world 3821. the second year of the 151 Olympiad, 121 before Christ;... and commence in the *Romanes* at *Romulus*, the first of the 7th Olympiad, in the year of the world 3252. and end in *Galba*, *A. V. C.* 822. 72 years before Christ; and proceed in this Order.

A T A B L E



A T A B L E of the Worthies, whose Lives are described in this Work: the time wherein they lived, and the page where they are to be found.

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Miltiades, a. m. 3461. a. C. 482	599
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O Crav. Augustus, a. m. 3998	91
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M. Terentius Varro,	

THE

The Worthies of the World:

O R,

THE LIVES

Of the most Heroick

GREEKS and ROMANS.

Compared by that Learned and great
Historiographer,

PLUTARCH of *Charonea.*



I.

THESEUS the Founder of Athens.

My Friend * Senecio,



Although as Geographers venture upon strange Descriptions of the Unknown Land, that are beyond mens habitations; so I might attempt strange Narratives of the Unknown Times that are beyond mens memory:

B

Yet

The year of
the World
2716. be-
fore Christ
1232.

Theseus
contemporary
with Hercu-
les and Abi-
melech, and
Jair Judge of
Israel.

* Senecio, one
that was some
times Consul
under Trajan,
and in high fa-
vour with him,
as *Halicanas*
writs.

The Life of THESEUS.

Yet since I first pitched my thoughts upon the most noble subject, the parallel of the most renowned Heroes in the world, I confined my self to those later Ages rather whereof there remain some real monuments of History, then to the former, whereof there is extant no more than a few imaginary fictions of Poetry: beginning (after an Essay of *b* *Lycurgus* and *Numa*) with *Romulus*, with whom (upon mature deliberation)

b The Law-givers of Lacædemonia and Rome.

c Æschylus.

c What Champions might with such a man compare?

Or who in worth should be against him set

d Homer.

as the founder of *Rome*, I compare *Theseus* who first built *Athens*: of which noble persons (equal in their Virtues, *d* both valiant both wise; and in their Vices, both lived guilty of unnatural murder, of horrid rapes, and endless contention; both died hated) we shall offer as much sincere truth as came to our knowledge at this distance.

e Autochthonous

f whereof this was one, mentioned by Aristotle & Hesiod,

Thou shalt perform thy promise & thy pay

To hired men, and that without delay.

1. *Theseus* by his fathers side descended from *Erichonius* one of the first inhabitants of *Greece* and by his mothers of *Pelops*, who peopled *Peloponnesus* with his off-spring by alliances with the greatest Personages, and an investiture in the most considerable parts of that place; whose son the holy *Pithecus*, as *Euripides* calleth him, was not more famous for founding *Troezen*, nor more eminent for his *f* grave and short sentences, nor more happy in his Scholar *Hyppolitus*, then he was all these in his Daughters

Æthra

The Life of THESEUS.

Æthra, upon whom *Aegus* taking *Pithecus* the Oracle of *Troezen* in his way from that of *Delphos*, and consulting rather his own lust then the advice of the *g* Oracle, by a wife of *Pithecus* begot *Theseus*, leaving a sword and a pair of shoes under a great stone behind, with a strict charge upon *Æthra*, that when the childe she conceived by him could remove that stone, she should privately dispatch him away with that sword, and those ** shoes* the pledges of his relation to him, who upon the first view of them would own himself his father. When within a few months the goodly childe was born, his Grandfather consulting, 1. His Daughters Reputation, ennobled her shame, and consecrates her uncleanness with a pretence of a Rape by *Neptune* the Tutelar god of *Troezen*, whose coin was stamped with his Trident, and first-fruits devoted to his service. 2. Providing for his Grandchildes Education, commended him to *Comidus* for his Tuition: To whom the *Athenians* every year the day before *Theseus* his feast, offer up Weathers for framing his minde to Vertue, as they do to his Limner *Parrasius* for fashioning his body to beauty. And when he arrived at years of discretion and action, and had offered *b* his forelocks at *Delphos* according to the custome of *Greece*, his mother mindful of her promise, and requested by her son to shew him his father, put him upon removing the stone, and dispatched him with those testimonies of his manhood and genuineness to his father, with her careful advice that he should go by Sea and not

g who when he asked how he might beget a son, forbade him to touch a woman till he came home to Athens, in these words:

O thou who art a gem of perfect grace,

Pluck not the rap out of thy trusty tun,

Before thou do return unto thy place

In Athens town, from whence thy race doth run.

** Between Troezen & Athens. Paus.*

h He cut his fore-locks as the Abantes in Homer, and the Macedonians in Alexanders time, that the enemy might not take them by the fore-top.

whence the Ceremony was called *Theseia*,

by Land, where Giants, who thinking that none did well but they who had not a power to do ill, abused that strength they had to do good, to do the greatest mischiefs.

But *Theseus* more careful of his honour than of his security, and ambitious to be allyed to *Hercules* in merit as well as blood, whose great actions he heard and talked of with the highest complacencie, (*Themistocles* could not sleep for *Miltiades* his triumphs, nor *Theseus* for *Hercules* his achievements) would no more escape the danger than he would loose the glory of a Land-Journey, being ashamed *Pelops* his Grandchilde by *Alchmena* should seek out and reduce these *Banditi* to submit or die, to love or fear him, to his own great honour, and his Countries peace; and his * Grandchilde by *Aithra* should avoid them, to his own disgrace, and his great fathers dishonour, who would not own him for a sword unless it were sheathed in blood, nor receive him as the son of his loyns unless he were the heir of his spirit:

We are great mens sons not by descent, but merit.

With these raised thoughts *Theseus* sets out, equally resolved neither to wrong nor to be wronged; innocent and resolute, neither unworthy to others, nor wanting to his own Defence; and 1. Within the Liberty of the City *Epidaurum* in his passage slew *Periphetes* k *Corynetes*, the famous Robber, whose Club where with he knocked him down he carried about with him as *Hercules* did the Lyons skin, to shew

the

the greatness of his adventure, and his courage, both as his weapon and his ornament, to secure and ennoble him: for the weapon wrested from other hands, was invincible in his. 2. And

2 Act.

in the straights of *Peloponnesus* taught *Sinnis* l i.e. the wreather of Pine-apple-trees. *Petrocames* that strength goeth beyond art; who fell by *Theseus* hands with the same stroak that thousands fell by his, and left his Daughter *Perigona* in vain crying to the wild *Sperages* to hide her a prey to *Theseus* lust, to whom she bore his son *Menulippus*, the father of *Joxas*, and the m *Joxides*, who never burn the m In Coria. *Sperage* for *Perigona*'s sake to this day. 3. The

3 Act.

Sow of *Crommion*, whether a woman or a beast, equally intolerable as great annoyance of that place, was his next triumph. 4. His next at-

4 Act.

chievement shall I call his valour or his cruelty, was the death of *Seyron* the *Megarian*, whom it is a n question whether he executed in the way to satisfie his justice; or murdered, to satisfie his revenge. 5. But *Damastes* * *Procrustes* he

n For the Megarians (as *Simonides* saith) make *Seyron* a good man, and related to good men: son-in-

slew at *Eleusin*, with the method of his own cruelty, retaliation being his and *Hercules* his way, who justly put them to those torments they had so unjustly invented for others; sacrificing *Butyris*, stifling *Anteus*, wrestling with *Cercion*, knocking *Cycnus*, and beheading *Termerus*, and sending them all to their graves that way they sent others before.

law to *Cythereus*, father-in-law to *Zealus*, and grandfather to *Peleus* and *Telamon*, (killed at the taking of *Eleusin* cunningly by *Theseus*, who deceived *Dio-*

Theseus having thus consecrated each step with perils and with glory, heard of greater dangers at *Athens* then in his own way: for killed men, his guests, by making them even to his bed. o From whom this Proverb, *Termerus* his evil.

men: son-in-law to *Cythereus*, father-in-law to *Zealus*, and grandfather to *Peleus* and *Telamon*, (killed at the taking of *Eleusin* cunningly by *Theseus*, who deceived *Dio-*

cles the Governour.

* *Procrustes* The Arcadian.

o The Arcadian.

i *Hercules* the son of *Alchmena*, the Daughter of *Lycidice*, *Pelops* childe, killed *Iphitus* with his own hand, and subdued the other thieves, settled *Lydia* while he lived with *Omphale*, doing voluntary penance for his murders.

* *Theseus*.

1 Act.

k i.e. Club-carrier.

¹ A River of Boeotia, after his entertainment upon the banks of *q* *Cephissus* by the *Phytalides* with sacrifice to the gods, and a great feast for him the eighth of *Cronius* or *June*, he came to *Athens*, and found the Commonwealth turmoiled with sedition, and his fathers house with factions, by the practices of *Medea*, who came from *Corinth* to *Athens* to make *Ageus* a father of children; who now being old, and distrustful, not knowing, and fearing *Theseus* with *Medea's* advice had killed him with kindness, had not he instead of a knife at the deadly banquet drawn that sword that discovered him the object of the old mans hope, rather than his fear; who immediately spilt the *r* poyson, and with the applause of all the people declared *Theseus* his son and successor.

The poison was spilt in that spot of ground that is enclosed in the Temple of Delphinium, where Ageus house stood; for they call one gate of the Temple the Mercury-gate of Ageus.

Therefore they of Pallena never joy in marriage with them of Agnus to this day; and when they proclaim war, they do it in these words, Anxirosio; Out of hatred to the Traitor Leos.

6 A&.

But the numerous off-spring of *Pallas* the *Pallantides* formerly discontented at *Ageus* his Usurpation, (who was not of the *Erietheide* Blood-royal, but adopted by *Pandion*) and now desperate at *Theseus* his succession, which settled that Government in an hopeful son which otherwise had expired in the childless father, drew together into two parties, where of the one was to assault, the other to surprize *Athens*, and muster at *Gargetus*, when *Leos* the Herald of *Agnus* betrayed the party that lay in ambush to *Theseus* his surprize, the other to their own fears, and both to an overthrow. 6. *Theseus* his active spirit impatient of a slothful and an useless life, having settled the peace, provides for the safety of his Country by taking the *Morathonian* Bull that in

festes

festes *t* *Tetrapolis*, which he first shewed to the people, and then sacrificed to *Apollo* at *Athens*, and to *Jupiter* of *u* *Hecalion*; and then proceeds he to recover their Liberties: for *Minos* King of *Crete*, in revenge for his son *Androgeus* his unworthy death at *Athens*, had imposed upon them an yearly tribute of young boys and girls to be sacrificed to *Apollo*, or to be devoured within the Labyrinth by a Minotaur;

w A Corps combin'd, which monstrous might be deemed;

A Boy, a Bull, both man and beast it seemed.

That is, they were confined to a prison, and bestowed as prizes upon the victorious in the games that were instituted to *Androgeus* his memory, whereof the first fell to *Taurus* his Lot, a man as fierce as his name; whom the Wits of *Athens* (so dangerous it is to provoke Learning and Eloquence) represented on their Theatres as a Beast, as they did *Minos* the worst thief King and Law-giver for the worst of men: to which Impolition the *Athenians* upon the advice of the Oracle and their own fears, twice submitted. Now the third year *Theseus* observing the general murmur of the Citizens against his father and their own fate, as much for the peoples satisfaction as against his fathers perswasion, freely offered himself for one of the unhappy youths that were devoted for the common service and safety of their Country, who with the rest drawn by

B 4

Lots

t *Athens* called *Tetrapolis*, because raised out of the ruins of four Cities, viz. *Brancone*, *Ecleusine*, *Sunium*, and *Pyreum*; though *Strabo* thinks it one of the 12 Cities *Cecrops* built, out of which *Theseus* built one *Athens*

u In memory of *Hecale*, who entertained him in his way (vid. *Philochor.*) which sacrifice is called *Hecaleion*.

w *Euripid.* So *Aristotle* and *Pliny*, who say that the children were the original of the *Boeotians* in *Thrace*, who used to sing at their sacrifices, let us to *Athens* go.

Minos commended by *Hesiod* *Homer*.

w Phereclos
was assisted by
Nauclerius, to
whom Theseus
built a Temple;
in honor of
whom they ob-
serve the feast
Cyrbonisia.

x A Goat which
she turned to a
Ram; whence
she was called,
Epiragia, the
Goddess of
Rams.

y Some say she
married Oc-
narus the
Priest of Bac-
chus, and that
she was left in

Cyprus, and there nobly entertained, and honourably buried by the Ladies of that place; and that Theseus was carried away by a tempest from her, and came afterwards to see her, much bemoaning her, and raised a silver and copper Image for her, and ordained a sacrifice for her the second of September to this day, when a childe upon a bed cryeth like a woman in child-bed. Some make two Ariadne's, the one mentioned always with joy, the other with grief.

Lots consulted the Oracle at *Delphos*, March 6, as they do still with the sacrifice called *Hecateria*, about his own and his Companions fortune, whence they were in *w* Phereclos his Vessel embarked for *Crete*, with order that if they returned with success, he should put up a white Flag in stead of the black they went with, where having *x* sacrificed to *Venus* as the Oracle advised, by her Clue he got to *Pasiphaes* heart, as with hers he got out of the Labyrinth-windings with a noble conquest over her by his beauty, and over the Minotaur by his valour. That is, indeed, he protested openly against the Impolition laid upon his Country, and in a combat sealed that protestation with the blood of *Taurus*, Queen *Pasiphaes* Minion, to *Minos* his great content, (*Taurus* his ill nature made him the envy of all, and his greatness the Kings fear) who for that one act of *Theseus*, remitted that sad custome to *Athens*, and bestowed all his companions upon him: upon whom *Ariadne*, conquered by his beauty, as others were by his valour, bestowed her self, and fled with him to *y* *Naxos*, where the hard-hearted man left her Sea-sick, and great with childe; where she died in child-bed, of pangs and grief for her misfortune, and

his

his unfaithfulness; and arrived at *Athens*, for joy forgetting the white sayle, when old *Aegon* upon sight of the black one, threw himself down from the Rock, where he watched his sons returning to that Sea wherein he thought he perished. The first news whereof damped the success of *Theseus*, and exchanged the more brisk solemnity of his triumphs for the drooping glory of a Funeral, and the more devout gaiety of sacrifices, and the winding-dance at *Delos* about the horned Altar, in memory of the Labyrinth, called *Theseus* his Dance, and the Crane to this day. *Theseus* refused his Crown, and the Herald his *z* Garland: they seethed all their provision before the Oracle, as their posterity do pulse, in memory of it to this day, carrying the Iretione, or the Olive-branch of supplication before them, hung about with all fruits in token of plenty: whereupon they made these Verses:

head, but on his rod, whence in the feast called Occhophona, boughs, the Herald doth so always, and cry, &c, &c, Oh, Oh. The story is this which is taken out of Clidemus.

Bring us good bread that is of savoury taste,
With pleasant figs, and drops of Dulces
Mel:

Then supple Oyl thy body for to baste,
And pure good Wine to make him sleep
full well.

Theseus his Vessel, a Gally of thirty Oars,
was reserved for a monument to *Demetrius*
Pha-

z. The Herald finding the City in mourning, though they offered him a garland for his good news of Theseus his return, yet he put it not on his head, or the feast of

Phalerus his time, and so often repaired, that in the Philosophers Disputations of things that increased, *Theseus* his Vessel was the great Argument that Increase altered things that were increased. He made a procession with his smooth-faced Boys and Girls, and ordained a Festival in memory of their return, and built a Temple over which he appointed the *Phitelines* his first friends in *Africa*; and in that Temple was the story of the adventure to be acted yearly for ever, with the addition of some other exercises, when the Victor had the Palm bestowed upon him. The truth is, *Dedalus* King *Minos* subjected revolting to the *Athenians*, *Minos* sent *Athens* to deliver him up, or their children which he had for hostages should suffer: when upon *Theseus* preparing very privately, surprised *Crete*, took *Gnosus*, and killed *Deucalion* in the very door of the Labyrinth, in the midst of his guards, made a perpetual peace with the *Centaur*s, redeemed the hostages, and was in league with *Ariadne*, to whom the Kingdom descended.

Theseus having thus provided for his own glory, and his Countries peace abroad, meditates his own establishment at home; and to remove the occasion of quarrels, and to settle correspondence for the publick good, attempted that great designe of an Union of the scattered Villages into one Corporation, in the way of a Free-state, to be governed by a Common Council of the people, reserving to him-

self onely the honour of serving the people in their wars; to which after much solicitation even from house to house, the Rich submitted for fear of his power, and the Poor for love of their own liberty. And now he submits his Scepter to the peoples Fases, resignes his Kingdom for a Commonwealth, provides for Religion, consults the Oracle, and the Sybils, who touched in one Dyttick his troubles and his success, viz.

The Bladder blown may fleet upon the flood,

But cannot sink, nor stick in filthy mud.

He opened the City-priviledges to all strangers, whence all Proclamations begin at *Athens* with *All people come ye hither*. He distinguished the people to Noble-men, who were most honourable; Artificers, who were most numerous; and husbandmen, who were most rich. He honoured the Commonwealth with a new Coyn, stamped with an Ox in memory of *Taurus*, and the Bull of *Moratan*: with a publick Festival called *Panathenea* for all Citizens, and another called *Metecia* for the strangers. He enlarged their Territories as far as *Peloponnesus*. He instituted the *Istian* games in honour of *Neptune*, as *Hercules* had set up the *Olympian* in honour of *Jupiter* by day, and the mysteries of *Melicerta* by night, where the *Athenians* must have as much place to sit in as the sayl of *Theseus* his ship would cover. In a word, as *Aristotle* and *Homer* observe, he set up

b where he set up a Pillar with Verses, intimating, that the Sun rises and sets in those Territories.

His Coyn called Hecatombæon

c Though some say the *Istian* game was celebrated in the honour of *Sin-nis*, or *Scyron* whom he slew.

d who called the *Athenians* People, and all other *Grecians* Inhabitants,

c That sacrifice is called Boedromia, such as the Indians make to the Devil that he should not hurt them.

f The River called Solois from him; or rather a City called Pythianopolis, because he was perswaded to it by Pythia, whose Gownours were Solois his brothers, and one Hermus, from whom one gate was called Hermus his gate to this day.

up a compleat platform of a Free-state: which he had no sooner done, then the *Amazons*, whether by land or by water, is uncertain, came successfully to the very walls of *Athen*, whom *Theseus* having sacrificed, as an old Prophecy had instructed him, to the Goddess *Pear*, encountred in *August*, and discomfited their right wing, whose graves give a name to that quarter to this time, being resolved to admit no other period of his conquests than their utter overthrow, had not *Antiope*, upon whom he begat *Hyppolitus*, interceded with him at the *Euxine* Sea first for a Truce, and afterwards for a perpetual peace, whom, saith *Herodotus*, *Philochoerus*, *Hellanicus*, and *Phenocites*, he took captive by his beauty rather than by his power, and carried away to *Athen*, where the triumphs of his love and valour were sullied with the death of *Solois* f, who drowned himself for a modest love to *Antiope*, which he could not endure, and durst not express in words, whose fate *Theseus* entertained with that passion, that he built a Temple to Sorrow in that place where he had erewhile sacrificed to *Pear*, for it was an Oracle that he should erect a Temple with the highest Devotion in that place, where he met with the deepest sorrow. Besides *Antiope*, whom he married at *Orcomus*, where the Agreement was by solemn Oath concluded, he had *Hyppolita*, *Phaedra*, *Trojan*, *Antia*, and the Daughters of *Synnus* and *Cyrcion*, whom he slew, *Pherebea* Asan his mother, and *Joppa* *Iphicles* his Daughters, with *Aegla*, for whom he left *Ariadne*, and two wives (great

and many virtues, and not lesse or fewer vices) and he wants now nothing but a sincere friend, the most sacred thing in the world, when he obligeth *Adrastus*, g King of the *Argives*, by a composition with the *Thebans* for the burial of his dead bodies that fell in the Battle against them; and *Perithous* by his valour (which was so eminent), that these were proverbs in those days, Not without *Theseus*; and This is another *Theseus* b who invaded and spoyle his Countrey, to provoke his valour, which was immediately in Arms against him: But they no sooner saw each other, but mutually astonished at one anothers worth and prowess, they relented, and the open Enemies became sworn Brothers. *Perithous* making *Theseus* judge of his own satisfaction, & *Theseus* replying, that his greatest satisfaction would be solid friendship; as a clear testimony whereof, he is invited to *Perithous* his wedding & his Court, to be merry with the *Lapithae*, and the *Centaures*, whom they chastised there for their rudeness. With this *Perithous* he enjoyed *Hercules*, as he did himself at *Truchina*. After all his labours, *Perithous* assisted him in stealing, if not ravishing young *Helena* in *Sparta*, as he did *Perithous* in his rape upon *Aidenus* his daughter in *Epirus*, where his friend was torn in pieces by the Dog *Cerberus*, who was set on all that courted *Proserpina*. He that would have the Daughter (saith the Greek proverb) must overcome the Dog, and *Theseus* himself confined, when (all things conspiring to his downfall) *Castor* and *Pollux* to revenge

g The first composition for burial of dead bodies after battle procured by *Theseus*, and granted by *Hercules*, h with *Deidamia*.

i As she was dancing in the Temple of *Diana*, surnamed *Orthia*. k King of *Epirus*.

revenge the Rape of their Sister *Helena*, invaded his Countrey; and *Menestheus* great grandchild to *Erichon*, and of the Blood-Royal debauched it with insinuations against *Theseus*, whom they were already weary of, as who under pretence of liberty had enslaved them, and removed their many Officers, that he might be sole Commander; dispossessing them, their Cities, their Temples, their Houses, and their Fortunes, to coup them up within these narrow Walls, and the narrower precincts of his own will. The *Tyndarides* demand their Sister, whose *Academos* (for whose sake they always spare the *Academy of Athens*) directs to *Aphidnus*, where they spoiled the City, recovered the Sister, and threatened the *Athenians*, who prompted by their own fears, and *Menestheus* his designe, entertained them as confederates against the common Enemy of both people, and that Out-law and stranger *Theseus*; and a cement of their friendship, *Aphidnus* adopted them as *Pylus* had done *Hercules*. *Theseus* deposed, his friends discountenanced and suppressed, and his Mother *Aethra* is murthered; about which time *Hercules* discoursed at King *Aidon* his Table, of *Perithous* and *Theseus*, and informed of the ones death, and the others danger, he like himself pitied the one, and interceded for the other, who upon his request gained his Liberty, and in requital dedicated those Temples at *Athens* that were consecrated to his own great name, and that greater name of *Hercules*. And now he had one Monster more to subdue, discontented people

I Dicaearchus saith, that *Echedemus* the *Arcadian* gave name to the *Academia*, as *Marathus* did to *Marathon*.

m To *Lacædæmon* with *Helena*, as *Homer* writes, though some think those verses are foisted in, as the other of *Munichus*. See what *Hector* saith of *Hector's* conquering *Troëzen*, and taking *Aethra*.

people, who hated his authority, and despised his fortunes; and taught by him to shake off Kingly government for Liberty, they teach themselves to throw off all government for Licentiousness.

Now finding the faction too strong for him, as neither to be awed, nor obliged by him, he removes his children out of the way, to *Eubæa*, and himself (to overcome the peoples fury by yielding, that distance might assuage that rage which his presence provoked) to *Gargethus*; whence cursing the implacable *Athenians* from *Aratorin*, called so from his curses to this day, he sailed to *Seyros*, where he had Lands and Friends, and dyed by a fall from a Rock there, whether by chance, or by King *Lycomedes*'s Wife, is uncertain, when he solicited that King in vain against *Menestheus*, who reigned without any interruption in *Athens*, whose successful usurpation lasted no longer than his own life; for he was succeeded by the son of *Theseus*, to whom, the unconstant people now come to themselves, restored the government with as unanimous joy, as they did his honour to their Father with unanimous reverence: For upon suggestion of the *Pythian Oracle*, and a sight of his shadow at *Marathon*, they under *Cymons* conduct, who was led by an Eagle that pecked at his grave, recovered *Theseus* his venerated bones from the obscurity of a Grot, and the savageness of *Seyros*, and brought them to *Athens*, with no lesse triumph than they had done *Theseus* himself, depositing them in the chief place of the

n They sacrificed to Theseus on every 8 day, as they did to his supposed father Neptune: and they did so to Neptune, because 8 is the first cube made of even number, & the double of the first square, denoting steadfastness; because Neptune is called Gelinchus and Aschalius, which signifies the steadfast keeper and stay of the Earth. * Because upon the 8th of Octob. he returned with the young boys from Crete.

Anno Mundi 3198. before Christ, 750. In his time began the Æra of Nabonassar.

Contemporary with Jotham King of Judah, Pekah King of Israel, and Micah and Habakkuk the Prophets.

a Calling it Roma, from Poun strength.



II.

ROMULUS the founder of Rome

Rome, and Romulus, the City & the founder, are not more illustrious for their present glory, than obscure for their first original. As it is uncertain, whether Rome had that great name that awes the world, from the powerful Pelasgians a strength, that made Italy Mistress of the world: or 2. From

Roma

Roma, one of those Trojan Sea-sick Ladies that escaped to the Tuscan shore, and either *b* necessitated, or *c* killed their Husbands to a stay in this City: or 3. From Romanus, Ulysses his sonne: or 4. From Remus Emathion son, whom Diomedes employed hither. 5. Or from the Tyrant Remis, who led the Tuscans from Thesaly to those parts. It is likewise as doubtful whether Romulus (who indeed gave that famous City its name and *d* being) was Aneas his son by Dexithea, one of the two children that of all these Trojan passengers escaped the storm on Tyber; or Tadmachus his son Latinus *e* by Roma; or Mars his son by Æmilia Iarvina, and Aneas his daughter; or wicked Tarbusus his maids (by a mans privy member which appeared in the Chimney-corner, with whom his Daughter would not lie) exposed by him with his Twin-brother Remus for fear, and nourished by a she-Wolfe and a Bird, till a Swine-herd took him up, and bred him among his own children; or (as Diocles Peperethens, whom Fabius, Viçior, and Cato, in their fragments, and most follow) he was Rhea or Sylvia's son, as she said, by Mars. However he was initiated for great *f* performances by great dangers from the womb; for his Uncle Amulius his guilt and fears would have prevented his conception by cloystering his Mother, his birth by * burning her, and his life by drowning him, when the instrument of his cruelty, either out of fear or pity, left him and his brother upon the banks of Tyber in a floating trough, which carried them to

C

Germanum:

b By burning their ships, that they could not return.

c These Ladies brought kissing husbands and friends first into fashion.

d Remus was the other.

e This story is told by Primatian an Italian.

f Amulius usurped the kingdom which belonged to his brother Numitor, who was this child's Grandfather.

* Burning was the punishment of such Vestal Virgins as committed adultery, which punishment she escaped by her Cousin Asius, Amulius his daughters intercession, and request that she might be only locked up.

g So called from the two brothers, Germans, near which place is a figure called Ruminalis, so called from Ruma a Wolfe in the old Latine; or from Romulus, or from ruminating or chewing the Cud, as beasts did under it in the heat of Summer. The goddess of sucking children is called Ruminia.

f The Sexton of Hercules having one day little to do, plaid at dice with his god for the whore Laurentia, throwing for himself and him, Hercules won; the whore is locked in the Temple, & said she lay with the god, who gave her a great estate that she bestowed on Rome.

g Germanum: Here a she-Wolfe and a Hitwaw nourished them; or rather Faustulus the Kings Shepherd pitying the Infants conditions, and pleased with their features, tenderly committed them to his wife Laurentia's care, who (as other loose women of those times, was Nick-named Lupa) to whom the Priest of Mars at Rome sacrificed the sheddings of wine and milk unto this day. Numitor's privacy and assistance, gave them ayd with Education at Gabii; where, though their valour and liberal features discovered something extraordinary in them both: yet in all their transactions with their neighbours, Romulus was observed born for government: for neglecting the easie and idle lives of Shepherds, he applied himself to such noble and heroick exercises as knit his virtues, and consolidated his body and minde to that pitch of magnanimity, as rendered him the object of publick love and wonder; when Numitor and Numilius his Shepherds falling out, Remus was taken, and by the Albanes importunity, with great Numilius his leave, brought before Numitor (Religious Romulus in the mean time worshipping, and consulting the gods) who observing the vigour of his looks, the steadiness of his countenance, and the report of his exploits, enquired of his original, descent, and education; whereof the youth made an ingenious narrative, as Faustulus taught him, concluding it with this addresse to Numitor, that he deserved a Kingdom rather than Numilius, because he condemned not a man before

he heard him: and finding by the story, by Faustulus his confirmation of it, his own Warders confession, who exposed the youth, his daughter Rhea's assent to all, and his brother Amulius his fears, what the young men were born to, he assisted them with men and money to right themselves upon the Usurper Amulius, whom all feared and hated; and Romulus in the head of forty bands, or companies of Albanes, whom he divided into † Maniples (the matter bearing no delay) surprized, restoring his Grandfather Numitor to his right in his stead, and their Mother to her honour: and now whether impatient of obedience, and unwilling to usurp; or that the Albanes endured not their loose followers, they withdrew to the place they were exposed in, and there laid the foundation of that famous City, which oweth both its first Original, its following improvement, and present grandeur to no less than Fate and Miracle, about the situation whereof the brothers differed, yet (resolving their controversy to the flying of * Vultures, those birds of Divination) Romulus prevailed, pretending he saw twelve birds, when his brother saw but six, and went on with his work, (which Remus interrupting, and Faustulus being by i Celer slain) by the Auscanes directions, drew his Trench called Munda, and the Foundation-furrow called k Pomerium, the 121 of April, when (in the hour of Romulus in his conception) being the birth-day of the City: upon which day there was another feast of Herods men, called Alilia; which was the 23 of Cheac, or Decemb. 3. 21 Mal. the first year of the second Olympiad, as the Poet Antimachus and Tarutius Varro's

† Maniples, a company that followed a man carrying a spear with a few branches on the top of it.

* Vultures do least hurt to corn and other things, & therefore were used by Hercules & others in divination: as also because they are rarely seen. b Remus would have it built on M. Aventine. i Celer, whence came Ceier, swift. Qu: Metellus for providing sencers in 2 days was called Celer. k Quasi Post-murum: where the gates were designed, they did not plough. l When they will kill nothing, it being the birth-day of the City.

n By the Del-
phick Oracles
advice.

o Some say but
30. whence
came the 30 li-
neages of the
Romans.
p The god of
Counsel, whose
Altar was, as
counsel should
be hid, which
Romulus pre-
tended to finde,
as Zenodorus,
Valerius, An-
tius, and Juba
write.
q Though others
say that a poor
man having
gotten fair Sa-
bine, saved her
to himself, by
saying he carri-
ed her for Ta-
larius.

the Moon was eclipsed, hee finished it in six moneths, and provided for the present generation, by *u* opening a Sanctuary to Outlaws; and for posterity, by a stock of *Alban* women; for their security by two Legions, i.e. 6000 Foot, and six hundred Horse; for the government by an hundred *Patricii*, or Senators and Fathers of their Countrey, called *Patres conscripti* to this day; and for order, by dividing the Inhabitants to Patrons, Clients, and People, a distinction that bred marvellous love amongst them, by the mutual good offices the severall orders were to do each other, and a very great care of the poor: And for perpetuity, by a Rape upon the *Sabine* Women, whereof no lesse than *o* sixty were ravished at the solemn Festival designed for that purpose in honour of *p* *Consus* or *Neptune*, or *Herfili* falling to *Romulus* his share. The sign for the Rape was the word *q* *Talassius*, whence they sing *Talassia* in Marriage to this day, word that intimates the womans service, which is to spin: the time was the 18. day of *August*, wherein they celebrate the *Consulia* to this hour; and the end was not to satisfie their lust but to people their City: an act this so daring and so dangerous, that it awaked the neighbour *P*inces, particularly *Acron* King of the *Cinences*, who alwayes jealous of the *bo* Shepherd's proceedings, but now enraged meets him before the walls of *Rome*; where in a Duel before both Armies, *Acron* fell and left his headlesse people, and weak Cities, to the mercy of *Romulus*; who consulting

ther his Interest than his Revenge, exercised no farther hostility upon his poor Adversaries, than a removal of their habitation from their own mean Villages to his great City, the way of the *Roman* Conquerours to this day *r*. But no sooner had he *s* triumphed, and offered his *Spolia opima* to *Jupiter Feretrius*, or the *Smi*er (as *w*o had slain the General, which *Cornelius Costus*, and *Claudius Marcellus* onely did afterwards) than the *Fidenates*, the *Crustumii*, and the *Antenates* on the one hand, and the *Sabines* on the other (after an Embassy in vain for a lawfull Marriage of their children and alliance by mutual consent) draw towards the City; the first whereof sell a prey to the *Romans* valour, as all their Lands, except the Maids fathers, did to their Rapine. The second party under *Tatius*, despairing of force, had recourse to fraud, and enticed the Governors *i* daughter with the fair promise of their bracelets, with which they were much taken, to betray the Castle in a dark night; for which Treason the Governour was strangled, and the pressed with bracelets to death by the very *Sabines*, who (as *Augustus* said) loved the treason, but hated the Traytor) and (with *Antigonus*) loved them that did betray, and hated them that had betrayed: a losse that would daunt others, raiseth *Romulus* his spirits to bid *Tatius* a pitch'd Battle (not without a stratagem to draw him to a narrow Plain where he could not fight for the *u* mud *Tyber* left there the last flood, nor flye for the adjacent hills) which was fought a while with equal success, until *Hostilius* was slain on the one side,

r These spoils were hung upon an Oak crown-
ed with a Garland.
s Not in a curul-
chaire; for Tar-
quinius was the first that in-
vented that, or
Valer. Publicola: the statues
of this triumph were at Rome
in Romulus his
time.

r Tarpeia, whom
Antigonus
saith was Tati-
us his daughter;
and the Poet
Simlus, that she
betrayed the Ca-
pitoll, which
from her was
called Tarpei-
us; and Rupes
Tarpeia,
whence they
throw Malefa-
ctors headlong.
u called Cur-
tius his lake.

and *Romulus* withdrew upon a blow he received with a stone on the other and the *Sabines* heated with their losse, and the *Romans* discouraged with theirs, the victory inclined to the *Sabines*; untill *Romulus* recovering both his courage and his strength, lift up his hands and voyce first to the vanquished, amazed, and flying multitude, and then to heaven in behalf of *Romes* fate and glory: and shame prevailing over fear, the broken *Romans* rallied; and as if inspired upon their Captains prayers, overthrew the victorious *Sabines*, pursuing their fortune and their conquests to *Rhegia*, where the *Sabine* women (the occasion of the War, and now mediators for Peace) with more than womens courage, rushed between both Armies, their kindred and their husbands, dressed in all the sad circumstances of grief and sorrow, and amazement; one while melting the rigour of their husbands with their soft and tender Infants, the burthens of their armes and wombs; another while their kindred, with their tears and cryes, louder than those of the Infants: One while they speak and perswade reason, another while they weep and move compassion; they look, they kisse, they embrace both sides to a seasonable Peace for their sakes, who for their sakes had engaged in an unseasonable War, that might ruin their Countrey, but not repair their reputation, now to be salved onely by an alliance which by an after-consent might honour that which was hitherto a Rape, with the solemnities of a Marriage. *Romulus* and *Tatius* in part, both sides oblige each other, & the *Sabine* women

women by their relation to one side, and their good report of the other, engage both; the Peace is concluded at a *Comitium*, and the *Sabines* made free of Rome, the Inhabitants whereof were now divided into three parts: 1. *Romenſes*, from *Romulus*; 2. *Tatienſes*, from *Tatius*; and 3. *Lucenſes*: and the compasse of it to ten tribes or wards under so many tribunes: the *Patricii* and *Legions* were doubled with an equall number of *Sabines* to that of the *Romans*, the * arms of both people now the same: The women were privileged with the upper hand, immunity from all work, but spinning purple garded gowns, and wearing jewels themselves, with their children: Palaces are built for both Kings, and Senate-houses; and which was most considerable, they established an uniformity of Worship agreeing in their times, their Sacrifices and their Festivals (particularly the *Matronalia*, in memory of the Women-Peacemakers: the Shepherds *Palilia*: the * *Carmen-talia*, in honour of the goddess of Nativities *Carmen-ta*, which women in Travel called on; and the y *Lupercalia*, in honour of *Romulus*, called *Februa*, the Feast of Purification on the Kalends of February) and *Romulus*, a man of as great devotion as valour, erected a Temple to *Jupiter Stator*, who stayed the *Roman* day naked through the city, beginning at the place the two boys were found, and *Romulus* ran too when he slew *Amulius*, and strike the women with child as they go, who think their stroaks will ease their Travel. They sacrifice a Dog at that Feast (as the *Grecians* upon their Feasts of Purification throw out all their dogs) a Ceremony they call *Periscylla* a fines, a Dog being an enemy to a wolf.

ucalled so from the Assembly there.

w *Legions* now 6000 Foot, & 600 Horse. *Patricii* 200 *Sabines* and *Romans*. * *Shields*.

x *Carmen-talia*, from *Carmen*, the inspired verses she spake; or from *Evanders* wife *Caiementa*, because she used to be mad by inspiration. y The *Luperci* run upon that

mans from flight at *Rhegia*; set up the keeping of the Vestal Fire; (whereof in our books of *Rom*: customs) and observed the August of Birds flying, with his rod *lituus*, where with he pointed the quarters of heaven, in his hand. In a word, both Kings and people managed the publick government, and the private affairs, with wonderful agreement and successe for four years together, when the *Laurentii* murdered *Tullius* at his devotion to *Lavinum* with *Romulus*, for refusing up to *Romulus* request, and theirs, to make a publick example of some of his kindred, who against the Law of Nations offered violence to their Ambassadors; and the whole government was devolved upon *Romulus*, who married his partner at *Armitufram* nobly, checked the *Laurentii* gravely, winked at the murder suspiciously, kept in the *Sabines* with fear and love discreetly, awed all with a pretence of familiarity with the gods politickly, gained applause at home, & admiration abroad, renowned by those Nations that courted him as the *Latins* did, being happy in his friendship and those who engaged him as the *Fidenates* did, reduced by his power and policy, while he in revenge for their unexpiated murder of his Messenger was reducing to a Colony the gods in revenge of the unpunished murder of *Tullius* & *Remus* had reduced *Rome* & *Laurentium* by plagues, barrenness, famines, showers of blood, and other prodigies, vengeance to a desolation, had not *Romulus* offered new Sacrifices to the gods, and the

7. They were made a Roman Colony, 13 of April, where he transplanted the surplusage of Rome.

murderers to justice, whereupon the plague immediately ceased: the instant of which calamity the *Camerians* made use of to invade *Rome*, whom yet *Romulus* in the head of 6000 men overcame, burying some thousands of them in the ruins of their own Cities, and bringing the rest to *Rome*, Aug. 1. (with triumph in the braſſe Chariot he took in that City) for whom he sent as many *Romans* to plant in that Countrey—to which he gave those Lawes, November 2. that the foregoing year he had made for his own people; where in it's observed there is no provision against Parricide, because he thought no man would be so unnatural; nor against detaining the wives by alimony in case of divorce, because he thought no man would be so unkind. So great power was *Romulus* arrived unto, that that year taught his weaker neighbours to submit to him, and envy his stronger Neighbours to suppress him; and therefore the *Veii*, the wealthiest and most potent *Tuscanes* pretending a right to *Fidena*, and laughed at by *Romulus* (that they should plead a right in the *Fidenates* possessions, and give them no assistance in their Wars, if *Fidena* must now be theirs, because it happened to be his) appeared in the Field with two Armies; the one to attack *Fidena*, and the other to draw toward *Rome*; the first met with successe, and slew 2500 *Romans* *Fidenates*; the second, with an overthrow, and the losse of 8000 men, which *Romulus* pursued with great prowesse and Conduct by *Fidena* to the very walls of their

a He called all Murders Parricide, to shew how detestable that murder was, whereof none was guilty for six hundred years after; but afterwards it was provided, that if a wife was turned off for any just cause, she was to have halfe her goods, and the other half was to be sacrificed to Ceres.
b As one was divorced for 230 years, Valer. Max.

their City; before which he had no room encamped, then the City was yielded to him: the inhabitants fell at his feet, the seventh part of their Country was bestowed upon him: their Salt-houses by their River side, and five of themselves are pledged; and *Romulus* (having performed no less than *Aristemenes*, what they say offered 300 beasts for so many *Lacedaemonians* he had slain with his own hands) returned home in triumph with the *Veis* were General with him. (In memory of which triumph, upon that day still they lead a man in Purple Robes, with a child's *Bull's* Jewel about his neck, throughout the street crying, *Who will buy any Sardinians?* that *Veians*, who came first from *Sardinia*.)

And now *Romulus* having overcome all others, was himself overcome by success: (more to manage a great Estate, than to gain it; for he laid aside his obliging condescension, his sullen Majesty; his plain Garb, for Purple Robes; his Father's Stool, for a Curul Chair; the old freedom of access is guarded by an armed throng of Sergeants and a *Lictors*, that brought the whole City under his Law. Formerly all things were lawful, now nothing the Senators were but so many Gowns and Names, having liberty neither to Debate, nor to Advise with this Puff-past Monarch, who disposed of Estates, restored Pledges, and arrogated to himself the sole management of matters in War and Peace: until at last the Senators laid some designs for such a free State *Rome* to secure themselves, as *Romulus* had intended, upon *Numitor's* death to please the people

a *Lictors*, or *Lectugos*, Sergeants, who carried Rods to whip, & Thongs to bind whom he pleased.

people, wherein free-born men should not be subject to the impotent transports of a single man, but to the sober Counsel of many, where the whole City should by turns command and obey. And upon the 17 of July, in the year of his age, and the 38 of his reign, at a general meeting in *Mars* his Temple, in the *Arth* of *Caprea*, as he was discoursing of the Government, in the midst of his speech a sudden darkness and noise covered and amazed them all into corners; after which *Romulus* was never seen more: whether he was dispatched by men, or translated by the gods, is a question, considering his merits on the one hand, and the peoples envy on the other, had not been decided to this hour, had not honest *Julius Proculus* interposed, with a most solemn oath, that he saw him in more Majesty then ever; and that expostulating with him about his departure, and the suspicion about his death, he answered, *It pleased the gods from whence I came, that I should live among you a while, and lay the foundation of that City and Empire that should give Law to the world, whose King I should be for some time, and for ever your God. Bid the Romanes from me be of good comfort; and assure them from me, that Temperance and Discipline will raise them to the most eminent Power and Grandeur in the world; And let them not lament, but worship me their god, c Quirinus.* In whose testimony the people acquiesced, and concluded him Apotheized, as *Alchmena* and *d Cleomedes* were the last of *Demi-gods*, till he hid himself in a chest, which no man could open till he vanished.

b called then *Quintilis*, an unfortunate day to the Romans: for upon that day *Scipio Africanus* was after supper found dead in his house. They call them *Capratinae*, from the peoples flight thither in that tempest, or in the war with the *Latines*, whom *Phylotis* taught the use of the spear.

c From *Quiri*, a Spear in the *Tuscan* Tongue; *Romulus* being a man of war, and one that always said the Roman Empire was to be preserved by war.

d *Cleomedes* a Giant did many mischiefs; and among the rest, knocked down a School-house with his fist, and killed many children, whose parents followed

gods,

gods: but (to speak the truth) although for dry souls shoot like lightning, as *Epicurus* said out of the body; yet we know of none that shoot up in the body, it being as natural to the soul to be divided from the body, as to be united to it; and all men, saith *Pindar*, as surely die, as they were born.

THESEUS and ROMULUS
Compared.

THESE are the most remarkable Memoirs of these Heroes apart; the parallel runs thus: *Theseus* is magnanimous, and not contented to be born to a small *a* Kingdome, unless he served a greater: he did not suffer, but overcome his difficulties. *Romulus* is modest; a King in his merits, a shepherd in his thoughts: more highly in others, none lower in his own esteem: the one aspired, the other is threatened to lose his Kingdome, rather suffering than enjoying greatness: the first following his own honour, the second compelled by his *b* fear. *Theseus* served his Country, *Romulus* his own fortune: he is most sensible of others wrongs, this of his own: the *Roman* kills one Tyrant to right himself, the *Athenian* kills many to right Nations: Here's *Acron*, and a few poor people slain: there are *Centaur*s slain, Nations subdued, Kingdomes rescued, Liberties restored, great expeditions performed; especially to

Crete, as noble as it was just, and as famous as it was both, even beyond expression. The former are the undertakings of a man, these are the works of the gods to help afflicted Innocence; which the gods rewarded in *Ariadne*'s life; an act of justice, not of lust; of honour, not uncleanness: and no wonder a god was enamoured of her, who was her self enamoured with naked Valour and Vertue in *Theseus*, (for he had nothing else to attract her) which the gods do love. *Romulus* and *Remus* had the former, but not the state and port of Princes; who must have no less care of doing nothing unbecomely, then of doing all things honourably: *Remus* shrunk to Popularity, and *Romulus* hurried to Tyranny: contrary humours flowing from one error, and leading into another, ruin them both; one dying despised, and the other hated. Indeed both were passionate beyond excuse; the one against his brother, the other against his son: onely *Theseus* his wrath went no further then Impotent words, & an old mans heat against his son; when *Romulus* purchased his brother to his grave. *Romulus* was eminent for his mean original; for high enterprizes in his lowest fortune; for the liberty of his Country, gained when he wanted his own; for the great titles he obtained, as *King of Nations*, &c. when his name was not known: for the great Empire he erected out of a small Village: for killing none that he might save: for wronging none that were contented with their own right: for being chastly true to one Wife in the midst of a great choice of Sabines:

for

a Troezen.

b Of Asaulius.

Vid. Plut. in
Phœd. p. 2.

for setting many, but overthrowing no City for the exactest Discipline established among a medley of the most lawless people: for doing the greatest right to his grandfather and mother, and not taking the least wrong from the greatest King: for establishing that love and kindness between man and wife, that there was no Divorce heard of at Rome for 200 years after; and the first man that turned off his wife was as Notorious as the first Parricide. *Theseus* is infamous for destroying many States and famous for erecting none: *Theseus* encouraged not his Relations, but unfortunately broke his Father's heart, and basely forsook his Mother: He enjoyed many women, but loved none: All *Romulus* his Acts improved his Country; all *Theseus* his Acts ruined his: He left one left Peace and Power behind, the other War and Weakness. In a word, *Romulus* was born by the favour of the gods, and in spite of men; *Theseus* was born of the lust of men against the interdict of a god: The first is a Miracle, the second a Monster.

Spurius Carvilius was the first that put off his wife.

c His mother was imprisoned upon his account

d As Paris, so Theseus ruined his Country by lust.



IV.

LYCURGUS the Lacedemonian Law-giver.

Lycurgus (to wave conjectures, and fix on certainties concerning him) was in the 16th year of the second Olympiad, born to *Eumamius* by *Dioysa*; no less famous for his great grandfather *Sous*, who in the field overcame, and in a straight a deceived the *Arcadians*; then for his great Ancestor *Heracles*, who first planted them. The Spartan Commonwealth being disordered by the rigour of some Governours, and the remissness of others, and *Eumamius* killed with a Kitchen-knife in a tumult, as his son *Polydectes* perished while after, the right to the Government was in *Polydectes* his infant now in the womb, and

Year of the world 3071. before Christ 896.

In the time of *Jehoshaphat* King of Judah, *Ahab* King of Israel, *Elizeus* and *Micah* the Prophets.

a He was brought with his Army to a dry place, where there was no water, where he promised to restore to the *Arcadians* their Lands, if they would give him and his Army drink: his Army drank, he only washed his mouth, and therefore would not give them their Land.

Lycu

and the management in *Lycurgus*, who as soon as he understood his sister was with child, declared her infant chief Magistrate, and himself his *Prodicus* or Lieutenant: and when he was solicited by her unnatural ambition to give her an Abortive Potion, and marry her, he abhorred her motion, yet dissimulated it by persuading her to take care of her self, promising to make away the child another way when it was born. And according to his strict order the child when born was brought to him next at supper with some *Lacedemonians*; to which he said, *Here is a King born to us*: And all applauding his Justice and his Nobleness, he honoured him with the Chair of State, and named him *Charilaus*, the peoples joy, all applauding and reverencing his person and valuing him always more then they did his power and state, the eight months he was king amongst them; and to avoid all suspicion, and satisfy Envy it self, (that had transported his disappointed Sister and her Relations to publish Expostulations with him) he resolved until his Nephew had begot a Successor, to travel, he did, first into *Crete*, where he kept the best and most learned company, observed the most wholesome Customes and Laws, and gathered up the most exact Principles of Government, which his familiar the Poet-harper *Thales*, upon his request, by the melting sweetness, and piercing power of his Poetry, Oratory and Musick, instilled insensibly into the Spartan Minds and Manners, and thence passed into *Sparta*, to compare the looseness of that Coun-

with the severity of *Crete*; and thence (as Physicians by viewing the diseased & healthy) might observe the just temperament of government, here considering the wisdom and the wit of *Homer*s scattered * Poems, he was the first that gathered them to one entire volume. By that time he had travelled *Aegypt*, where he earned the distinction of Corporations, and conversed with the wise men of *India*, *Africa*, and *Spain*, the *Lacedemonian* Princes wished that at home, no less to awe a licentious people with his presence and authority, than the people did to restrain the exorbitant a Princes excesses by instruction and examples: Others had Kingly titles and majestic that amazed; he had royal virtues that obliged the people, as being as much above them in real worth, as he was in place.

Upon his return, finding the strong corruptions of the government as much above the remedy of a few good lawes, as the tough humours of a Plethorick are above the vertue of a few pills, he meditates an alteration of the constitution, but not without the Oracles advice; which encouraging him with the title of God rather than man, and of the author of the compleatest Common-wealth that shall be or ever was in the world; he consulted his friends, obliged his foes, and with the assistance of thirty eminent men, *b Charilaus* himself at first suspecting, though at last complying, when a flatterer told him he was a good man, said, *who could not be evil to the evil*. He fled at first to the Brazen temple of *Juno*, called *Chalcæcos*,

* He found *Homer*s poems in the hands of *Cleophilus* his heirs and successors.

a whereof *Asarichmiadas* was chief.

b *Charilaus*; a soft man, and good natured, he must needs be good, who could not be evil to the evil.

* Plato 3. de leg.

c He settled the number 28 faith Sphaerus, because it is perfect, as compounded of seven, multiplied by four; the first perfect number next to six, being equal to all parts gathered together.

d Called Ketra.

c At first it was as far as they pleased; at last Theopompus added, As far as the King pleased.

ing with the design.* 1. He poyzed the government with the equal power of Kings and Senate, in that due temperament of liberty and authority that provided against the daily excesses of Tyranny and confusion; the 28 Senators, the Screens aiding the two Kings against the Insolencies of the people, and protecting the people against the exorbitances of the Kings, confirming it with this d Statute-Oracle, that there should be in Sparta 28 Senators, who should in open field far from any objects that might direct or corrupt them freely debate such matters with the Kings: they onely propose to them, and conclude such wholesome Laws as the people must hear with silence, and submit to with patience; as adding the Ephori to the constitution, which as Plato saith, 1. de repub. should check the King and Senate, who abated their power that they might continue it, exercising (as Elaius answered e Theopompus his wife, who told him he would leave lesse power than he found) rather a moderate power that might gain less than an absolute authority that might provoke envy.

2. He poyzed their conditions by a division of their Lands into nine thousand equal parts, allowing each Family a competent proportion of Corn and Wine, i. e. 70 bushels of Barley for a man, 12 for a woman, and much Wine and Fruits: by which equalized together with an exchange of gold and silver coyn into iron, which none could hoard up he removed all differences from among them

ve those of vertue and vice; charmed that variety of passions, envy, ambition, covetousness, into that one humane of brotherly love; razed out the uselesse thoughts of stealth and fornication, which were not once named among men that had all things in common, and as Theophrastus says, knew not what it was to covet; and saw delicateness and luxury falling off themselves, having neither superfluities to seduce them from abroad, nor the idle occupations of stage-playing, Poetry, Pandering, Fortune-telling, Jewelling, &c. to cherish them at home: all Lacedemonians betaking themselves to manlike and useful employments that rather furnished their Countrey with necessaries, than debauched it with superfluities. To compleat which excellent temper, his third Institution, that rooted out all covetousnesse in their gains, and intemperance in their enjoyments, enjoined a common Diet, strictly forbidding all private excesses that debauched their spirits, discomfited their bodies, abused their own and others time and pains, from the Kitchen to the stove, from the stove to the bed; an Institution that provoked the rich (impatient of being intercommoned with the poor) to a tumult, wherein Lycurgus taking Sanctuary, lost his leg; and by that losse, shewing his bloody heart and eye, gained the multitude, whose rage now softened to compassion, turned upon the young man that wounded him, whom they delivered up a sacrifice to his revenge and justice, for which he thanked them and

f Making of Beds, Chairs, &c. Cups, as the cup Cathon, which souldiers used to colour the muddy waters they were often forced to drink that they might not discern.

g Eriander.

h To whom he
built a Temple.
Dorians call
Eyes, Optices.

i The Coetans
called them An-
dria Phiditia,
from *gēdō*
to save; or
Philitia, from
Philia, love.

k Inasmuch that
when K. Agis
after his victo-
ry over the A-
thenians, desi-
red to sup with
his queen, they
refused him.

l And called
Caddos; and
they all cast off
that man whom
one rejected.
m And there-
fore he bought a
Lacedemonian
cook, who told
him when he was angry at the first dish, he must wash in Euratus
should finde that broth good.

b Minerva Optiletide, and punished Eriand-
onely with his most inward and excellent se-
vice; where being a witness of his good na-
ture, and most strict life, he reformed him-
by him, and disabuted the people concerning
him.

Their i Phiditia or common Repasts we
managed thus: They sate in a Common Hall
fifteen in a company; Each man layd in e-
month a bushel of Meal, five gallons of Wine,
five pound of Cheese, one pound and a half
of Figs, some money, their Sacrifices, the
game and Venison-- being allowed no private
meals but after late sacrifice or hunting: At
these repasts they brought their children to
hear grave and wise discourses, to observe
great examples of temperance and modesty,
to learn how discreetly to give and take harm-
lesse jests, and to keep Counsel; it being
eldest mans advice always at Table, Sirs, I re-
member there goeth not a word out of this
and admitted none but by giving him a ball of
Dough to wash with; which if he liked not
next man, he would give it him as he re-
vived it; if not, he pressed it flat between
fingers, whereupon that man was l discarded.
Their best dish was black broth, the old man
fare, which m Dionysius the Tyrant longed
After this sober refreshment, they retired
home in the dark, never knowing what a can-
meant, as honest men, who neither feared, nor
were feared in the darkest night.

4 To this constitution he added three Re-
solutions or divine Lawes; whereof the first was,
That there should be no written Laws, but
Precepts engraven upon the peoples hearts by
Education, to oblige, rather than to compel
them to duty; and discretion in wise mens
Councils, to provide against all emergencies.
The second was against excesse in building and
furniture, providing that the roof of the hou-
ses should be built with an Axe, and the
gates with Sawes; supposing as Epaminondas
said, his Table could receive no Treason, so
these houses could hold no superfluities. The
third law was against long War with one ene-
my; for which Antichledas jeered Agesilaus
when he was wounded by the Thebans, saying,
that they had well rewarded him for the ex-
perience, skill, and resolution they had gained
by his long wars. And in the fourth place,
though Aristotle saith, the women now grown
unmanageable by their Husbands long absence
in the Wars, and their fondnesse at their re-
turn, were too hard for Lycurgus; yet he in-
vited the Maids to hardship and patience by
manlike exercises, and wore off their delica-
cy and tenderesse by publick shewes and pro-
fession, which taught them a noble and debo-
air courage, neither nice nor wanton; using
them likewise as the great instruments of Re-
formation, by ennobling the young spirits most
observant of their words, as of their beauties,
by their Panegyricks to vertue, and shaming
them by their Satyres from vice; and alluring
them by true love, not interest, to that fun-
damental

n whereupon K.
Leontychdidas
dining in Co-
rinth, and ob-
serving the sum-
ptuous carved
work of the
Roof, asked
whether the
wood grew so.

o As wrestling,
crying, run-
ning.

p A young man
is generally
commended;
who being ask-
ed why he did
not reverence
Capt. Daxaldas,
answered, be-
cause he had
got no son to re-
verence him
when he was
old.

q One of the first
Senators.

r Of common-
sense by Tay-
getas.

s To see what
temper they
were of.
t Strangers sent
for Nurses out
of Sparta.

damental part of society, marriage, to which all were compelled by severe course against single men, who were forbid all pleasures their youth, and all reverence in their age, and condemned to the penance of barefoot-procession in the depth of Winter about the Theatre, where the married people enjoyed their pleasure; for which State provided also that marriages should be contracted into privately and modestly (lest concubal affection should be either cooled or heated with immodest or immoderate enjoyments) and continued without jealousy, the occasions of separation, making it a part of the constitution, that lusty and wise men for the publick good should enjoy what and hopeful women they pleased; and young women should have liberty from their weak or deformed Husbands to enjoy what hope man soever they affected; they hired the Stallions for their Mares, why not the able Men for their Women? insomuch as q Gaxaldas said, *Adultery was no sin in Sparta.*

Next to marriage, the education of the children was cared for; who as soon as born being not their Parents, but their Country if hopeful, were allotted their portion in nine thousand Ports; if otherwise, they were in their *Apothetes* drowned, and lost that which was like to be unprofitable to the Commonwealth, and uncomfortable to themselves; when washed with milke and water (which cleansed and searched their bodies) and brought up by the best Nurses in the

world without crying, quietly; without choice ofendants, or nice Viands, hardily; without any binding or swadling, lustily and proportionably. *Lycurgus* took them at seven years of age from their Parents, and disposed of them for joint studies and recreations to several Companies under the most discreet of them at least twenty years old, whose will they were to obey, to whose admonitions and corrections they were to submit, as an essay of their future subjection: the old men looking to encourage, to admonish, to instruct them in their exercises of wit or body, and provoke them one against the other: The striplings called *Irenes*, and the boys called *Melirens*, went barefoot, naked and shaved, and were slenderly dieted, that they might grow fair and slender, slender and tall, and withal cunning to steal meat from the sleepy or carelesse in the hall; to rob Orchards and Gardens, where the only fault was to be so grosse and negligent as to be taken or discovered; at 12 years of age they had their surcoats, the men played and were familiar with them, inured them to short and smart answers: for as *Lycurgus* stamped Coin of great weight and little worth, he enjoined a Speech of great worth & few words, and practised it: for being requested to settle Democracy in the Commonwealth, he desired the man to try it first in his own house; and asked why he had appointed such cheap sacrifices to the gods, That you may (replied he) be weary of worshipping them. He said the walls of *Sparta* were men,

u So careful
were they, they
should not be
discovered; that
a child having
stolen a little
Fox, hid it un-
der his coat, and
would not cry,
though the ver-
min eat out his
bowels, and he
fell down dead.
Agis speaking
of the Elians
justice in the O-
lympick games,
said, it was no
wonder they
were just one
day in 5 years.

Philopolites is better (said Theopompus) than Philolacon, when they were charged with ignorance, they said, they of all the Grecians were ignorant of Athens ill conditions.

One being desired to hear a well counterfeited Nightingale, said, he heard the Nightingale it self.

Terpanler and Pindors Musick did so raise their spirits, that they sacrificed to it always before a Battle.

and not stones; and answered one (that asked how he would defend them from enemies) they were poor and contented. Neither was alone, the whole Nation was smart and contentious: for *Charilatus* speaking *Lycurgus* Laws, that they were few Laws for men, few words: *Archidamicus* would say of a fine Orator, that he who knoweth how to speak knoweth when to speak; in so much as it was Proverb, That to speak like a *Spartan*, is to speak like a Philosopher.

But the Youths exercises growing with their years, the Sage Law-giver advanced them from short sayings to solemn discourse of good and evil, of publike and private concerns, whose matter was grave, expressions elegant, and pleasure (when improved by Poetry and Musick) Heroick, at once filling their heads with wisdom, and their hearts with valour, ennobling rather than (as other pleasures) infeebling the minde.

Thus it was in time of Peace, against time of War, to allay the hardship of the Field with the pleasures of Peace; the young men were most indulged in their Habits, Hair (which *Lycurgus* said, was a shame to the deformed and an ornament to the beautiful) and other delights, that war, which was the toile of other Nations, might be the *Spartans* pastime. In a word, their whole life was an exact Discipline: for none there lived as they list,

were within their City, as within their Camp, all guided by this great resolution, that they were not their own, but their Countries; they were always either instructing their inferiors, or learning of their superiors, or honorably employed by their State; being as free from mean occupations, as they were unconcerned in the gain of them, where all things were common: their *Ilates* or Slaves Tilled their ground, the noble *Spartans* being as averse from base employments, as from Idleness: their design was Peace and noble Pleasures; their little use and less esteem of Riches, together with their contented meanness, preventing Law-Suits and contentions; and their leisure with their freedom from mechanick labors, harmless delights (for *Lycurgus* was not so severe, but that he was the first who sacrificed to the Goddess Laughter) and useful discourses of Vertue and Vice (to which all resorted, it being noble to be seen in the Theatre, as it was ignoble to be seen in the Market, where no man appeared before thirty, it being the place of the Aged and Decrepit, who were laid aside for servile employments) the seasonings and allay of harder labors: they neither would nor could live alone, being one great Corporation engaged to each other, and the Commonwealth: so publike spirited were they, that what they

he was glad there was so many more worthy than himself. being asked by the Persian King, whether he came Ambassador of his own head or no, he answered, If we obtain, it is from the State; if not, it is from our selves.

did

a A Lacedemonian bearing that an Athenian was condemned for Idleness, desired to see the man who was condemned for living like a Gentleman. b As Solibias saith.

c So publick spirited were they, that Pædare being lost out of the number of the three hundred, said,

d Pistratidus

did with success, they imputed to the State; what unsuccessful, to themselves.

In their Wars their exact order carried dread and pleasure with it, so terrible was their Prowess, so amiable their even march, and *e* Heroick Musick, inspiring them with equal and constant valour, neither transported with fury, nor dismayed with fear; the King and General attended with *Olympick* Champions, *f* who thought it an equal prize to their great pains at *Olympus*, that they should fight before the King: they fought resolutely and orderly, assaulted furiously, pursued effectually, untill the enemy was broken, and beneath a charge; it being equally the *Lacedemonians* Honour and Policy, to spare the prostrate, their enemies thereupon always chusing to yield to their mercy rather than engage their power; and all this according to *Lycurgus* his Institution, who made as exact Laws for War as for Peace, being the first Master of Military Discipline, the first instituter of Regiments and Companies, as *Hippias* and *Phalerius* write; as great a Commander as he was a Law-giver, and most eminent for two things, the Laws of a pitched Field, and the institutes of the *Olympick* Games: In the State, the Government was in their hands, who were *g* ancient, honest,

e In the face of the enemy, the General sacrificed a Goat, and sang the song of Castor, & which he and Iphitus contrived, during those Games there should be no Wars.

g Every Senator sixty seven

years of Age, chosen thus: the competitors one after another passed through the multitude; and as they passed, their parties cryed for them: and six men shut up, who knew not the parties, judged of the Election by the Cry; the Senator chosen was crowned with Laurel, had a double portion at Table, and was attended to his house.

un-

unblemished, and chosen by the major voice; the manner thus: The Competitors one after another passed silently by the multitude, and each mans party cryed out as he passed, and six men shut up judged of the voices, and pronounced the elected, knowing neither the person nor his party, who is Crowned with a Garland, and attended with young men and women, singing his praise to the Temple, and thence to his kindreds Banquet, who saluted him thus, *Here is the Banquet provided for you by the City*; from whence he went to the Common-hall, where he had a double Mess, the one whereof he reserved for his neerest Kinswoman, who was nobly attended to her lodging, as he was to his.

Thus the *Spartans* were framed to Vertue by excellent precepts and examples, set always before their eyes, being allowed neither to Travel to Foreign parts, whose disordered customs might by degrees alter and infect their constitutions; nor to admit *h* strangers, whose loose Manners might debauch their lives, being an entire Commonwealth within themselves; well weighing how going to or receiving strangers, infuse into men strange devices; and new devices bring with them new opinions, and new opinions beget new affections averse from the Commonwealth and the Laws. Thus they were happy in the most exact Laws, Laws all as just as they were happy, except that called *Cryptia*, or the secret Law, that the Governors of the Youths should choose the discreetest striplings, and send

h Thucydides would not allow commerce with strangers, lest they alter the fashion of Government.

i They set their servants before their children drunk, to teach them the beastliness of that vice.

Lycurgus removed superstitious distinctions of grounds of fear of dead bodies.

After their mourning they sacrificed to Proserpina.

send them privately to fight the *Ilotes* or the Boors, whom they especially after their confederacy with the *Messenians*, used very hardly, making them i drunk with Wine without water, and then setting them before their children in the Commonhall, as beastly objects of their abhorrency and laughter, compelling them to use dishonest songs and gestures, agreeable to that saying of the *Lacedemonians*, That he who is free among them, none more free; he that is enslaved, none more.

Thus they lived orderly, and when dead they were disposed of so about the Temples, that the Young and hopeful might see the end of all, and have always before their eyes the objects of frailty and mortality: their burials were plain, the Corps being onely wrapped in red cloth, and crowned with Olive; their mourning was short, twelve days, and all in a decent mean between Superstition and Profaness.

Thus the great Law-giver provided for his *Spartans* all things necessary and all things convenient, and established his exact Republicke in a growing way, wherein no man being allowed unactive, they all in a praise-worthy way of emulation, strive for the highest pitch of glory and Vertue: and there was nothing wanting to this great institution, but continuance; wherefore *Lycurgus* taking as great delight in the first establishment of his Laws and Commonwealth, now approved by reason and experience, as *Plato* saith God did in the first frame and motion of the world, recommend

mended them in an assembly of *Spartans*, as the compleat rules of a virtuous and happy life; obliging them by an Oath to an inviolable observation of them, without suspending or altering the least of them, till his return from *Delpbos*, where being assured by the Oracle that his Laws were so good, that in the due observance of them his City would be the most renowned in the world; and having sent that Oracle to his people, and his blessing and love to his children and friends, that the Citizens might keep his Laws and their own Oath for ever, and having not lived so long as to be weary or ashamed of life, nor yet so ill as to be afraid of death, he enjoying the utmost his desire could aim at, pined in the midst of plenty to death, that as he lived, so he might dye to the advantage of his Commonwealth; it being the crown of his felicity, that having contrived so many incomparable Laws in his life, he should seal the perpetual observation of them at his death, with such success, that his City flourished five hundred years after, admired as an holy place, and order of Religion, rather then a Policy, or a Commonwealth; and by obeying its own Laws, gave Laws to others (for as *Theopompus* said, the *Spartans* were preserved not onely because the Kings could command well, but because the Citizens could obey) they * subdued Tyrants, decided controversies, composed seditions, gained Countries, without

* So the Sicilians were helped by Gylippus, the Chalcidians by Brachma, the Asian Gracians by Lysander, Agésilas, and Calligratidis.

either

either Army or Navy, or any other preparation, but just and rational Laws carried by one or two well disciplined and sober *Spartans*, whose Virtues obliged more powerfully than others Majesty; their worth, merit and sufficiencies carrying more awe and reverence than empty pomp and shew; and he that well directed must needs be well obeyed, all Countries having their eye on *Sparta*, as the best pattern of publike Government, and the exactest example of private discipline (whence *Stratonicus* his Jest, That if the *Athenians* and others did not tend their business well, the *Lacedemonians* should be whipped; and a *Antisthenes* his Droll upon the *Thebans* upon their insolency over the *Spartans* after the *Leuctrian* fight, Methinks, saith he, these *Thebans* here do like the School-Boys, that brag and rejoyce when they have beaten their Master) untill the *Ephori's* Tyranny, and *Lysanders* Gold and Silver, and *Cleanders* fineness and Luxury, altered and debauched the Government five hundred years after *Lycurgus* his death, in *Agis* his time; and their incroachments upon others State (contrary to *Lycurgus* his mind, who framed the Commonwealth so that the Citizens might be nobly minded, content with their own, sober and temperate, and renowned for Virtue and Peace) weakened their own.

Thus *Lycurgus* having laid an exact platform of Government in practice, which *Plato*, *Diogenes*, and *Zeno* had done in *Idea*; And left an established Commonwealth behind

■ Socrates his Scholar.

Lyfander though not covetous himself, made others so.

hind him, while they onely left Books and Pamphlets; teaching the world how a people may live and Govern themselves according to the exact rules of Wisdom and Policy, which hitherto was a notion hanging in the Air, and now is a City seen in the world, died full of years and glory, honored by the Gods with Thunders at his Grave; by the people with a Temple and Sacrifices, and his friends with yearly Festivals, called the *Lycurgiades*, which they celebrated in one great company: his *Alhes* by his own order, whether at *Cerina* or *Crete*, were cast into the Sea, lest the *Spartans* might recover them to their own City, and thereby think themselves discharged of their obligation upon the return of his remains, which will never want a Grave as long as *Sparta* stands, that Commonwealth being his great Monument, and his own Laws his everlasting Epitaph.

a As Euripides was in *Arethusa*, at whose grave there was seen lightning.

NUMA

Anno Mundi
3254, or
3236. ante
Christ. 712.



IV.

NUMA POMPILIUS.

Contemporary with Hezekiah King of Judah;
Manasseh King of Israel; Isaiah and Nahum
the Prophets: Tyrtæus the Poet.

a So Clodius
saith in his table
of time.

b The Olympian
Tables framed
Hippias, as the
Elian doubtful.
c Chief City of
the Sabines,
whence the Ro-
mans and Sa-
bines called
Quirites.

Numa Pompilius, whose Family (since the Roman registers were burned by the Gauls, and that the Olympian tables are uncertain) is as uncertain as his time: he was born at c Cages the same day Rome was built, the younger of four sons to his Father Pomponius; who, observing his towardly inclination, was careful to improve it by education and discipline, to allay the distempers of his soul; and teach him, by commanding himself with reason, to command others with Law. The hopeful youth with the Spartan Pythagoras his assistance, who instilled many Lacedæmonian principles

The Life of NUMA POMP.

principles into Numa, and so insinuated more Lacedæmonian customs into Rome, attained to that noble temperance, that he never looked beyond his own; to that prudence, that he was every mans counsel and arbitrator; to such sobriety, that he knew not what excess and superfluity was; to such devotion, that shaking hands with his lower delights and employment, he retired to a Country-life, and conversed with the gods, whose works and nature he studied, to that renown, that the Roman King gave him his daughter to wife (a Gentlewoman of his own devout and reserved temper) and the Roman People bestowed upon him their Kingdom: For Romulus, (Anno urb. Cond. 35. July 5.) on the Goats bones, either being dead (as you heard in his life) or translated; and the mixed people of Rome divided, whom, and of what Nation they should choose his Successor, mistrusting each other, and all afraid of the Romans after an Interregnum, wherein the Senators by consent acted the Kings part by turn, and some discontents of the multitude against this Usurpation of the Senators: it was agreed that one part of the people should choose a man out of the other, who should be obliged to both; as being chosen by the one, and out of the other: and accordingly the Romans, the native party, chose Numa Pompilius from among the Sabines, the chief party of strangers; a man of that repute, that he was no sooner named by the Romans, than accepted with applause by all; who unanimously dispatcht Proculus and

d King Tatius gave to him his daughter Tatia, who chose rather to live in his solitary retirement, than in her Father's Court; & therein cherished her father.

e who were so in number, though Plutarch says 150.

E

Vellissus

Velissus in the name of both interests, to intreat him to undertake the Government of Rome; who finding him retired now after his Wives death to the Fields and Woods for Divine contemplation and devotion, whence it may be came the common discourse of his converse with *Egeria* (as *Endymion* with *Luna*, *Hyacinthus* & *Hyppolitus* with *Apollo*, and *Pindar* with *Pan*; for the gods love men) that made him so happy and so knowing, and wanting neither estate nor honor, his fortune having furnished him with the one, and his own worth having deserved the other, very averse to this advancement, as being an alteration of life that is always dangerous; and now certainly so, greatness being always attended with difficulties, and Government a burden heavy enough for him *f* that was born of and translated to the Gods, much more for him who must live and dye like a man; and his peaceable inclination was too unsuitable to their war-like occasions: but the Embassadors urging the unanimous consent of both parties, the danger of another mutiny upon his refusal; and his father with his dear friend *Marsius* alleading the happy opportunity of exercising his own vertues, doing good and serving the Gods by Government, the honor done to *Romulus*, the peoples inclination to peace, being now full of Triumphs and Victories; the perpetual union of the *Sabines* and *Romanes*, the wish of all men; and his own Citizens perswading him, he undertook the charge, and having performed his devo-

Pan loved *Pindarus* his verses. And *Apollo* saith of *Hyppolitus*, I know full well my dear *Hyppolitus* recruited by Sea, my minde divineth this.

f *Romulus*, who is said to minister *Tatius*.

tion to the Gods, in the fourtieth year of his Age, sets forward for Rome, where being received at the Market-place, with that general applause, as if a new Kingdom, as well as a new King were brought to Rome, (the men meeting him in the way solemnly, the women blessing and singing him in the streets heartily, and the Priests Sacrificing in their Temples devoutly) and entrusted with the Ensigns of Majesty; he refused to act until he had with the wise men consulted the Gods on the Tarpeian hill, whence being confirmed by the chief Southfayer, he returned to the joyful multitude, that expected not the event with more silence, then they now received it with acclamation, that their king was not onely chosen of men, but most beloved of the Gods. His first act of State was popular, viz. the discharging of *Romulus* his three hundred *b* Guards, saying, he would *b* not be a King where he must mistrust or be

Spurius Verius one of the Senators that was King for that time, pronounced his Election, to which the people consented with one voice.

b called *Caelena*.

c *Flamen* a Priest, from their hats, *Pilos*: there being at that time many Greek words mixed with the Latine, as *Lænius* and *Chlænius* a Kings mantle, *Camilius* a Page.

d See Timon Philcafan of Pythagoras his Eagle and his Policy.

e Numa sacrificed to the gods Tacita.

f The Poet Pythagoras his Scholar.

g Numa called his fourth Son Mammercus, after Pythagoras his Sons name.

h A wooden bridge built by the Oracles direction, with wooden pins, which it is sacrilege to touch.

i Who were first two, then four: the first two Gegania and Verapia, the second Pacre Canulcia and Tarpeia.

and Laws received from heaven; and they charmed them with Innocent pastimes and delights, mixed with the suddain terrors of some Visions and Apparitions, and grand Oracles in verse, that at once awed and pleased them; a method he learned of Pythagoras, for as the one published his Philosophy, so the other established his Government by Divine authority, and a familiarity with the Gods and Muses: Pythagoras commanded silence, and he worshipped it; both forbade all visible representations of the invisible Gods, whom they saw onely with the minde; in so much as that there was neither an Image nor Picture of God in Rome for 169 years after the foundation of it: both offered mean and poor Sacrifices of Meal sprinkled with Wine and Milk, and forbade blood; wherefore it thought the great Philosopher and the good King conversed together: and f Epicharmus saith the Romans honoured him with their freedom, Numa with his g Sons name, and the Oracle with a Brass Statue in the Market place. The people thus far inclined to peace and civility, are prepared for order, and Numa erects the Priests Colledge, over whom was the chief Pontifex, whose care was to look to the Wooden b Bridge built upon the Oracle, to over-see all publike and private devotion, that no Ceremony was used contrary to the present institution, or the ancient custom; to have an eye over the i Vestal Vir-

gins, who watch the eternal fire at Rome, as they did the Lamp at Athens; which if out, as the one was in Aristion the Tyrants time, and when Delphos was on fire, and the other in the Civil and the Pontick Wars, they were not repaired but by the pure Beams of heaven, contracted in an hollow triangle, and preserved by four Virgins or women, pure and barren as those flames, who vow Chastity for thirty years, the first ten whereof they learn what to do; the second they do what they learned; the third they teach others what they have learned and done, and then are at their own disposal (though few Vestals prospered when they were married) enjoying the privilege of making of Wills in their Fathers time, of being free from Guardians, of a Mace and suitable Attendants, and power to save any Malefactor they unawares meet with going to execution; their Temples found as the world (in Pythagoras his mind) about the places of fire, the a Center, as some think of it: he that looked under the Vestals Chair, died for it; and if a Vestal was deflowered, she was carried in a close Litter, where she could not be heard, all the people most sad and silent, to a Vault neer the Collina Gate, where was a Lampe and a little Viand, and there after a Prayer of the Pontifex, shut up and stifled to death; the Priest likewise prescribed the Funeral Rites, the sacrifice of Libitina or Venus, for we attribute both birth and death to one Divine power; and the time of mourning, which must be no more moneths

a Some think the earth moves and that the heavens rests, and that fire is the center of it. b wherein they were carried through the city.

then the party deceased lived years, but ten months at the most, at which time if a Widow married, she must sacrifice a whole Bullock.

a Salii, for leaping and dancing with their Targets in march.

b Rome was taken by the Gauls, because that War was undertaken against the Ircophylarchs, or Fœciales mind, upon Fabius Ambushes, his rash duel with a Gaul, whom the Herald would have delivered to the Gauls. Aul. Gell. 16. 4.

c The Ancilia are Targets set to Numa's lap from heaven, called so,

quasi Apacathen, from above, or from Ancon on Elbow, or Accis healing, or Anaces. See Jubæ's Dictionary.

Numa still intent upon the advancement of Religion, instituted two more orders of Priest-hood, the a *Salian* and the *Fœcialian*; the one Peace-makers or Herald, who first urged Peace before they denounced War, being sent to expostulate with the enemy for right, to appeal to the Gods; and their vengeance in case of wrong, and then bid defiance; without whose approbation, neither King nor people b durst to Arms; the other kept the c *Ancilia*, both that which came from heaven and staid the sickness at Rome, and those *Mammurians* made (whom the *Salii* sing in their March-Dances round the City to this day) upon Numa's request; so like to the first, that it might be neither stolen nor discerned; and that he might retire for worship, contemplation, and his Priests instruction, he had two Mansions, the one for civil affairs upon the *Quirinal* hill, the other for Religious matters near the *Vestal* Temple: and indeed he commanded all others from their common employments in the times of solemn devotions, not enduring they should serve the Gods negligently, or in the heat of their own business. The Cryer commanded silence and attendance on Divine Service, and the Verger cried,

Mind

d Mind this, when the *Augur* made his observations, or the Priest sacrifices, agreeable to *Pythagoras* his Institutions (who would have a peculiar time and place sequestered from other employments, dedicated to solemn services) in this as in many other observances: for as the *Pythagoreans* warned men not to sit on a Bushel, or cut fire with a sword, or look behind as they go abroad, to sacrifice to Celestial Gods in odd number, and to the Terrestrial in even, whereof the people had no account: So Numa e forbid offering Wine to the gods of Vines never cut, and sacrificing to them without meal; commanded men to turn round in their Worship, and to sit down after, whereof the vulgar have no reason; by which institutions the City was reduced to an happy temper of Peace and Civility, Numa was admired and revered, his words were Laws, and all that he said was thought true f, and all he undertook judged possible; and it was concluded he did all things by the exactest Reason and the strictest Religion; whereon he so far reposed all trust and confidence, that when it was told him his enemies were in Arms, he answered, g And I sacrifice.

the Avenine walls, drinking Water, Honey, and Sugar who turned themselves to strange shapes; yet being caught, taught him many secrets, as the remedies against Thunder with Onions, Pitchards, and Hair; or conjured Jupiter, who in wrath said, he must have heads; Of Onions? said Numa; No, said he, of men: Hairs? said Numa: Yea living Hairs said he, Pitchards said Numa.

d Numa would not have them think or speak of the gods when busy.

e The first signified mercy, turning round signified mutability of all things below the Egyptian wheel; And sitting down, rest and satisfaction that their prayers are heard.

f He invited the Citizens one day to course save, when on a sudden Egeria furnished his table with the richest dainties that City could afford.

g And to this you may add another story how Numa caught Picus & Faunus Satyres in

In pursuance of his first inclinations, he built two Temples more, the one for Faith, the greatest Oath amongst the *Romanes*, the other for *Terminus* the God of bounds & limits, and so of Justice and Peace, to whom they sacrificed without blood upon the limits of inheritances: for *Numa* limited their Territories (as willing that every one know what was not known afore, both his own and other mens; his own to enjoy it, and other mens to avoid it) and disposed of inheritances among poor Laborers and Husbandmen to Till it, and maintain themselves; so inuring the wild multitude to the employments of peace and quiet, whom he overlooked himself, cherishing and advancing the diligent, and checking the sloathful, and disposing of them all in several Villages and divisions, as he did the Tradesmen into Companies, as Goldsmiths, Diers, &c. to whom he assigned their respective solemn Festivals, Services, and Assemblies according to their occupations: by which minute divisions according to Trades and Mysteries, he razed out the grand Faction of Nations; the mixed multitude now pursuing the interest of their Professions, forget that of their Countries; their frequent loving meetings in these divided and particular capacities, preventing all thoughts of conspiracy in their united and general.

Neither did *Numa* onely do well himself, but he reformed what others had done amiss, especially that Law (for which he was extolled) about parents power to sell their children

dren (wherein he excepted those that were married with their consent, that women who thought they were married to free men, should not be yoaked to slaves) and the Kalendar, wherein observing the courses of the Sun and Moon more exactly then former Ages had done, though not so accurately as in following times, he reduced the months in length to twenty eight days apeece, the year to three hundred sixty five, and the months in number (which formerly were but ten, the last whereof seems to be *December*, and the first a *March*, as in *Egypt* they were but one, and are but four, and in *Arcadia* four, and in *Acarnania* five) to twelve, beginning at *January* (adding few days once in two years, called *Mercidini*) called so from *Janus* the god of Peace and Quiet, in whose honor the King of peace began the year with him, and not with *Mars*, whose Temple, which was opened always in War-time, and never after shut but once in *Augustus*; and once in *Attilius* and *Manlius* the Consuls time, was locked during *Numa's* whole Reign, who had civilized by his Justice, Laws, and Religion, the unruly and loose *Romans*, and by his renown had awed his untoward neighbors to peace and gentleness, Wars being utterly forgotten, and Peace, with love, Justice, and *Numa's* goodness, prevailing over the world, where men desire peace to Till the Ground, bring up their children, serve their gods, and addict their innocent minds to Plays, Feasts and Sacrifices: Whether it was for fear of the gods, who

a March was likely the first month, because June is called Quintilis the fifth from it, May from *Maius*, June *Juvenis*, because all things are then young, or from Juno; July, from *Julius*; August, *Augustus*; September was called *Germanicus*, and October *Domitian*. when he overthrew *Anthony*.

Fruans called from Purgations, then the Luperulia were celebrated.

See Macrobius Saturn.

Plato de rep.

who possibly protected him, or for their reverence to his Virtues, or from the influence of his success; there was neither open War made, secret conspiracies promoted against him all his Reign, all men being by his example kept sincere and honest in a Commonwealth (where, as *Plato* would have it, was the only mean of true quietness, and remedy against evil; even the right Majesty of a King, and the mind of a wise Philosopher, by Divine Ordinance meeting in one person, and a people living together honestly, soberly, quietly, with the love and commendation of each other (the highest happiness on earth) not by fear, but imitation; not by forcible compulsion, but by great examples) So mildly, so justly had he managed his Government towards his own people and towards strangers, that he gained the love and Eulogy of all *Italy*, when in the eightieth year of his age, and the forty fourth of his Government, he died in peace, of age and a lingering disease, as *Piso* writes, leaving the State in peace and plenty; his Daughter *Pompilia* married to his friend *Martius* Son, whose child *Anco Martius* obtained that Kingdom after *Hostilius*, for which her husband broke his heart, because he missed it before * him; his Sons *Pompo*, *Capinus*, *Calpus* and *Mamercus*, heads of the Noble Families of *Pomponians*, *Pinnarians*, *Calpurnians*, and *Mammercians*; his name in a perpetual memory, his glory growing after his decease, and set off by the foibles of his five successors infamy, whereof the first died

* All which families, because of their original, were called Reges: others say that these families are flattered by some fawning Herald.

died in exile; the three next were murdered; and *Hostilius*, who derided his holy Law and life, his institutions and devotion, as the products and causes of low and faint spirits, was tormented with the War he raised, lived in a strange Disease, and in his extremity changing his mind and his Atheism to Superstition, died by lightning and was burned. His Funeral was glorious, his Hearse being carried by Noblemen, attended by the Priests, Senators, and Magistrates, and followed by the whole City, men, women, and children crying and weeping as for near Kinsmen snatched away before their time, rather than for a King dying full of years and renown; for whom (being forbidden to burn him) they made two Stone-Coffins at the foot of the Mount *Janiculum*, in one whereof they laid his body, in the other his twenty four Books of Priesthood and Philosophy, like the twelve Tables of the *Grecians*; which (as *Pythagoras* taught it *The Pythagoreans would not* Sacrilege to publish the holy principles of *Geometry to the unhallowed Laity*) he would write, lest the *unworthy should* not publish, saying, *That good Laws and Institutions should not rot in dead letters and writings, but live in good Mens Manners and Lives.* *Druides said.*

The

The P A R A L L E L.

Or, LYCURGUS and NUMA
Compared.

HAVING these Worthies before our eyes observe we wherein they agree, wherein they differ: They agree in the brave temper of a command over themselves, familiarity with the gods, devotion in religion, and prudence in government. They differ in their Heroical Actions; the one being a private man, deserved a Kingdom by strangers choice; the other being a King, left a Kingdom by his own. The one obtained a Realm by justice, which he nobly managed; the other thought Justice above a Realm, which he as nobly despised. *Lycurgus* skrewed up the strings of Government, and with difficulty and hazard persuaded the *Spartans* out of the plenty and delicacy of Peace, to the pittances and hardship of War; *Numa* slackened the former rigour, and with ease and applause softned the fierceness and violence of an outlawed Rabble into the tractableness and civility of a peaceable City. The first was not so severe to his *Ilotes*, as the second was gentle to his Slaves and Labourers, who to enjoy the benefit of their Industry, and the privilege of their nature in the feasts of *Saturn*, sate equal with their Masters. Both went

went divers ways, according to the constitution of the divers people, to the same end, viz. civilizing the rude multitude, restoring lost virtue, and setting a loose government. The one loved War best, the other Justice and Peace: not that *Lycurgus* was fierce and violent, but that his people might receive no wrong; or that *Numa* was faint-hearted, but that his Citizens might do none. The first provided for the defect of his people, the other checked their excesses. In the distribution of his people, *Numa's* way was plausible, allowing all men ingenious Occupations, and making the City one great body of Trades-men. *Lycurgus* his way was severe, tying his noble Natives to the hardship of Martial service, and his ingenious strangers to the burden of more mean occupations; allowing his Citizens no further skill than to obey a Captain, and command an Enemy. *Numa* let in that poverty, which ruined *Rome*, by neglecting that equality which preserved *Sparta*. The first Commonwealth stood by checking, the second fell by encouraging the insatiable desire of enriching some few persons by impoverishing many. But *Sparta* was capable of Levelling, and *Rome* was not: both to prevent jealousy, that heart-break of the world, allowed women in Common, though the one enjoyed modesty and secrecy, and the other connived at Impudence. *Numa* was not more severe to Virgins, than *Lycurgus* was indulgent. The *Lacedemonian* Girls being more a bold and manlike, the *Roman* that divorced his wife was *Sp. Carvilius*. The first woman that brawled with her Mother-in-law was *Halæa*, *Pinorus* wife.

a Woman pleading her own cause, the Senate sent to know what it did prognosticate. The first

man

man more sober and modest : So that the first Law-giver enjoyned the Husband authority and severity , and the second gentleness and civility. The *Spartan* Virgins married not till they were of years and maturity to bear children ; the *Romans* married young , that they might go unspotted to their Husbands embraces , and be more capable of such impressions as their Husbands discipline and instructions might make upon them. *Numa's* defect in the education of Children was the reason his constitution lasted no longer than himself. *Lycurgus* his care was that preserved his five hundred years : for the Oath he gave them had never obliged the men , if the good principles he instilled had not been imprinted into the children. But *Rome* attained to Majesty and Empire upon the alteration of *Numa's* quiet and innocent Platform , and *Sparta* lost theirs by neglecting *Lycurgus* his warlike one. But this is most observable , that *Numa* a stranger should rule an unsettled City without interruption , though he changed all things by the arts of Peace ; and that *Lycurgus* should hardly keep in his own people by the arts of Policy and War.

SOLON



V.

SOLON.

Contemporary with Croesus King of Lydia , Cyrus of Persia , Jeremiah or Daniel the Prophets ; Zedekiah King of Judah , and Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon.

Solon , though nobly descended (as by his Father *Ecestides* from King *Codrus* , and by his Mother from *Pisistratus* his family , whom he loved , not onely for his relation of Cousin-Germane , which was his duty ; but for his beauty , which was accounted his infirmity , though that natural affection

a He allowed the nobler sort to love men in his Law , which forbids it to the baser sort. *Pisistratus* himself loved *Charmus* , and set up the little Image of Love in *Academia*.

Æt. M. 342 I , or 3355 . before Christ 593 , or 546 . In his time flourished Anacreon & Simonides , Poets . Epicharmus the Pythagorean ; Anaximander & Anaximenes Physicians .

Vid. Dedimus the Table of Solon's Laws out of Philocorus .

was

was allayd by an accidental jarr) yet being poorly left by a Prodigal and over-kind Father (as *Hermippus* writes) chose rather to live by his industry, than upon others liberality, and therefore travelled for Industry, Traffique, and for Experience: For the last whereof he had so much kindnesse, that he said *he grew old in Learning*; and so little respect for the first, that he would say, *That the highest fortune was to enjoy himself, his relations, and a competency*: Adding, that what was unjustly gained, was always justly lost; and that the noble temper was neither too careful for superfluities, nor to be too careless of necessity. His younger years, and his Merchandize (for he as well as *Thales*, *Hippocrates*, and *Plato*, was a Merchant) inclined him to delicacy and warrennesse; and as a diversion to his cares, employed that wit in loose Poems, which in his riper years published grave Philosophy, and most excellent Lawes and Maximes of government in Verse, prefacing them thus:

*Jove my Laws and Statutes blest,
With lasting honour and success.*

He was as weak in natural Philosophy (witness his opinion of Lightning and Thunder as from heaven, and the Seas ebb and flow as from the winde) as he was knowing in morall, whereof his best sentence was this;

b Plato defraidd the charges of his journey to Ægypt by Oyle. Merchants were so famous, that one of them built Marfilia, called Marfilias by Strabo, 4 Geog.

*The good and bad are rich at the same rate:
Solid vertue is the best estate)*

Being second to *Thales* onely for *Ethicks*; inferior to none of the seven wise men for *Politicks*, as appears by the *c Tripod of Choor*, that was sent from one wise man to another, till it came to *Solon*; and by his answer to *Anacharsis* (who laughed at his design of bridling mens lusts by Lawes, adding, that like Cobwebs, they would catch onely the little Flies, while great Malefactors brake through them) that his Lawes were such, that his Citizens knew it was more suitable to their interest and inclination to observe, than to transgress them. Whereunto we may adde his familiarity with *Thales* at *Miletum*, where one day wondering that *Thales* would not marry, *Thales* answered not a word, but suborned a stranger to bring *Solon* News of his sons death; which so far transported him with passion and amazement, that *Thales* said smilingly, *The fear of that which perplexeth you after marriage, deterreth me from it. Although a wise man would not neglect the certain comforts of this life for the uncertain fears of it; and Thales was as much subject to grief for his adopted son Cybistus (for it being as natural to love as to live in those times, they borrowed from others objects of love which they had not of their own) as any natural Father for his own child: and the remedy against grief is not to arm our selves with Poverty against our en-*

c Some say this was a golden cup found by the Fishermen of Coos and Miletum, who strived for it untill the Oracle disposed of it for the wisest man.

† Anacharsis wondered why matters were propounded by wise men at Athens, and decided by fools. Vid: Hernippum, qui hanc recitat historiolam, i.e. Pataco Æsopi, æmulum qui jactavit se Æsopi animam habere.

F joyments

joyments, but with reason against our misfortunes.

But his first exploit was the recovery of *Salamina*, thus; the Wars about it having tyred the *Athenians* so far, that they forbade all private claims upon pain of death of that place which had been the occasion of so much public Calamitie; *Solon* ashamed of it, feigns himself mad, and incites the Citizens to a reprisal by an hundred excellent Verses which he pronounced with applause in the Marker-place: And immediately trappning the *Megarians* to a surprize of the *Athenian Ladies* in *Venus* her Temple, where meeting with armed youths in Ladies habits, they were all slain; and sacrificing to *Deriphemus* and *Cicris* the *Salaminian* gods, he embarketh with five hundred men for *Salamina*, takes their Scouts, overthroweth them in a pitch'd field, enters their Haven and Town with a ship of their own; and though that War lasted long, and the controversie was referred to the *Lacedaemonians*, who upon *Homer's* authority, who said that *Salamina* was by *Ajax* and his sons who were free of *Athens*, bestowed upon that City, and upon the agreeable customs of both Cities, especially that of burial with the face Eastward, and being urged by *Solon* and the *Pythian Oracles*, adjudged it for *Athens*, which afterwards

d In memory of *Solon's* entering *Salamina* in a ship of their own, a ship of *Athens* arriveth quietly to the Port of *Salamina* every year, and on a sudden the men rush out to the Temple of *Mars* which *Solon* built upon that occasion. Vide *Hernippum* *Evanthemum* & *Aethinem* *Orat.* cont. *Ctesipho*. * 11. 2. *Phylæus* and *Erisia*, who dwell in *Mileum* and *Brauron*. ** Five in number, viz. *Crilo*, *Lardos*, *Amompharetus*, *Hyclestidas*, *Anaxilas*, and *Chalcides*.

lost it in the time of their own dissensions to the *Megarians*. This exploit for his Countrey was ennobled by another for the gods against the prophane *Cyrrbeans* in the *Amphyctions* war raised by his authority and perswasion, and managed under his conduct: and a third about the *Rebellious Chilonites*, who in *Megacles* his time had taken Sanctuary in *Minerva's* Temple, but were perswaded to appear before the Judges to clear their innocence, holding by a thread tied to the basis of the Image, to maintain their priviledge. The thread breaks, and as if the goddess disowned them, they were all executed, save a few begged by the Governours Lady, whose posterity raised another Faction, which was allayed by *Solon's* authority, who brought the Excommunicates, as they called them, before 300 Judges, and had the persons of those that were alive, and the ashes of those that were dead banished out of the Confines of *Athens*, though the Factions and Discords still remained there, being so many parties as there were people in *Attica*: The Mountaineers against them of the Vale, and the Sea-coast against both; the poor, who were indebted, & so enslaved in their persons and fortunes, against the Rich: a sedition that threatned the Commonwealth, until *Solon's* government, who was neither the riches partner in oppression, nor the poors in their necessity; being unanimously chosen Governour after *Philombrotus* by the rich, because he was not poor; and by the poor, because he was honest; and by all, who now de-

a The Accuser being one *Myron Phleion*.

b The poor were called *Heclemerii*, because they gave six parts of their crops to the rich government. Yea they sold themselves for money, and they used them hardly and inhumanely.

c One of the 7 wise men who lived in Crete, who with Thales was sensible that the Milesians would build a City in the haven of Myntia; and would say, that if the Athenians foresaw what would follow, they would pull down that haven with their teeth.

d So the poor paid that with an hundred Drachma, which they received in 150.

e A Drachma is 7 ob; or 1 s. Mina 3 l. 2 s. 6 d. or 5 l.

spaired of any other expedient by the assistance of devout and knowing c *Epimenides*, who disposed the Citizens to peace by a strict and sober Religion, Peace and Justice; by an even course against the rigour of the rich, and the insolency of the poor; and by this generally applauded, saying, that equality bred no discord: a saying that pleased the rich, to whom he promised a respect of their quality; and the poor, to whom he engaged he would have a respect to their number: though he refused an absolute power, which the Oracle and his friends urged him to by the powerful examples of *Timonidas* of *Negropont*, and *Pittacus* of *Mitelené*, saying, *He might easily get into tyranny, but not so easily out of it*: Yet without respect to the poor, or fear of the rich, he (preserving the government whole) made such alterations as he could persuade the reasonable, and compel the wilful unto, mingling sown with sweet, and force with justice.

1. He insinuated harsh things under pleasant names d, as Prisons he called Houses, &c.
2. He discharged all former debts.
3. He enhanced the Coin, and a pound of silver from 73 e drachmaes to an hundred.
4. Forbad Covenants for mens bodies, and excessive Usury.
5. Removed the Land-marks.
6. And set all the *Athenians* at home and abroad at final liberty: Acts of Grace, these, that though at first neither pleased the rich, whose debts they cancelled, nor the Poor, whose expectation of equality in all things like that of the *Spartans* they satisfied not, and were dis-

paraged

paraged by *Conon*, *Clinius* and *Hipponicus*, who just before the publication of them borrowed a great deal of money, which was discharged by them; yet afterwards when *Solon* had submitted to them himself with the loss of f five Talents that was owed him, and all the people had experience of them, they laying aside their private Interests by common consent, intrusted the wise man with an absolute power, to reform their Laws, and model their government, whose first publique Act was the repeal of *Dracon's* Laws, except that against Murder, written with blood rather than inke, who made death the punishment of the least fault, because it deserved no lesse; and of the greatest, because it could receive no more. His second was an equal distribution of honour and authority among the people, the first rank whereof was g five hundred bushel-men, the second the two hundred bushel-men, and they that could keep a horse: their third was the two hundred bushel-men, and the fourth were Handy-crafts-men called *Thetes*; providing that the rich had the chief power; and the meanest had some, especially in Elections and Appeals of Judgement; which was great satisfaction to the people, and an effectual means for peace; that any man might undertake the poors causes, (it being his opinion, that that City was most happy, where those that receive no wrong are most compassionate of, and helpful to them that do) and that his Lawes should be so dark, that the decision of Controversies should lie in the peoples breasts,

F 3

whom

f Attiq; great talent was 250 l. the lesse 3 l. 2 s. 6 d.

g He reckoned the Citizens according to the bushels of Corn they had, calling 500 bushel-men Pentaco stodiini, and them who kept horses hektemetres.

h They say the Areopagites were set up by Solon, instead of the Epcthes 50 Senators, who were fifty years of age when chosen, & from whom no appeal: to whom Draco appeals. Au: Gel. 2. c. 1.

whom he made Judges. Yet to moderate this supream power of the people, he erected the Court at *h Areopagus* (made up of those who had been Governours) and the Council of 400, made up of them who had born Offices, who should debate matters among themselves before they were proposed to the multitude, who rather encreased than ended Controversies.

Of all *Solon's* Lawes that are to be seen in his Tables, these are most remarkable, viz.

1. The law against Neuters (who in publick dangers consulted a private interest) enjoyning all men in a sedition to be concerned on that side they judged most just.

2. The law for Issue, and against Jealousie, whereby in case of *a* Impotency, the woman was to choose the fairest of her Husbands kindred to get children by.

3. That against Portions and Dowries (that Marriage might not be a bargain, but an act of Love and Pleasure) and against *b* unequal matches, alleaging three ends of Marriage, 1 Love, 2 Pleasure, and 3 Issue.

4. That plausible Law against defaming the dead, those immortal enemies, any where; and the living, in Churches, Theatres, or Courts of Justice, which he punished with five Drachmaes (three whereof was allotted the injured person, and two to the Treasury) no more, because passion is natural; no lesse, because reproach is uncivil.

5. That no lesse obliging Statute about Wills, whereby all men of perfect health and

memory

memory were free, to dispose of their Estates (in case they were childlesse) to their friends as well as to their kindred, with respect to their love and good will, as well as to their relation and necessity; provided nothing was done by force or violence, by art *c* or fraud.

6 That necessary provision against womens excesses in Feasts, Sacrifices, Mourning, and their liberty in walking abroad; enjoyning them their time of walking, their Coach and Torch at night; their *d* half-penny victuals, their two gowns and cubit-bushel onely into the Countrey; forbidding their verses, teares, sacrifices, their tearing themselves, and falling to the graves at Burials, as womanish and weak, upon a penalty to be distrained for by the Women-reformer.

7. That seasonable Statute for *e* Tillage and Improvement of barren *Attica*, punishing those Parents that brought up their children idly, with losse of reverence or maintenance from those children.

not to Husbandry, but Armes. Solon sitting Laws to thiags, rather than things to Laws, finding his City full, and his Countrey barren, taught his people rather Husbandry than war.

8. And the severe Statutes, 1. against Lust, allowing any man to kill the Adulterer, and the Father or Brother to sell the Adulteresse. 2. Punishing a Rape with 100 Drachmes, *i. e.* five pounds. 3. Fornication and procuring, with twenty: unequal punishments for equal faults.

F 4

9. To

c Especially by the persuasions of women.

d i. e. six pence.

e Lycurgus, whose City had no strangers, and whose Countrey was tilled by the Illores, bred up his Citizens

a The impotent man was to eat a quinch with his wife, and to visit her thrice a month. b Dionysius answered his Mother, who would be dispensed with to marry a young boy; I can break the Laws of Sicily, because I am King; but not the Laws of Nature, because I am a man.

f The Atheni-
ans destroyed
their wolves,
because their
Land was pa-
sture, and not
tillage.

9. To this we add his 16th Table of Rules; 100 Drachmes to the common Treasury at *Athens*, and 500 at *Olympus* by the Conquerour: five Drachmes to him that brought a f she-Wolf, and one to him that brought a he- one; the one the price of a Sheep, the other of an Oxe; a bushel of Corn for a Drachme.

10. And 17th of Tribes, whereof four were most eminent: 1. *Ophites*, Souldiers. 2. *Er- gades*, workmen. 3. *Teleantes*, Husbandmen. And 4. the *Egicardes*, Herdsmen.

11. And his Act for water in that dry Coun- trey that had neither springs nor streams, that each Pond should serve for an *Hippicon*, or an half-miles compass onely, unlesse the neigh- bourhood had dug ten yards deep, and could find no water; so dispensing with necessity, and restraining idleness.

12. He ordered the plantation of all trees five foot distance, and of Fig and Olive-trees nine; that each mans pit should be as far from anothers, as it was deep; that Bee-hives should be three hundred foot apart; g that no fruit but Oyle should be exported; that Dogs should be h clogged; that no Strangers should be free of *Athens*, save the banished that were forced from, and Tradesmen that left their own Countrey; and that men should neither refuse when invited, stubbornly, or presume when not invited, sordidly, to come to the publick Feasts.

These and other Laws *Solon* consigned to posterity, engraven in his *two Tables, 1. *Ax- ones*, 2. *Curbes*; obliging the *Thesmoethes* and

g whence those
Informers that
discovered them
who exported
Figs, were cal-
led Sycophan-
tes: see first ta-
ble of *Solon's*
laws.

h with a clog of
four cubits.

* Two tables,
saith A. Crati-
anus the Com-
mical Poet; the
one for the Com-
monwealth, the
other for the
Temples.

and Magistrates by an Oath at the Proclamati- on stone, to observe them themselves, and see them observed by others inviolably, upon pain of a Fine (*viz.* an image of gold as heavy as the offender, to *Apollo* for an hundred years) adding the first account of months which was in the world; which when he had published, to avoid the exception of some against his Lawes, the importunities of others to explain, adde to them, or take from them; which he could not refuse with honour, nor yield to with peace, it being impossible to please all: he retired out of the reach of these clamours and complaints by the *Athenians* leave for ten years in a voyage beyond Sea: First to *Ægypt*, where he studied and conversed with *Psenopis*, and *Sancti-Saitan* the chief i Priests of that place; and thence to *Cyprus*, where he was no- bly entertained by *Philo-Cyprus*, who upon his perswasion removed his City *Epias* from that barren soyl, and with his direction built it in a plot more fruitful, more pleasant, and more safe, and to his honour, called it *Soles*; whence they say (not so agreeably to the course of times and chronology, as to *Solon's* great spirit and publick nature) he went upon *Cræsus* invitation to him to *Sardis*, where not at all daunted with his noble Retinue, his splendid Accoutrements, his rich Treasury, his gawdy Wardrobe and Closet, he let fall such grave Speeches as discovered to the wise the mean- nels of *Cræsus* his minde, and the greatnesse of his own: And being asked by the said King, whether he knew any happier than himself, answered,

i From whom
he had the story
of *Atlantides*,
as *Plato* writ-
teth.

answered, he did, one *Tellus* an *Athenian*, who lived honestly, bred up his children handsomely, and died honourably for his Countrey and himself. The incensed King amazed, and demanding who else? he said, *Cleobis* and *Bion*, two brothers, as loving to each other as respectful of their Mother; who when the Oxen came not time enough, drew her Coach to *Juno's* Temple; and there having sacrificed and feasted, in the midst of their honour & pleasure, died suddenly and peaceably in their beds. The angry Prince replying in passion, *What am I in no order of the blessed?* The wise man neither flattereth nor incenseth, but mildly instructs him, *That a mean was the best estate; and considering the revolutions of things here below, none in the world was happy, but he that is going out of it; Death only that ends our life, beginning our bliss.* Wherewith *Craesus* was rather offended than amended: Inasmuch that *Aesop* being present, told *Solon*, he must either forbear Courts, or please Princes; who replied, *That we must either forbear their Courts, or deal faithfully with their persons.* And *Solon* was dismissed both in displeasure and contempt, untill *Craesus* being taken by *Cyrus*, with his City, and now ready to be burned, cried, *O Solon, Solon!* and *Cyrus* enquiring whether *Solon* was a god or man, he told him his wholsome instruction of the vanity of all temporary happiness (which was an opinion rather than reality) to him, when he sent for him, to flatter, rather than instruct him, together with his cautions concerning a good end, which now too late he

he recollected: whereupon *Cyrus* much wiser than *Craesus*, pitying him, spared and honored him, to *Solon's* great renown, who had the happiness to save the reputation of one of these Kings, and the life of the other; the one owing to him that he was wiser, and the other that he lived longer.

But the wise mans absence having weakened his Laws, and giving way to Factions managed by *Pisistratus* in the Mountains, to whom joining the Handicrafts-men by *Megacles* in the Sea-Coasts, and by *Lycurgus* in the Vallies, who otherwise disagreeing, were unanimous for the alteration of Government, on the ruins whereof each party thought to raise itself; *Solon* returns, and his Age not allowing him to speak and act in full Assemblies, as formerly, he assayed privately to satisfy and accommodate the heads of the Faction secretly, they dissembling their ambition and turbulence, and he his observation of it; and brought them to fair terms, especially *Pisistratus*, who (he always said) were it not for ambition, was an excellent Citizen; the old man allowing himself the pastimes of hearing Tragedies, being willing to learn to his dying day; and blaming *Thespius* for lying in jest, lest others should do it in earnest. *Pisistratus* his ambition breaks forth, for he comes suddenly to the Market-place all bloody, pretending he was wounded for his integrity to the Commonwealth; gathereth the City to him, sets the amazed multitude in an uproare, who upon his fair pretence and Authority, upon

upon *Ariston's* motion, vote him a Guardian numerous as he pleased: *Megacles* and the Rich men flee, the people are confounded, and *Solon* wiser (as he said) to see through the cheat, and more resolved to oppose Tyranny now settling it self then others, told *Pisistratus*, that as *Ulysses* scratched himself to delude his enemies, so he wounded himself to deceive his friends: warned the Citizens to assert their liberty in vain, when all yeild to the present power; and at last throwing down his Arms in the streets, he protested he had done what he could for the liberties of his Native Countrey, and retired from all public-like affairs, to his appartments of ease and pleasure, where he lashed the times with Satyres, answering his friends that asked what he trusted to, that spake so boldly in the Tyrants ears, That he trusted to his Age; untill *Pisistratus* treated him to an approbation of most of his actions, and a part in his Councils, obeying his Laws himself, and enjoying the observation of them to others; in so much that he himself answered modestly at the *Areopagies* Bar, to one of them, where he pleaded his innocence against the charge, rather then his power against the Law, which he rather compleated with a supply of his own, than abrogated; enacting by *Solons* advice a charitable provision for maimed souldiers, and a just one against Idleness, the burden and the trouble of *Athens*, for the improvement of the Countrey and quiet of the City; and *Solon* returning from the Practical Govern-

vern-

vernment of one Commonwealth, to the speculative Idea's of another, begins his *Atlantis* nobly; but oppressed with the multitude of his years, and the greatness of his subject, finished his life before he had half done his incomparable life (leaving it a question, whether posterity are sorry that he did no more, or more pleased that he did so much) the second year of *Pisistratus* his Tyranny; credible Authors relating how his Ashes were scattered up and down *Salamina*, and all confessing that his name is spread over the world.

P u B.

A^o.M.3442,
 or 3461.
 Ant. Christ.
 506.
 Tarquinius
 Superbus of
 Rome, Isa-
 goras of A-
 thens, and
 Histaspis of
 Persia, Con-
 temporaries :
 Pindar, A-
 naxagoras,
 Dionis, and
 Archilochus
 Historians.



VI.

PUBLIUS VALERIUS
PUBLICOLA.

Publius, not more Noble in his name
Valerius, as derived from that emi-
 nent *Valerius*, that reconciled the Sa-
 bine and *Romane* King and interests, than in his
 Surname *Publicola*, which was deserved by
 his publick services, was under the Kings Go-
 vernment as eminent for his noble employ-
 ment, and eloquence in maintenance of Justice,
 as for his Estate courteously laid out in acts of
 Charity; and since the revolt, as famous for
 his resolution in the assertion of the publick
 liberty, as for both: for when *Superbus* had
 by wantonness and Tyranny, especially in that
 unworthy instance of *Lucretia*, rendred not
 only

only his own person, but his Government odi-
 ous, and the people under *Brutus* resolved an
 alteration; he countenanced them with his
 authority, which his Justice had made confi-
 derable in the Senate, and his liberality in the
 City; and though *Brutus* and *Collatinus* were
 preferred before in the Government, as less
 related to, and more exasperated by the Kings
 then himself, so far to his discontent, that the
 people should mistrust him, that he retired un-
 till the Consuls and the Senate thought fit to
 assure themselves of him and others by an
 Oath, he took that Oath before all others,
 to the great satisfaction of the jealous Senate,
 and settlement of the distracted City; and
 more then that, when *Tarquins* Embassadors
 had leave of the Consuls to insinuate their
 Masters promises to the unsettled & unresol-
 ved people, *Valerius* withstood it; and when
 they, under pretence of resigning the King-
 dom, and recovering their Masters Estates, cor-
 rupted the two Noble families of the *Vitelli-*
ans and *Aquilians*, and tied five Senators of
 those houses to them by disparaging *Brutus*,
 by great promises and a strict Oath, sent sup-
 plies to *Tarquin*, concluded how to murder
 the Consuls, and to restore the King at the
Aquilians House: *Valerius* having seconded
Minutius his speech, That the Tyrants goods
 should rather be in their hands to make War
 against him, then in his to make War against
 them; and being advised by one *Vindicius*, who
 had over-heard & observed their Treasonable
 words and actions, and durst no more con-
 ceal

* Brutus or
Collatinus.

ceal it, then he durst reveal it to their * Father or Uncle, of the whole method of the Plot, and securing the man instantly with his train of friends (to whom he gave always access) seized that house, intercepted the Letters, forced the Traytors, after some contest, to the Market-place; and there before the Consuls and the City, charged them, to their own and the whole multitudes amazement. When all were silent, *Brutus* charged his Sons to answer, but in vain; and then laying aside the bowels of a Father, for the impartiality of a Judge, he with a composed and quiet mind, fixed with Virtue, or stupified with sorrow, left his Sons to the Officers Justice, who punished them with that severity, that none had the heart to look on, but their Father, who left his Colleague, and the astonished multitude, to dispose of the rest, who grown confident upon his departure, and the good nature of *Collatinus*, demanded their slave *Vindicius*, and time to answer their charge; which the easie *Collatinus* had granted, had not *Valerius* charged him as *Brutus* had done before with treason, and the multitude with the Traytors; who considering their own danger, *Brutus* his severity, and *Valerius* his arguments (when *Brutus* being sent for, left them to their judgement) cried execution, and voted them to the block.

Whereupon *Collatinus* observing how odious his name, his relation, and his inclination to the Royal family had made him, and giving up his

his charge, *Valerius* was for his integrity and industry in this affair; declared Consul in his stead, whose first act was the encouragement of a *Vindicius* with Manumission, freedom, and a voice in all Elections, and the gratification of the multitude, with the spoils and ruine of the Royal Palaces, and the god *Mars* with *Tarquins* field, when *Tarquin* despairing of his Embassadors Treaties, had recourse to the *Tuscan* Armies, and invaded the *Roman* territories, meeting the Consuls in the holy Fields *Arfia* and *Ajuvia*, where *Arms* and *Brutus* (the one resolved to cut off the Factions head, and the other to dispatch a Tyrants Son) both fell the cruel Prologue to that Tragedy, which was to conclude with a more dreadful Epilogue; both sides fought with equal success and loss, untill a dark tempest, and a darker night parted them; and a voice from heaven that there fell one more of the *Thuscans* than *Romans*, frightened the enemy to a flight; and encouraged the *Romans* to a second onset, where they took five thousand prisoners, with the plunder of the field the last of February, a day as sad for so great an onslaught as 11000 *Romans*, as it was joyful for the overthrow of 15000 *Thuscans*; when *Valerius* Triumphed without envy in his Chariot drawn with four Horse for the Victory he gained; and mourned with applause in a solemn Oration (the *c* first they say *as was no woman besides*, and she allowed Liberty to marry, as was no Vestal besides, *c* Though *Anaximenes* writes, that Funeral-Orations were first instituted by *Solon*).

of that kind among the *Gracians* or *Latines*) for his fellow-Consul he lost.

Yet in vain doth he praise *Brutus*, if he imitate *Tarquinius*, commending the Consul and acting the King, without any partner in Authority, without any measure in his Parade and attendance, no less then Royal in his habitation, as much above other houses in structure, as it was in situation; which his faithful friends, to whom his ear was always open, no sooner intimated to him, than without any noise or discomposure, in one night his stately house that was above the City, was even with the ground; which the people saw to their satisfaction in his noble mind, and grief for so sad a ruine, and rebuilt it, though not so stately, yet as orderly for his convenience and the Cities ornament, where the Temple called *Publicus Vicius* now stands. Neither reforms he only his house, but his Office: laying aside that instrument of terror the Ax.

a upon which occasion he was called *Publicola*.

he *d* submitted the Rods to the sovereign Majesty of the people, at the entrance to their Assembly (whereby he gained more Authority and Love, then he lost power and fear, while the people obeyed him, not onely out of duty but inclination) he allowed every man liberty to choose or be chosen his Colleague; and secured himself and the Government, from private envy or publike danger, by filling up the Senate, now but half full by *Tarquinius* his Tyranny and the late War, by enacting an appeal from the people to the Consuls by making it capital for any to undertake the

Government

Government without the peoples consent; by taking off the Imposts and Customes upon Citizens; by Fining the refractory the price of five *e* Oxen and two Sheep to be divided among the poor; by punishing the aspirers to Government with death by the first hand that discovered them, before they were too strong for the Law; and lastly, by settling the Treasury, and directing the people to choose *f* Questors or Treasurers to manage the Common-stock and expences for War or Peace, to which 130000 persons contributed; and choosing old *Lucretius*, and upon his decease faithful *Horatius*, for his partners; but he desired to crown his Actions by that solemn one of consecrating *Jupiter Capitolinus* his Temple (whose couch of earth, the *Thuscan* Workman had by *Tarquinius* his order, which swelled in baking as bigg as the Furnace, in token (said the Southsayers) of the improvement of that place to which it belonged, and the *Veian* Victor being carried by his Coach-horses in spight of all to Rome, they upon that delivered to the *Romanes*) which honor the Nobles envying *Publicola*, in his absence the people by their instigation conferred upon *Horatius* by Lot, who in the midst of the *g* solemnity was interrupted by *Publicola's* Brother, with the feigned *h* news of

c The price of five Oxen was twenty five shillings, and two Sheep a Groat; for their riches was their cattle rather then their Cowl; whence pecalium an estate, from pecus.
f Two Questors, first *Publius Valerius*, and *Martius Minucius*.

g Feb. 15. new Moon of the month Metagitnion.

h As *Horatius* Son died while he was consecrating the first

Temple, so *Sylla* died in consecrating the second when the first was burned, and the third was destroyed presently after *Vespasians* death, who consecrated it; the foundation of this Temple cost *Tarquin* forty thousand pounds: *Domitians* house was stately. *Horatius* was called *Cocles*, for his only Eye or flat Nose, quasi Cyclops.

G 2

his

his Sons death, that astonished all but the resolved Father, who with a composed spirit went on with the solemnity, wishing them to take care of his burial.

While these things were doing, the noble and courteous *Porfenna* having sent from *Clusium*, first to Treat for *Tarquin*, and then to denounce War; *Publicola* and *Lucretius* were the second time chosen Consuls, who built and inhabited *Sigliura* in that perplexed juncture of affairs, as if they were not concerned in *Porfenna's* preparation, who yet was like to have taken *Rome* (in a hot skirmish before mount *Janiculum* that was taken, where both Consuls were wounded) had not *Horatius* and two other young men made head against the successful and prevailing Barbarians, and singly engaged their Body till the Bridge was broken, and then wounded in the Hip with a *Thuscan* Lance, swimm'd safe over *Tyber*: An incomparable exploit! And rewarded by *Publicola* with a publike Statue, and as much Land and Money as could be Ploughed about by one Husbandman in a dayes time, or spared by all the Citizens in a days expence: And now though a Famine was raging within, and siege close without, and another Army of *Thuscans* laid all desolate abroad, yet *Publicola*, now third time Consul, gathering courage from his dangers, surpriseth *Porfenna*, now sure of the City, who leaves five thousand prisoners on the place; and was no sooner at home, then one *Mutius a Scævola* attempted his person; and because he mistook, burned his

a Or lesibanded
Mutius. Athenodorus Scandun in his book to Octavio, calls him Optigenus,

his hand in his sight, protesting there were three hundred *Romanes* in his Camp as resolved as himself to dispatch him; upon whose words and stern looks the amazed King gave him his Sword, and dismissed him with favor, gaining him with love that he could never have overcome with fear, and freely offered the *Romanes* peace; which *Publicola* looking on *Porfenna* as not so dangerous an enemy as he was an useful friend, concluded with him, referring the cause between the City and *Tarquin* to his arbitration, which *Tarquin* refused; restoring to him his Lands, and exchanging the prisoners; in confirmation whereof, twenty young Lords and Ladies on each side were hostages; among whom was *Clelia* and *Valeria*, who under pretence of washing, led the other R. Gentlewomen over *Tyber* to *Rome*, whence *Publicola* to avoid the least suspicion of jealousy or perfidiousness, immediately dispatched them to *Porfenna*, who at once applauded the *Romanes* faithfulness and the Virgins courage; and not to be beneath them, he nobly broke up his Campe, carrying with him onely his Armes, and leaving his goods and provision to the Commonwealth: wherefore he was honored with an Image in the very Senate of *Rome*.

But new dangers still ennobled *Publicola's* brave conduct (by whose direction and assistance, his brother *Valerius* and *Post. Tubertus* Consuls triumphed after two victories over the *Sabines* with the loss of 13000 of their ene-

d They say Clelia first swam over, and then Valeria, whose Images are seen on Horse-back in the Holy-street.

Vid. Liv. & Diod. Sic.

e whence when they set to sale any Commonwealths goods, they cry Porfenna's goods

f Other doors opened inwards only the Grecians open outward: they signified by this, that he should have benefit by the Common-wealth.

g There were many Monsters born that year, which frightened them.

enemies, and not a man of their own; for which the City built his brother an house on Mount *Palatine*, with the honor of opening outwards; and being Consul the fourth time, he removed the superstitious fears of Rome by Sacrifices to *Pluto* with the *Sybil's* direction, and the restauration of Ancient Games and Feasts; and provided against the joynt-war threatened upon him by the *Sabines* and *Latines*,

1. By fomenting their seditions raised by *Appius Claudius*, a noble, eloquent, but envied man, whom he invited out of the reach of injuries and dangers, with five thousand families of his friends and Allies to *Rome*, where they were entertained with joy, the honor of Freedom, and the allowance of two *Jugera*, i. e. one Acre, one Rood, eleven Pole and sixty nine parts of a Pole for each family; *Appius* himself having twenty five *Jugera*, the honor of a Senator, and so great Authority, that he left behind him the greatest family, that of the *Claudians* in *Rome*.

2. By discovering their design to surprize *Rome*, by an Ambush between it and *Fidena*; and encompassing them with three Squadrons, the first whereof charged their Van-guard, the second their Main-body that lay in Ambush, and the third their Rear, to an utter overthrow and pursuit, to the very Gates of *Fidena*; a victory attributed as much to *Publicola's* prudence, as others were to the gods providence, for which when the brave Consul had triumphed and resigned the

the Government to a successor, he died as honorably as he lived, and he lived as honorably as any man; as his life was a publike good, so his death was a publike sorrow, and his burial a publike care; the City allotting him and his by an express order, a publike burying place in the street *Velia*; all men contributing a Quatraine towards his Funeral, and all women mourning in Black a whole year for him; who lived desired, died lamented, and remained honored for ever.

h His posterity do not bury there, but carrying their Hearse with a Torch thither, remove it again, shewing their modesty and their right at once.

The Parallel.

IF *Solon* was a wise man, *Publicola* was happy, as to whom his saying was more agreeable then to *Tellus*; for *Tellus* neither had any honor or authority himself, nor left any to his posterity; and *Publicola* lived in repute and power, and died the Founder of the noblest families in *Rome*; the one was slain by his enemies, the other died triumphing over his; he died unregarded, this, according to *Solon's* wish, died mourned for a whole year; as *Solon* described a happy man, so *Publicola* lived one; *Solon* said vengeance followed injustice, and *Publicola* was most just, gaining his estate honestly, and disposing of it nobly: *Solon* honored *Publicola's* good Government with good Laws, and *Publicola* honored his Laws with good example. *Solon* erected a Senate, and *Publicola* reformed one; he punished

a The *Publicola's*, the *Metastala's*, and *Valerians*.

Publicola made use of *Solon's* Laws for appeal to the people for choice of Officers.

him that was *convicted* of aspiring to Tyranny, and this him that was but suspected; the one refused and condemned a Kingdom or Royal Power, the other moderated or allayed it: *Solon* and *Publicola* set up Questors or Commissioners of the Revenue, that the good Governors should not be troubled with it, nor the bad Imbezle it. *Solon* began his Government with success, *Valerius* ended it so; one out-lived his constitutions, the other died with them; both equally inclined, though not equally able to do good: he saw his free State yeilding to *c* Tyranny; this saw Tyranny yeilding to his free State. *Valerius* was knowing and valiant, *Solon* was wise; he openly opposed Monarchy, this in *d* a disguise; *Publicola* parted with his *e* Usurpations to secure his right, *Solon* to save *f* his Usurpations lost his right; the one left his City prudently in peace, the other weakly in War with all its neighbors.

g *Distratus*.

d of madness.
e *Porfenna's*
Lands, which he
gave him.
f *Salamina*.



An: Munde
3461, or
3500. *Anre*
Chr. 487,
or 467.

VII.

THEMISTOCLES.

Contemporary with Xerxes King of Persia, Miltiades and Æschylus Athenians, and Jokim High-Priest of the Jews.

Themistocles not so famous for his mean original (being honest *Neocles*, and leud *a* *Abroton's* sonne, whatever *Neander* the faith of his anointing himself at his birth-place *b* *Cynoforgus*, or *Simonides*; of his rebuilding his kindreds Chappel at *c* *Licomedia*) as for his great spirit, being of an active and hot temper; and as his Tutor said, born to *god Hercules*, where Themistocles went to anoint himself and his companions. *e* The Chappel of the Village *Phlyes* burned by the Barbarians.

a *Abroton a*
Thracian, or
Euterpe a
rian, was his
Mother.
b *Cynoforgus,*
a place of exer-
cise dedicated
to the Alien, not

noble

THE

noble Enterprizes, or great mischiefs, being averse to pedantick Arts, and wholly enclined to State-matters; which when his companions played, the hopeful youth debated with himself in set speeches, *pro* and *con*, following not the *d* Masters of Oratory and Philosophy, i. e. of words, but those of solid wisdom, judgment, and policy, particularly *Mnesepbilus*, and answering those Sophisters (that derided him for want of skill in the Arts and Sciences) that though he could not play on an Instrument, yet he could improve a small City to a great one.

That wildnesse which displeased his Mother to an heart-breaking, and his Father to the disinheriting of him, being exchanged by years, converse, and experience, to ambition (notwithstanding his Fathers intimation once upon the Sea-shore to him, that old Governours and Ships were equally neglected) prompted him to government and glory, though in his first attempts he was checked by *Aristides* (that just, sober, and publick-spirited man) his Rival in his Mistressse *Steselaes* love, and in the government, who could no more bear his turbulent and innovating ambition, than the other could endure his stayed and safe moderation: his aspiring nature was so enflamed at *Miltiades* his successse and triumph after the Battle of *Marathon*, that he could neither eat nor sleep til he had perswaded them to a

d Solon set up a sect of Politicians that taught solid matter, to whom succeeded Sophisters, that taught only vain words.

e He would say that a ragged colt would make a good Horse, if well broken.

f He perswaded them to bestow their Mines called Laurian, whose treasures they hitherto divided among themselves, upon a Navy of 100 ships to fight the *Æginetæ*.

with the *Æginetæ* (more dangerous Enemies than the *Persians* or any other they had) which he managed with that successse at Sea, that he discharged their Land-Forces, urging against *Miltiades* g, that they who yielded to each Port in Land-service, might after some discipline and experience command all Greece at Sea.

engaged upon the Land, but left his Lieutenant *Mardonius* rather to bring up his Rear, than to engage the Athenians.

g As it proved in Xerxes his case, who when he saw himself conquered at Sea, never

Although some say *Themistocles* was greedy in gaining, and carelesse in bestowing his state, entertaining Strangers prodigally, sacrificing profusely, hiring the excellent Cittern-man *Epicles* for an hundred pounds to play in his house, that others might ask for it profusely, keeping open house at the *Olympick* games yearly, defraying the charges of a Tragedy in his own praise vaingloriously: Though he spent thus unthriftilly, and griped unworthily, extorting presents with threats, and selling them for money: Though he set up a Table of his own prizes in the Temple, with this inscription, *Themistocles* defrayed the charge, *Phrynicius* made it, *Adimantus* was chief Ruler: though he a mean man, contested in pomp and ostentation with noble *Cymon* to the regret of all Greece; yet was he so far the peoples Darling for his obliging condescension (to call every Citizen by name i) his exact Justice (answering *Simonides* of *Chios* his unjust suit, that he was not a good Poet, if he sung against the rules of Musick; nor he a good Governour, if he

h He threatened *Phylides*, that if he gave him not a colt of one of his breed-Mares, he would make his horse a Trojan horse, i. e. would raise quarrels in it.

i Though it was not told him.

he did any thing against the rules of the Law and his excellent Discipline, whereby he led the Athenians as expert Sea-men as he found them valiant Souldiers) that he banished his Rival Aristides for five years: he bought the eloquent, but weak Epycides from his Generalship; put the Persian Embassadour's Interpreter to death for serving the Barbarians with the Greek tongue; ruined Athmius his Family for endeavouring to corrupt the Grecians with the Barbarians coyn; and reconciled all the Grecian States during the Persian War, wherein he as General secured Arthemisium, the Sea passage to Greece in the Island Eubœa, and Tempes, the Land-passage thither in Thessaly (Boœtia being the Persians) and yielding the supreme authority to the Lacedemonian General Eurybiades, to prevent an unseasonable contest, he reduced the Mutineer Archibates to obedience, and skirmished the barbarous Navy upon the Eubœans I request in their Streight; not for victory (which he durst not yet attempt) but exercise, that his raw Mariners might see its valour and resolution, and not multitude, pomp, and noise that carryed the day: And upon Leonidas his death, and Xerxes his entry to Greece, retires homewards (in vain warning the people as he passed in tables writ to them, to stick to their old friends against their inveterate Enemy that now laid all waste, hoping thereby either to make them faithful to him, or the Persians jealous of them) and draws all the Athenians (as he advised them at first) to Sea (leaving the

k By an Ostracism, so called from voting by throwing in shells.
l Taking his rivals away, & then sending him a Talent to pay his discontented Mariners, who sent him a gift that he should not forsake them.

the City desolate, and the impotent at Troezen) upon an Oracle that (now when Minerva's sign and dragon appeared not, and their sacrifices were not touched, and they were all amazed) bid them save themselves in wooden walls, i. e. Ships, regarding neither the tears nor cries of relations, nor the howling of Dogs or Beasts, nor the dismal face of Athens, recalling all that were banished in this common danger to assist their Countrey with advice and action, particularly Aristides, to satisfie the Athenians, and to prevent his confederacy with the Barbarians.

This floating Athens afraid of their vast enemy that they saw covered both Sea & Land, would have retired to Peloponnesus, where all Greece was encamped, but that Themistocles forced them by a stratagem, when he failed by argument, to fight their numerous enemies in the Straits of Salamina with successe, by whom they had been swallowed up in the main Sea with an overthrow for the Persians being advised by his means that the Grecians were breaking up, and might now easily be cut off, set upon them in the narrow Port, stopped their passage, made necessity their valour, and raised their spirits with the sad choice of either fighting or perishing, to that resolution, that by Themistocles his excellent conduct, the encouragement of flames, songs, and fights seen and heard from the Heavens, and the advantage of a Sea-wind that favoured their shallow vessels as much as it prejudiced the Persians deep ones; and the narrowness of the place, where

m In Arcemissium in Diana Orientals Temple, and the stone that groweth yellow with rubbing.
n Xarlippus his Dog followed him by Sea to Salamina, where he died, and was buried in the place of Dogs.

a Themistocles would say, that he would never be a slave to those things that have no soul, meaning his estate: and that Athens was a Navy of 200 sail, that would grow a Kingdom.
Vid: Herodorus in Urania & Polihym.

b Xerxes had
a 1000 in the
fight.

Themistocles
his stratagem to
fight Xerxes
out of Greece.

c When Eurybi-
ades would beat
him : beat me,
said he, if you
will bear me.

When Eurybi-
ades told The-
mistocles, that
they who left
their games half
plaid, were
whistled at ;
Themistocles
answered, that
they who tarri-
ed till the last,
never won.

where the *Persian Gallies* ran against each other, while the *Grecians* were entire within themselves ; they obtained such a victory, and their Enemies received that overthrow that no Age can parallel ; two hundred small Vessels taking and sinking b six hundred tall ships. And Xerxes being terrified with the news, Themistocles sent to him under hand, that the *Grecians* would cut off his Ship-bridge and passage over the *Hellespont*, run home with his vast Army, leaving *Mardonius* behind him with few men, who hazarded all Greece. Themistocles his prudence was so observable in the management of these affairs, and his Stratagems in his discourses and debates with c Eurybiades and *Aristides*, that all Greece admired, and *Sparta* crowned him, each man next himself upon the Altar allowing Themistocles the chief honour of Policy, as to Eurybiades that of Authority, and the whole Countrey bestowing upon him a Garland, a Chariot, and a guard of three hundred choice Youths to conduct him to *Athens* ; and in the next *Olympick* game, where he was the spectacle rather than the spectator, all Greece left their games and exercises, and gazed on him, the greatest show ; so much to his satisfaction, that he must needs say to his familiar, Now I enjoy the reward of my undertakings. So ambitious was the fond man, that he would of purpose defer his Orders and Dispatches when chosen Admiral, to the very last day he had prescribed him, that the City might at once observe his authority and Dexterity : The one, that so many at- tended

tended him ; the other, that they were so soon dismissed by him. And one day viewing the *Persians* bracelets and gold chains, he bid his Companion take them ; adding, that he was not the Themistocles who was the envy and shame, the honour and glory of Greece, which sheltered under him as under a Palm-tree in foul weather, and deserted him in fair.

Antiphates who despised his low estate, addressed himself to him in his Grandeur, and was dismissed with this repartee, You and I are wise too late. And a *Seriphian* urging, that his Countrey honoured him, rather than he his Countrey ; Themistocles replied, that it was true, He would not have done so much if he had been a *Seriphian*, nor he though he had been an *Athenian*. He compared himself and the other Captains that vied with him for honour, to a working-day, and holy-day, that contested about their service ; and as the holy-day said to the other, that had he not been, there had been no working-day, so Themistocles told his Rivals, Had there been no Themistocles, there had been no Athens for Captains, nor Captains for Athens. And to conclude his smart discourses, one day his boy was over-bold with him, and his Mother ; and he said merrily, his boy was the greatest Potentate in Greece ; for the *Athenians* gave Law to the *Grecians*, and he to the *Athenians* ; and his Wife commanded him, and his Son his Wife. And when another day he was to sell a piece of Land, his humour was, the Cryer should proclaim among

mong other things, that it lay by a good neighbour; and a third time when his Daughter was courted, he preferred the honest before the rich man, because he said, *he had rather have a man without goods, than goods without a man.*

Pass we from what he said, to what he did: As first, he went to *Sparta*, and deluded the *Lacedemonians* with dilatory messages until *Athens* was walled round (contrary to the Articles of the publick Peace) and secured from Enemies abroad, he came home a safe after his cheat upon the *Spartans*, and joyned the haven *Pyrea* to *Athens*, or *Athens* to *Pyrea*, to improve Navigation, and prevent Tyranny at home, where he made shipping *b* and Sea-faring so much the interest of that Free State, notwithstanding *Minerva's* contest about the Protection of it against *Neptune*, that the publick Oratory in his time looked towards the Sea; which when the thirty Tyrants had overthrown their Commonwealth, stood towards the Land; for which action, and his successful speech against the *Lacedemonians* design to promote their own power in the General Council *c* of Greece, by excluding those States from Votes there, which were not included in the League against the Barbarians: *Cymon* was made his Rival in power and honour; the neighbouring *d* Isles, from whom he extorted tribute, were made his enemies: and what with *Timocreon's* satyirical Invectives, he & others notwithstanding his often and nauseated repetition of his service (and his Temple of *Diana Aristobolus*

a He contrived that the Spartan Messengers who came to see whether they built the wall which he denied until it was done, should be stayed till he returned.

b *Minerva* brought an Olive-branch to Athens.

Shipping made the people bold there, and the Nobility cheap.

c Called the Council of the Amphylions.

d He brought 2 gods to compel the Andrians, Love & Fear. And they said they had two goddesses to repel him, Poverty and Impossibility.

Aristobule the good Counsellor in memory of his sage advisors built near his house with his own image hanging in it) at last banished for five years (so dangerous it was to be too eminent in a free State) to *Argos*, where being privy to his fellow-Exiles *Pausanias* his Treason, as he was partner in his discontent, and discovered after his execution by letters that passed between them, he was so persecuted by the *Spartans* (notwithstanding his plausible plea, that it was unlikely that he who always aspired in the Countrey to power, should now conspire against him for slavery) that upon notice that he was to appear before the *Amphyktion*, he fled to *Corpha* a City he had obliged by deciding a controversie between them and the *Corinthians*, twenty Talents to their advantage, besides intercommoning in the Isle *Leucades*, whence he was pursued by the *Spartans* to *Epirus*, who addressed himself to *Admetus*, who was as much incensed against the *Athenians*, as they were against *Themistocles*; and by the intercession of his young son whom he carried after the *Molossians* manner before the Altar to his Father, was religiously and sincerely promised entertainment and protection; whither *Epicrates* conveyed to him his wife and children, whence he removed to *Asia* *f* to meet his Estate, that from 3000, was improved to an hundred thousand Talents transported thither by that noble *Arnians*, who afterward upon *Cymon's* institution died for it: whence courting *Hieron* of Sicily by the way, not his daughter, as *Sesom-*

c It was the Molossians custom to address themselves to their King, with the Prince in their hand, or arm.

f Vide Thucyd. & Theophrast. lib. de regno.

g Lesser Talents,
that is 600 l.

* Artaxerxes
Longimanus,
h Most agreea-
ble to the Chro-
nological table,
if there be any
certainty in
Chronologie.

k When Xerxes
desired him to
expresse his
minde, he told
him, that words
in an unknown
tongue, were

like Arras folded, and therefore desired a yeares time to learn
Tongue, to speak with a King without an Interpreter.

bratus writes, he sayled to *Cuma*, narrowly
(by threatning the Mariner with death at *A-*
thens, for receiving him an Outlaw) mistaking
the *Athenians* that besieged *Naxos*; whence
finding g 200 Talents set upon his head,
and *Ergoteles Pythodorus*, and other Persian
Espials lying in wait for his passage, he fled
to *Aegis* a Town of *Ælia*, from whence he was
by his Host *Nicogenes* in a womans habit safely
(it being not lawfull among the zealous Per-
sians to look upon a woman) conveyed to the
Persian Court (in *Xerxes* his time, says *Dion-*
Clitorus, *Ephoras* and *Heraclides*; in his Son
* time, saith *b Thucydides* and *Charon* of *Lamp-*
sachus) where by either the Concubine of *E-*
retria, or Colonel *Artabanus* his mediation
(having promised to addresse himself to his
Majesty in the reverend and humble way of
Persian Monarchy, than in the free and bold
way of *Greece* a free State) he was nobly en-
tertained by the King, who (when he had dis-
covered himself, related his sufferings, in-
veighed against *Greece*, asked pardon for his
former actions, and demonstrated the service
he had done his Majesty in the time of his
greatest Hostility, by slaying the *Grecians* from
pursuing that victory k he confessed he assisted
them to obtain) was transported with joy at
his coming to a sacrifice and prayer to his gods
Ariminus, that the *Athenians* would banish
all their Worthies, and an out-cry in his sleep

vis. I have *Themistocles* the *Athenian*; and
next morning advising with his Lords, bestow-
ed the two hundred Talents for taking him,
to *Themistocles* for yielding himself an earnest
of his future favour, which after some affronts
from the Souldiers and the multitude, and a
years time given *Themistocles* to learn the Per-
sian Tongue, raised him to such esteem, that
all Acts of Grace passed upon his mediation.
He was the Kings companion in all games, and
his Moderator over the * Magicians; he recon-
ciled him to *Demoratus*, who had incensed his
Majesty with a foolish request for his great
† that for his own little wit; and had *Magnesia*,
Lampsachor, and a *Miuns* bestowed upon him;
and indeed was in such esteem, that a King of
Persia now promiseth him no more favour to a
Minion than *Themistocles* had about *Xerxes*,
that he himself reflecting on his Train and Dis-
tress, said to his children, If we had not been
undone, we had been undone. And (as envy
always attends greatness, that *Epixies* Gover-
nour of high *Phrygia* had murdered him in his
progresse upon the Sea-coasts to discover the
Grecians practices) had not the god's Mother
warned him from the Lyon in the Lyons head
(a Town so called) and he waving that Rode,
escaped the *Pisidian* Assassins, who falling
upon his Carriage, and hanging that after a
little Carriage in the River, were a drying in
stead of his Tents, where they sought his life,
lost their own. At last, after much trouble, he
settled himself at *Magnesia*, where he built a
Temple to *Dindymena* for the warning she

* The Masters of
secret Philoso-
phy.

† As if his hat
would make his
head Royall, or
Joves thunder
make him a god,
as *Mithropau-*
stes told him.
a With *Pergo-*
ta and *Pale-*
ceptia, saith
Nearches and
Phanias.

b To shew his
power among
the Barbarians.

gave him, whereof he made b his daughter
Mnesiptolema Prioreffe, would have sent the
Hyrophora (or the copper Image he made in
Sardis of their fines who stole water when he
was Water-bailly, or surveyor of the Conduity
of Athens) to Athens, but that he feared
the Governour of Lydia who refused it, and
lived in as much honour and plenty as any No-
ble-man of Persia, untill *Aegypts* revolts by
Land, and *Cymon's* invasion by Sea, he was
solicited by Letters from his Majestie to ob-
serve the *Grecians*, and prepare for the War
according to his promise and duty, when he
(now full of honour, and weary of victory,
afraid of *Sinon's* great fortune, and greater
spirit, ashamed to sully the glory of his Tri-
umphs for his Countrey by a Treason against
them; and warily considering that the happy
fate of *Greece* would not let him answer *Xerxes*
his great expectation from him, and *Persia's*
greater) c poysoned himself, consulting ra-
ther his natural Obligation to Athens, than
his injuries from it, choosing rather to dye
a private Exile, than to live a publick Tray-
tor: As it was much nobler to cause his
death by his own hands, than deserve it at
the hands of an Executioner: a Resolution
pernicious to, yet admired by *Xerxes*, who
when he should revenge, rewarded it in his
plentiful favours towards his d hopeful Poste-

c Some say he
drank Bulls
blood; others
say poyson
which kills in
24. hours.

d His three sons
Archeptolis,
Polyeuctus, and Cleopantus, more eminent for Arms, saith Plato
than any thing else. His Grandfather Lysander adopted Diocles: He had
five Daughters, Mnesiptolema married her half-brother Archeptolis.
See Andocydes and Phylarchus concerning him.

rity,

rity, and in the stately e Tombe he erected e Diod. Sic.
for him in the Market-place of Athens (e saith that his
quall to his own greatnesse who made it, and Tombe is hard
Themistocles his worth for whom it was made) by Pyrea an arm
at Magnesia, where after a Sacrifice to the of the Sea,
Gods, and a Feast with his Friend, he in the
sixty fifth year of his Age, after great Com-
mands, and Trusts, and greater Successes,
died, and was buried as renownedly as he
lived, conveying honour to this day to
all that are either of his blood, or but of
his name.

F U E



A.M. 3551,
 or 3572.
 An. Christ.
 373, or 397.



VIII.

FURIUS CAMILLIUS.

Contemporary with Ezra the Jew, Artaxerxes King of Persia, Amyntas King of Macedonia, Isocrates Orator of Greece, Lyfander of Sparta, and Conon of Athens.

OF the many great things Historie hath conveyed to us concerning Camillus, this is most remarkable, that the brave man who Triumphed four times, was five times Dictator, and was always so eminent, that he was called the Co-founder of Rome, yet was never Consul; but declining the odium of a supream Government, (which was now passing from the hated way of two Consuls, to that more popular of six Tribunes) discreetly, and managing all subordi-

Godwyn Ant.
 Rom. Alex.
 Gen. Dier.
 Czl. Rhodig.

nate

The Life of FUR. CAMILLUS.

nate Offices so wisely and warily, that as he acted modestly in joynt authority with others, so he discharged his Offices satisfactorily, gaining all the honor to himself: his first performance was under *Posthumius Tubertus* against the *Aeques* and *Volsi*, where to recover the decaying honor of his Family, he charged the enemy with that forwardness, endured their brunt, and a wound in his thigh, with that resolution; and pursued them with that success, that besides other marks of publike favour, he was made Censor, an honorable trust; ennobled by him with two Acts, the one that the young men should marry the Widows the War had made an act of charity; the other, that Orphans estates should contribute to the War that secured them; an act of necessity, especially in the seven years Siege of the *Veii*, a well furnished and inhabited City of *Etruria*, who had formerly contended with Rome in the Field for Glory and Empire, and shrunk within its own Walls for security, against which *Camillus* being upon the default and miscarriage of other Officers chosen Tribune, whose first undertaking was against their Auxiliaries, the *Falerians* and *Cape-nates*, that made a diversion in *Italy* with success, whence with Victory and resolution he addresseth himself to the siege, and having observed the Oracles direction, touching the

a while the Romanes besieged the Veii, the Lake Albanus overflowed its Banks fearfully, to the terror of all round, when other waters were dried up, about which a Roman and a Veian, as it happeneth in a long siege, disagreeing, the Roman drilled out the Veian, who told the Romanes that they must keep Albanus his waters from the Sea, or they should not conquer their City.

H 4

ama-

amazing overflow of the Lake *Albanus* in the dry Summer, viz. keeping it within its own banks; Secondly, restoring the *Latine* Holidays to their first observation; and being made Dictator himself, with his Horse-general *Cor. Scipio*, he vowed a Temple to the Goddess *Matuta*, upon the happy end of the War, over-threw the foresaid Auxiliaries again in open field; undermined the City and took it by a general assault upon the Walls, while the Miners silently brake in upon the Castle, Temple, and the General at Sacrifice (even while the South-sayer was foretelling the surprize) to the amazement of the whole City, that yeilded it self now after ten years siege, with all its riches, a prey unto the mercy of *Camillus*, who compassionately wept at the spoil and ruine of it, and piously appealed to *Jove*, that the *Veientes* began that War unworthily, which the *Romanes* had ended honorably, deprecated the publike fate that attended this success upon his own person, and where by a fall he received according to his wish a little hurt in exchange for a great fortune; he brought *Juno's* Image according to his Vow to Rome, with her express consent, though it be as dangerous to believe as it is to distrust such miracles which our weak nature cannot judge nor comprehend without danger of the extreame of superstition or contempt; but to check his Prosperity, his over-stately Triumph, in a Chariot drawn with four white Coursers, rather like a God than a Conqueror, begot him envy; and his piety in

b They worship this *Juno*, as they do *Leucothea* looking about the Chambermaid in the Temple, and taking their brothers children in stead of their own.

* *Livy* and *Plutarch* doubt whether the Image spoke by its self or assistants.

taking the tenth of the souldiers spoils for the gods, hatred; for when he had solemnly vowed it, and the Southsayers upon his forgetfulness strictly require it, with his Policy in obstructing the Edict for parting the *Romans* between *Rome* and the *Veii*, foreseeing that to divide was to weaken and endanger them, it raised him many enemies that would be enriched by those spoils and that Law: but the Senate as an accommodation between the gods and people, who had now spent their spoils, voted a mighty cup of Gold, whereunto the women contributed their Jewels (wherefore they were honored with *Funeral-Orations) which was with much danger by tempest and Pyrates conveyed to *Delphos*; and the *Talerians* to prevent all quarrels about the Law of division, declared an open War against *Rome*, for which *Camillus* now the second time Tribune, with five more experienced souldiers, prepares by a siege to their chief well-manned and fortified City, which imploying the people abroad, that they might not rebel at home, as Physicians scatter ill humors, he won by his magnanimity: for when the School-master had betrayed the secure *Talerians* children; and in them the City to *Camillus*, he scorned to owe his conquest to anothers treachery, rather than his own valour, sent the Boys home, whipping the naked Pedant before them, to their sorrowful friends, who amazed with the noble act, yeilded their strong City to the generosity of *Camillus* (now their God their saviour) which would have tyred his power

* First Funeral Orations for women. The Cup was eight talents.

Power (their Embassadors protesting they had rather be theirs who loved Justice above Victory, than their own) with whom for a sum of money by the Senates order, he concluded a peace, at which the souldiers murmured, because they were disappointed of the *Veientis* plunder; and improving their discontents by *Camillus* his opposition to the promoting of the *a* Law of Division; they accused him for embezling the publike goods of the *b* *Thufcans* to his own private use: whereupon consulting his friends and former souldiers, being impatient with his wrong and his Sons death, which they pittied not, happening at the same time, and resolved not to stay a condemnation, though his friends promised to pay his Fine, he left the City, wishing them no more harm then (as *a* *Achilles* did the *Gracians*) that they who now unjustly banished his person, might hereafter have occasion for his service, and they fined him *b* fifteen thousand *Astes*; and not long after (as *honest* men feared; *Julius* the Censors death prognosticated; the voice that bid *Caditrus* and the *Romanes* look for the *Gaules*, foretold, and he wished) the *c* *Gaules* tasting the Vines of Italy by *Arrans* means, who had left his wife to his rich scholar *Lucumno*, and could have not remedy against him, invaded *Tuscany*, over run the Adriatick Coasts, besieged *Clusium*, declared to the *Romanes* (who expostulated with them what wrong the *Clusians* had done them) that they wronged them as the *Albanes* & the *Fidenates* did the *Romanes*; they were

a A law that the common people were very eager for.
b Iron Gates or Brazen.

a See *Achilles* his prayers against the *Gracians* in *Hom.*
i Book *Iliads*.
R. The Embassadors.
b i.e. About sixty *Astes* going to a Ro. penny; being seven or eight pence: a great summe, where there was so little silver.
c *Celts*, who had gone to the Pyrenean hills for habitation.

were few people, and had much Land, and they themselves many and had little; upon *Ambustus* his engagement with the *Gaules* in the *Clusian* Sallies, contrary to the Law of Arms, they march under *Brennus* to the very Walls of *Rome*, demanding Justice against *Ambustus*, whom the *Faciales* would (as their Laws directed them) have delivered up, but the people regarding neither Law nor Religion, made him Tribune, & drew out 40000 men against the Barbarians (who were very civil as they passed) who being raw and unexperienced, dissolute and irreligious, and divided among themselves and in their Commanders, who being of equal power, clashed with one another, and afraid of *Camillus* his doom, durst not command the people, were overthrown eleven miles from *Rome*, upon the Banks of *Allia*, the Summer *b* *Solstice*, called *Aliade* to this hour (where there fell three hundred *Fabii*) a thing as fatal to the *Romanes* as the sixth, the twentieth, the twenty fifth of *August* was to the *Persians* at *Marathon*, *Platias*, *Megala*, and *Naxos*; or *April* to the *Medes* at *Granica*, or the *Carthaginians* in *Cicily*; or *July* to the *Gracians* at *Canon Cheronea*, or *Italy*; or the twentieth of *August* to the *Athenians*, in memory whereof they instituted the Procession of *Iacchus*; although good and evil happen on the same day, for *Athals* and *Pompey* died the same day they were born.

After which Battle, the amazed *Romanes* taking the opportunity of the *Gaules* excesses, now

b That some days are fortunate and unfortunate, though *Heraclitus* reprov'd *Hesiod* for saying so, yet *Plutarch* in his book of *Romane* customs makes it evident.

c Pontifex at that time.

d The Gaules looked upon the silent and majestic Senators as gods, untill one taking Papyrius by the Beard, was knocked by him. See Heraclides Pontius and Aristotle speaking of this War.

e Caninius when Camillus would not be General without a Commission for the Capitol, swam over the River with corks, and the back-side of the Capitol, went in and out to fetch the Commission.

now after their victory, fortified themselves in the Capitol with their holy Relicks, their Vestal fire, the *Palladium*, the *Samotheacian* Images, whither the Veltals fled (towards whom *Albinus* his devotion in taking them to his Care, though his Wife and Children went afoot, is remarkable) the Priests and Senators according to *e Fabius* his direction expected in their *Pontificalibus* and silences in the Market-place the pleasure of the gods, when *Brennus* takes the open and deserted City (not without some jealousy of a stratagem) put the grave Senators, whom he found *d men*, though at first they thought they were gods, to the sword, as they did the whole City; ransacked and razed the whole Town the 360th year after it was built (if there be any certainty in the Records of those troublesome times) maintained the siege against the stout *Romanes* with one part of his Army, and fetched in provision with the other, whom falling into the Champion Countries neer *Ardea*, where *Camillus* sojourned, the *Ardeans* upon his suggestion of the *Gaules* weakness and Barbarousness, surprized in the dead of night, burdened with spoil and drink, with that success that overthrew the *Gaules*, brought all the *Romanes* that escaped upon the *Allian* overthrow to the *Veii* and elsewhere, to *Camillus*, the shame and glory of his Country; whom they with the *Capitolians* consent (*obtained* by a noble adventure of *e Caninius*, on for the Capitol, swam over the River with corks, and the back-side of the Capitol, went in and out to fetch the Commission.

through

through the besiegers Guards) without which the good man would not act, they created now the second time Dictator with universal acclamation and joy, as he was mustering his scattered *Romanes*. The *Gaules* observing the passage *Pontius* made to the Capitol, had taken it, but for the vigilant Geese of *Junio*, and the *f Resolute Manlius*, and the famished *Romanes*, and tyred *Gaules*, had come to a Composition for three thousand pounds in Gold, had not *Camillus* interposed at the City-Gates, protesting that what was done without his consent was invalid, and that *Rome* bought not its peace with Gold, but with Steel; and in the head of two thousand men, among whom he divided the Gold, pursued the *Gaules* to an utter overthrow neer *Gabii*, and returns in triumph to the ruins of his City, now seven *g moneths* in the *Barbarians* hands, which (upon the return of the dispersed Citizens, and their Priests, Jewels, and Estates, after sacrifices and expiations) he (in spite of the seditious *Demagogues*, and the idle people, who would rather inhabit *Veii* than rebuild *Rome*) urging the people with the gods Temples and their Fathers Graves to be now possessed by *Barbarians* or Beasts, with the assistance of the Senate, (now on a suddain resolved by that Guard-word they over-heard, *Let us lay our Arms here, this is a good place*) restored in a years time, promising it a long continuance by the good omen of *Romulus* his *Litnus* or South-laying staffe found in *Mars* his Temple whole

and

f Manlius threw the sleepy Captain down the Rock, and had as far off wheat and a bottle of wine from every man.

g The Gaules came to Rome July 15. and went out Feb. 13.

and entire, now all things else were perished; when yet the *Latines*, the *Volsi* and *Æques* threatened it, yet unseled, untill *Camillus* chosen the third time Dictator upon the Bondmaids warning from a fig-tree of the *Latines* security, surprized them with an assault on one side of them, and a fire on their Wooden Campe, assisted by the wind on the other, and overthrewed by fire and sword their whole body, pursuing his victory to *Æques*, which he reduced; and *Sutrium*, which out of compassion to the poor Citizens, he retook; a City that was nobly won, and carelessly lost in one day: he returned to *Rome* with no less applause than at his first Triumphs, all men admiring his conduct as well as his fortune, and his enemies envying both, particularly *Manlius Capitolinus*, who by popular insinuations and flattery, aspired to a Tyranny, and was followed by the needy and discontented, untill *Q. Capitolinus* secured him, and upon some further practices, *Camillus* notwithstanding his merit and the peoples pity, judged him in the *Petelian Wood* (out of sight of the Capitol, to which he still pointed) and threw him head-long down that Rock, where he had repulsed the *Gauls*, the same place being the Scene of his noble service, and his happy death, razing his house, and forbidding the Senators to dwell in Mount *Capitol*. *Camillus* was now ancient, sick, and fearful to stain his former glories with a defeat, when much against his will being made the sixth time Tribune against the *Preneftians* and *Thufcanes*, he

he notwithstanding his Colleague *Furius* his rashness and overthrow, and his own distempers, recovered the field, pursued the enemies pell-mell to their own borders, rescued *Sutrium*, and revenged its *Romane* inhabitants blood upon the *Thufcanes*, and returned to the Senate with much spoil and more glory; by whom he was commanded (with young *Furius*, whom of five Tribunes he pitched upon) again to reduce the Rebellious *Thufcanes*, whom he found disguizing their design of War, under the employments of Peace, as Ploughings, sowings, &c. and brought to *Rome* to expiate their fault, and do homage for their liberty.

Which Foreign affairs were no sooner settled by him, but he was chosen the fourth time Dictator to suppress *Stoloes* faction that hindred the choice of Consuls (whose Government the City wanted) untill they joyned one Commoner with one Nobleman in that Office; an employment the old man would decline warily, because he must in it either oppress the people who had served under him, or be oppressed himself who had commanded them; but having undertaken it, performed it faithfully, endeavoring to Muster the people on *Mars-hill*, while the *Patricians* chose Consuls, untill being Fined a fifty thousand Drachmes, for fear of a second Banishment, as intollerable to his years, as prejudicial to his reputation, and confined to his own house by a distemper, he resigned his Office, and saw *Stolo* made General of the Army, who

a That is, two thousand five hundred pounds

b i.e. Nine hundred and thirty Acres, twelve Pole, and one hundred and twenty parts of a Pole.

who was head of the Faction, and his severe Law, that none should possess above five hundred *b Jugera*, which he first suffered under himself; in the instant of which dissensions, the *Gaules* again invade their territories, and old *Camillus* now the fifth time Dictator, with his *Leavies* (out of which against the *Gaules*, the Priests were not excepted) hides and fortifieth himself in the Mountains, as if he had fled thither, untill the *Gaules* being sur-charged with the Wines and spoils of the plain (which he suffered them to enjoy without interruption) gave him an opportunity with his *Cuirassiers* (for he first invented the Head-piece and Back-piece, to ward off the *Gaules* great blows) to attack them in confusion and disorder, to their utter overthrow by his soldiers and the Country-people, who were now taught what they could not before believe, that the *Gaules* might be overcome by valour as well as by chance; after which taking in the *Velitres* in his way, he returned to Rome, now in more danger by home-bred broyles, than Foreign Wars, where after a great tumult in the Market-place about *Camillus* (whom the Tribunes sent for by a Sergeant) prayers to the gods, and a Temple vowed to the goddess *Concordia*, the Senate yielded that one Consul should be a Commoner, and chose two, * *Marcus Æmilius* for the Nobility, and *Lucius Sextus* for the people, to whose hands the old Dictator resigned his power and his care for *Concord's* Temple, and the four great Festivals and Sacrifices, with general

* *Æmilius Mammertinus*, saith *Livy*.

general applause and joy; and now ready for his Grave, dyed of the Plague, as generally lamented as he was applauded; whose single Funeral was attended with more tears and sorrow than the whole throng together that died that year.



IX.

P ERICLES.

Contemporary with Zerubbabel who brought the Jews from Babylon, Hytaspes King of Persia, Miltiades of Persia.

AS *Cesar* asked the Ladies that played with Monkeys, whether they had any children; and *Antisthenes* thought *Ischmenius* an idle fellow that was but a good Lutanist; and *Philip* asked his son *Alexander* whether he was not ashamed to sing well: so it being

An: Mundi
3429, or
3500. Ant.
Christ. 519,
or 467.

being below a man to be taken up with the things of sense and pleasure, while he neglected reason, virtue, and those particulars of highest concernment; I thought fit to take me off from more vain objects, by representing to them amiable and endearing virtues, in the continuation of my Lives (which noble spirits no sooner read than imitate) and particularly in my parallel of *Pericles* and *Fabius Maximus*, both equally just and courteous, and careful of the good, as patient under the follies of their Countries.

a who overcame Mardonius in Mygala.

b Clisthenes daughter, who overthrew Pylistratus and his Tyranny.

c Aristotle saith Pythoclistides, who *d* was called nous mind for his insight into things; or because he ascribed the government of the world to a pure and simple mind *e* not to chance. *e* wherefore he was painted with an helmet on, to bide his deformity.

f A Country-man brought a Ram with one horn to Athens, which Lampes the Prognosticator said portended the coalition of the two Factions of Thucydides and Pericles his house into one Tyranny, as it afterwards happened.

a tyranny

a tyranny; and to avoid an Ostracism for his great wealth and interest, he declined the Publique, untill upon *Aristides* his death, and *Themistocles* his banishment, and *Cymon*'s expeditions, he closed with the people, avoided meetings and familiarity *g*, acted by Proxies *h*, kept a private State (never appearing but in matters of great importance) spoke the deepest reason with the smoothest Rhetorick, and gained himself the name *Olympius*, or heavenly, and his discourses the name of Thunder, which he never began without prayers that no vain word escaped him; foresaw things afar off, and would say, a Governour should have clean hands, and clear eyes. And to mention no more, he encouraged the people against the Wars, by this passage in his Funeral Oration upon them who died in the Field, That they were as the gods, immortall; the one, though not seen, living in their worship; and the other, though departed, living in their honour. By which popular practices, especially by bestowing the spoils of Land and money upon the people, with *Demonides* his advice, rewarding them for every thing they did, even seeing Playes, &c. he weakened the *Areopagites* *a* (whereof he was no member, having born no offices) advanced the people *b*, discountenanced the Nobility, and banished a confederate with *Sparta*, *Cymon*, though the wealthiest and most renowned Citizen of *Athens* (who in vain offered his service after an *Areopagite*. *b* Therefore *Thucydides* saith, his government had the appearance of a popular State.

I 2

wards

g He was not seen at any feast but *Euripolemus* his Nephews marriage; looking upon Familiarity and Majesty as inconsistent.

h As *Crytaeus* said, the Athenians reserved the *Salamian Gallies*.

His great Agent was the bold *Ephialtes* who weakened the *Areopagites*, and improved the peoples liberty.

a For a man was first yearly governour, or keeper of the Laws, or King of Sacrifices, or Master of the Wars, and then

* Agatharcas said he quickly drew his pictures; and Xeuxis said, he was glad he was a long time in drawing them.

d Of the tribe of Antioch.

e Phidias was the surveyor of these works, albeit the Temple Parthenon and Hecatompodon the Virgin, and the hundred-foot Temple was built by Callicrates, and the Eleusin Chappel by Coræby, and the great Musick Theatre Odion.

wards against the *Lacedemonians* in *Tangara*, to satisfy jealousy it self of his Integrity, untill their defeat, their shame and fear recalled the noble person by a decree to joyn his successe to *Pericles* valour, who did wonders, but lost the day by *Elpenices* his sisters means (who took off *Pericles* once afore from prosecuting him in a case of Treason referred to him in a Committee) to command in chief by Sea, as *Pericles* did by Land; who upon great *Cymon's* death at *Cyprus*, and bold *Ephialtes* his at *Athens*, not by his contrivance (for he was too noble to be cruel) but *Aristodocus*, had no other Competitor but grave *Thucydides* of *Alopecia* d, *Cymon's* Father-in-law, whom (because he divided the Nobility from the Commonalty by distance of place as well as interest) now the faction was compleated, *Pericles* by such popular Acts, as 1. Festivals and Games. 2. Enlarging their liberties and priviledges. 3. Bestowing *Chersonesus* upon 100 of them, and *Naxos* on 500. 4. Setting out sixty Gallies to employ the poorest for nine months yearly. 5. Disposing them to *Thrace* and *Italy* to awe their Colonies, and prevent Idleness and want, the original of sedition. 6. By taking the common stock of *Greece*, lying at *Delos* for their service in defending against the common Enemy, and expending it upon Theatres, Temples e, and other buildings; upon Wars & Expeditions, to the enriching of every man that either fought

broad

broad, or wrought at home. 7. By a Musick-entertainment added to the *Panathrea*. 8. By raising *Athens* at once to a sudden and a lasting Grandeur, gaining all the people, and exasperated by the Poets slander, of Incest with his Daughter-in-law, and Adultery with *Menippus* his Wife, and Orators invectives of Prodigality and profuseness, and all upon *Thucydides* his suggestion, banished by a publique Act with all his faction, and extorted from the discontented people by his noble and brave carriage, an approbation of all his expences and actions.

Upon whose banishment (the divided City growing to a coalition in one interest, and the cancelled authorities growing to a supream power in one person) *Pericles* checks the slack Reins of Government, reduceth the loose people to obedience by perswasion or force, as he judged most suitable to their temper: (for the Orator, Physitian, and Governours main skill (saith *Plato* in *Ph.* & *Gorgia* & *rep.*) lieth in observing and working upon affections and tempers) aweth the neighbours to alliance, engrosseth all power by Sea and Land for War or Peace; which he managed with that integrity and reputation, with that thrift and care f, that he neither improved his own estate, nor g diminished it, but was his Countreys chief servant for nothing but the honour and satisfaction of the employment, what none could say before him, in that turbulent

g Anaxagoras being slighted by him, said, If you will love the Lamp, you must feed it with Oyle.

f He was so thrifty, that he would sell his gifts by great, and buy viands by retail, so his childrens great discontent.

I §

State

State, fifteen years together: and now being in full power, he contrives a general Assembly of Greece at Athens to scour the Seas, open free Trade, repair the Ruines the Barbarians made, and inflamed his dejected people to noble undertakings, which is abstracted by his Rivals of Sparta; and when that failed, he strengthened *Chersonesus* against the *Thracians*, and bestowed a thousand of his needlesse Citizens there: he surrounded *Peloponnesus* with an hundred sayl, besieged *Acarnania*, overthrew the *Sicyonians*, secured the Coast of Greece, awed the Barbarians; He strenthened *Synope* against the Tyrant with 130 Gallies, and 17000 men, on whom he bestowed the Tyrants Lands: He checked his Citizens fond ambition of War with *Carthage*, *Tuscany*, and *Persia*, and kept under the *Lacedemonians*, lest he should loose their acquists in the pursuit of their hopes, restored the *Phocians* to their charge at *Delphos*, whence they were turned out by the *Lacedemonians*; reduced the revolting *Eubaians*, bought off the *Peloponnesians* by a bribe to *Cleandrides* the corrupt son of a corrupt Father, *Gylippus*, and other Statesmen: planted *Eubæia* with *Athenians*, instead of the rich *Hippobates*, valiant *Hestians*, whom he banished, relieved *Megara*, and made 30 years Truce with Sparta *; he invaded the

* The Poets call her *Decanira*, *Samians*, whether for his Mistress *Aspasia* b Juno a whore, and *Pericles* divorced from *Hipponeus* his wife married her, and would kisse her as he went in or out. h *Aspasia* the *Miletian*, as famous as *Thergalia* the *Ionian* Curtizan, that began the *Mædes* faction. *Pericles* repaired to her, *Socrates*, and *Lyficles*, the *Graffer*, for *Rhetorick* and wisdom: *Lyra* and his brother loved her.

or because they desisted not upon his orders from their War with the *Melissians* about *Frieno*, and referred not the controversie to the *Athenians*; laid aside their Nobility, set up the people, established it a Free State, took an hundred Hostages, men and children; and when those Hostages were stolen away by *Pissuthnes* the *Persian* Lieutenant who would have bought them, he reinforced the War, defeated sixty sayl of *Samia*, with 28 of his own, shut them in their own walls, overthrew their Auxiliaries the *Phœnicians*; and though his Reserve before *Samos* was beaten a, yet he recovered that miscarriage with another victory by Sea against them, by sacking their Town (by *Lame Artemon* b *Periphoretos* his assistance, the first Engineer in the world) razing their walls after nine months siege, taking away their ships, and imposing upon them as great a Tribute as they could bear, and taking Hostages for the payments: In which noble exploits of *Pericles*, it was observed to his reputation, 1. That he was most careful of his Souldiers, buying no victory with danger which might be bestowed upon him by time (being against *Tolmedes* his rash attempt at *Coronea*, where he lost the Battel and himself) saying, That if he had the leading of his Souldiers, they should be immortal. 2. He was above corruption, refusing *Pissuthnes* his ten Talents for the *Samian* Hostages. 3. And so faithful, that the People allowed his accounts in the *Lacedemonian* War, where he bestowed ten Talents in Bribes, never questioning his

a under *Melissus*. See *Plutarch's* book of *Nemexenus*. b *Artemon* called *Periphoretos*, because he was carried about in a chair.

Accounts, or examining his disbursements, and respectful to the Souldiers that died in the War, that besides the Trophy he erected at Nemea, he pronounced their Funeral-Panegyrics, all the Ladies saluting him with Garlands, but Cymon's sister Elpenice, who asking him where he deserved those Garlands, who lost so many Grecians, not against Barbarians, as her brother, but against Grecians, was answered, that when she was old, she should not paint her self.

To this conquest of Samos (to which was added the Dominion of the Sea, which Pericles boasted, saying, Agamemnon was ten years about a barbarous Town, and he but nine months about an Ionian City) he subjoyned the Lacedemonian War, occasioned by the Corinthians complaint, that their Havens were stopped; the Aeginetes Declaration, that their Peace was broken; and the Megarians Remonstrance, that unjust Laws were made against them upon unjust accusations: the Lacedemonians pressing that those Laws might be repealed (and their Ambassadors saying to Pericles, that their Tables might be turned, if as he said they could not be altered) in vain (Pericles being inveterate against both the Lacedemonians and Megarians) sends 60000 Peloponnesians under Archidamus to Attica, whom Pericles c avoiding, over-run Peloponnesus to divert them, laid waste Megaria; and returning to Athens now infested with the Plague, and discontent the cause of it, perswaded the rash Multitude that would needs fight, That erect

a Pericles like a Mariner in a tempest secured the ship, the City, whither the Countrey running in the heat of summer, caused the Plague.

being

being cut might grow again, but men not so. He wept the Athenians to a compassion of Aspasia accused of Bawdery, sent away Anaxagoras condemned for Atheisme, saved Phydias charged with stealing his own picture, and the gold from Pallas her Image; passed his Account with the Prytans or Treasurers; and afterwards upon Conon's motion, before the 1500 Judges. But to prevent all dangers, he fortified the City, divided Aegina among the needy Citizens, manned 150 Sail against the Spartans, to fright them, and ease the City now thronged in the heat of Summer; satisfied the people about the Eclipse at his setting out, that it was but the Earths hiding the Suns face, as his cloak hid his; bore the deprivation of his Command, the peoples fury and ingratitude (upon Cleon and Lucratidas his instigation) the losse of all his relations (save his youngest son Paralus, upon whom he bestowed all the tears he ever shed) the deadly feud between him and his son Xantippus d, to his own and his Families great disgrace, with invincible patience and resolution, untill the Athenians having had woful experience of other Captains, courted him again to the Government, wherein having repealed the Law against Bastards e, and seen his own base son f (for whose sake that Law was repealed, his lawful children being dead) in a capacity to inherit his estate, freedome and name, died of the plague,

d who disclosed all his infirmities, as his dispute, whether the Dart, the Murtherer, or the Master of the Game should die for him that was killed by a Dart in hunting.

e The Law against Bastards, was to remove all strangers, upon which five thousand were shipped away at once. f who was called Pericles; and after he conquered the Peloponnesians, was put to death.

reckoning

g. This he said when the Athenian Noblemen commended his 8 Victories as he was a dying. b Theophrastus in a dispute in his Morals or Charact. whether misfortune or distemper might alter a man so as to alienate him from Vertue & Reason, speaks of Pericles, who shewed some charms the women had tied to his wrists, and said to his friends, You may think I am ill, when I suffer them to tye such baubles to my wrists.



An: Mundi
3628, or
3672. Ante
Chr. 295,
or 320.

X.

FABIUS MAXIMUS.

Contemporary with Alexander the Great, Fergus King of Scotland, Simon the Just High-Priest of the Jews, Theophrastus Aristotles Scholar and Successor.

FAbius Maximus a the fourth of that Family (which oweth its originall to Hercules, and a Nymph) called sometimes Verrucosus, from his want; sometimes Ovculle, from his meeknesse and still temper, (which was thought dulnesse in his youth, but proved stayednesse in his riper years) inured himself to the difficulties of War by hardship, and to the occasions of Peace by eloquence (rather natural than affected; more eloquent for solid

a Some say they were called so à Fodiendo, because they caught.

b As appears
by his Funeral-
Oration yet ex-
tant.

c Borderers up-
on Genua.

d Seen at An-
crim.

* Hannibal
would have bu-
ried Flaminius
honourably, but
could not finde
it.

e He bid the
Consul come to
him without his
rods.

f i. e. 2838 l.
16 l. 13 f. the
number it seems
is holy, being
perfect, the first
odde; and con-
taining in its
self the elements
and principles of all other numbers. g The Greek in the Springs for
that fall between the Calends of March and May.

solid reason *b* than quaint words) both which rendered him so famous, that in his 26th year he triumphed over the *Lycurians* c, and confined them to the Alps; that in his 27th being Consul with *Flaminius*, he satisfied the amazed multitudes about the strange appearances (of Lightning, stones, of Fire, blood Targets *d*, and wheat, and the scrolls where was written, *Mars doth now handle his weapon*) perswaded his colleague to fortifie Rome and its Allies, and weary *Hannibal* with delay (who was a blaze that if you fed it not with fuel, would go out of it self) saw the rash man whose great spirit endured not his sober counsel, slain, and his Army overthrown in the *Thracymen* lake, to the number of 15000 fallen and taken: and himself thereupon by the astonished City for his prudence and resolution made Dictator; who with *Minutius* General of his Horse (having an horse allowed him, which was denyed other Dictators, that they might not desert the foot) taking upon him the estate and majesty of his place to bring get reverence and obedience, consulting the *Sybill*s, and confirming his peoples valour with Religion, the favour and ayd of the gods, by vowing *f* 333 Sesterces *g*, and just as many Roman pence, and a third part over, with one years fruit of their Countrey to them, together with plays and Musick, draws towards *Hannibal*, not to engage, but tyre him, keeping the hills and upper grounds, watching his

motio

motion, (cutting off some of his small Army, and smaller provision) neither at so little distance as to be forced to fight, nor so much as to give him leave to range; which though some, as young *Minutius* for one, thought cowardize; yet *Hannibal* observing it to be a Stratagem to moulder away his men, who dropped daily; and his money, that was now almost spent, marched to and fro to bring him out of his resolution and fastnesse, untill (while *Minutius* and the whole Army jeared, and asked him whether he would lodge his Army in the Clouds; to whom he replied, *He were a coward indeed, if he hazarded the Commonwealth, and quit his own determination, to avoid their censure*) *Hannibal* was by his guides mistaking, his corrupt *Italian*, led to a snare, i. e. *Casilinum* instead of *Casnum*, where *Fabius* surrounded and engaged him, to the loss of eight hundred men, and had overthrown him, had not despair and policy put him upon tying bunches of Reeds or Vines to the Oxens horns he had taken for spoils; and driving them towards the *Romans*, firing their horns and tayls, so that the *Romans* took them for his Army marching towards them, untill the fire heating their flesh, they ran, burned all places as they went, so that in the dead of night the amazed *Romans* thought themselves surprized, drew to a body, yeild the Avenues to the *Carthaginians*, who escaped securely, and forced *Fabius* to a Retreat, which together with *Hannibals* politick favour to his lands, aggravated by *Metellus* and *Minutius*

250 Drach-
maes a man, i.e.

12 l.

b Their reason
for denying that
money was
good, because,
said they, it was
of ill conse-
quence to re-
deem such, who
were so unwor-
thy as to yield
themselves to
the Enemy.

c which was
never done in
Rome before
nor after,
till the Battel of
Cannes.

d In Luc. Mer-
cury comforts
Jupiter, that he
suffered no
wrong, if he
could but dis-
semble.

e Taking the 1.
and 3d. legion
to himself.

f Clapping the
hand on the
thigh, and stri-
king the fore-
head, a sign of
sorrow and in-
dignation.

Minutius, was so resented at Rome, that Fa-
bius being a denied money, was fain
to redeem b the prisoners upon his own
charge; whereunto was added Minutius his
success against one half of Hannibals Army
(while the other foraged abroad) in Fabius his
absence, and against his request and order (he
being called home to sacrifice) which impro-
ved his charge of Cowardize into that of Treason,
in Metellus his Orations and the peoples
clamors; who (upon Fabius urging the ha-
stening of the sacrifices, that he might punish
Minutius, fearing lest Minutius should fare as
Manlius Torquatus his Son did, and dye for
conquering without leave) made him c equal
with Fabius; wherein Fabius borne up by
his own patience, and the Philosophers great
rule d (That an honest and wise man could not be
injured or dishonored) was no otherwise con-
cerned then that the Commonwealth had put
a weapon in a madmans hand, and therefore
hastening to the Campe, and considering how
dangerous it would be to intrust the rash man
with the e power to throw away the whole
Army, he divided it, wishing him not to contend
with him but with the enemy: which Hanni-
bal no sooner perceived, than he laid an am-
bush for Minutius, between him and Fabius, by
which he had provok'd him by some light skir-
mishes to his overthrow, had not Fabius who
saw the Ambuscado and the sight from the
Hill, come in to his rescue. (f clapping his
hands on his thigh, excusing his rashness to his
souldiers, and saying, That Minutius was ru-
ined

ined sooner then he wished; and latter then
himself desired) slain the stragling Numidians
that waited for the Romans flight; overthrew
the Ambuscado, and forced the main Army
with disorder to their Campe (where Hanni-
bal said, Did I not tell you that that cloud that
hovered over us all this while, would fall down
in a tempest?) whereupon Minutius sensible of
his own error and Fabius his service, submit-
ted his person and authority to him, acknow-
ledging him his own and Romes Father, and
saying, Not to err was beyond a man, and
not to take warning by errors, below a wise man;
that he was fitter to obey then command; that
Fabius conquered at once Hannibal and himself,
at once valiantly saved and wisely instructed
him; at which words both embraced each
other, and wept for joy.

But Fabius resigns his authority and his me-
thod to the next Consuls, who followed it until
Terentius Varo (with whom Fabius told P. Æ-
milius he should have more to do then with
Hannibal, for he knoweth not his own weak-
ness, nor Hannibal his own strength) that had
declaimed against delaying the war, as the
Noblemens design to enslave the people, in
the head of eighty eight thousand, upon whom
depended the fate of Rome, contrary to P. Æ-
milius his inclination, who would have fol-
lowed Fabius, but being obnoxious, durst
not displease the people or their darling. Varo
was overthrown at Cannes, where he must
needs despise the enemy g, who viewing them,

g By hanging
out a Coat-Ar-
mour of Scarlet out at his Pavilion,
and

*h Giskon was
Hannibal's
Companion.*

and saying merrily there is not a *h Giskon* among them, to the encouragement of his whole Army, chose two advantages; First, that of the winde, that blew the dust in the *Romans* faces; 2. That of order, putting weakest men in the body, and his strongest in the wings, that when the *Romans* (as they did) broke in upon the main Body, the Wings might turn upon them, as they did, with success, which was improved by the misfortune of *Æmilius* his fall, and all the Souldiers lighting, as if it had been his order; of which accident *Hannibal* said, *I had rather have them so, than bound hand and foot.* Here fell fifty thousand, and *Æmilius* himself: all *Italy* submit, and *Rome* had been *Hannibal's* if he had known how to use a Victory, as well as how to obtain it: When despairing *Italy* now ready to flye, or submit, put themselves once again into *Fabius* his hands, who forbidding their vain sorrow for the dead, raising their dejected spirits, consulting the Oracles, and punishing disorders; receiving *Varo*, (now ashamed of himself) with Honour, because he despaired not of the Commonwealth, and strengthening their Allies, joyed his prudence with *Marcellus* his mettle (he the Sword, as *Possidonius* writes, *Fabius* the Buckler) an excellent temper that preserved that and other Empires. *Marcellus* warrieth him with Skirmishes, and *Fabius* awes him until he decoyed *Marcellus* to his ruine, in the fifth year of his Consulship, as he had *Fabius* too (by counterfeit letters, that *Me-*

rapont

rapont would submit to him) had not the ill-boding bird which he always consulted, warned him from that Toyl, just as he was taking that unsuccessful journey; when to secure himself, he courted his revolted Allies and Cities into their duty, & reduced his apostates by kindness rather than rigor, making them ashamed of the very suspicion of Apostacy, as he did the noble *Marsian*, that for discontent, and the deserving *Lucanian*, that for love withdrew from him, by obliging the one with his observation, and a reward, and the other with his own Sweet-heart, which he bestowed upon him, dissembling both their miscarriages and his own suspicion; it being his rule to break undisciplin'd Natures with patience and gentleness, rather than rigour and severity.

But his most renowned act was retaking *Tarentum* by the Governour's Sweet-heart, whose brother his own Souldier he employed to her, who kissed the *Calabrian* to the treason; and after six dayes siege, a fierce onset being made on the other side of the Town, to draw the Garrison thither, *Fabius* is let in through the amorous *b* Governors Avenue to sack the Town before *Hannibal's* face, being soyled thither by *Fabius* but an hour too late; who said thereupon, that *Rome* had *Hannibal's* too; for as he won, so he lost *Tarentum* for which exploit, and his ballancing *Hannibal's* fine Policies, he triumphed the second time more honourably than he did the first (though *M: Livius* that lost *Tarentum*, would needs in a fit of ambition and envy pre-

K

tend

a Telling him it was his Capt. fault he was not hitherto rewarded, but now it should be his own if he did not open his mind to him.

b For he was within 40 furlongs, i. e. five miles, when it was taken.

tend he was the cause of taking it ; which *Fabius* smartly confessed, saying, *If he had not lost it, he had not won it*) he made *Hannibal* retire, confessing as he always thought, that *Italy* was not to be subdued with his small Army ; saw his sons well-managed *c* Consulship and triumph with joy, and his death *d* with sorrow ; perswaded the City not to trust themselves and their Empire to one mans fortune ; allayed *Scipio's* heat, moderated the *Roman* Counsels about the *Carthaginian* War, insinuating that *Carthage* was not to be invaded, so as *Italy* should not be deserted ; and therefore several times dissuaded *Scipio's* supplies of men and money, in whose greatest prosperities against the *Numidian* Kings and Camps, he bid them beware (a wariness that was thought proceeded from envy, rather than policy or fear ; his courage now failing with his age and strength) than both to engage *Hannibal* before *Carthage*, who had overthrown so many Consuls and Prætors before *Rome* : but the old man, whose advice never failed in his life, died (before *Scipio* had disparaged his cold cautions by a victory over *Hannibal* in open field, and the overthrow of *Carthage*) and as *Epaminondas* in *Thebes*, so he in *Rome* was buried upon the publick charge, not for necessity, but glory, that a virtuous life might close with an honourable death.

c His Son managed the Consulship with such state, that he made his father, who to try him, rode to him on horseback, come to him on foot ; the old man commending him, that he preferred the honour of the Commonwealth before private respects, adding that thereby the Empire stood.

He also rode behind him in triumph, as the first *Fabius* had done before him.

d He charged *Crassus* the High Priest, and *Scipio's* Colleague not to trust him with the expedition to *Carthage* :

He made *Scipio* raise money by his own interest in *Tuscany*, and men in *Sicily* and *Spain*, who was so poor, that he left behind him nothing but a little iron spit or piece of money.

The

The Parallel.

TO compare these great Instances of Civil and Martial vertue ; *Pericles* preserved and secured a flourishing Empire, *Fabius* raised and restored a Collapsed one ; the ones business was onely to improve the conquests of the other *a* Generals to *b* grandeur and glory, the others was to repair their overthrows and desolations to a bare subsistence, although it be no lesse a Master-piece of government to manage the insolencies of a prosperous and intire state, than to provide for the necessities of the low and broken : to check the pride of a flourishing People, was an argument of *PERICLES* large wisdom and resolution ; to bear up against the Cries and Calamities of the Ruined, was the glory of *FABIVS* his constancy and patience : the one's *Tarentum* ballanceth the other's *Samos* ; but *Pericles* his nine Triumphs outweighs *Fabius* his one. *Minutius* his rescue was the honour of his prudence and nobleness, as *Tolmides* his fall was the shame of the others weakness and envy : both eminent for foresight and prevention ; neither too hardy nor too fearful to run into danger, or to lose opportunities. *Fabius* was overseen at *Casilinum*, and *Pericles* before

a *Cymon*, *Leorates*, *Myronides*, & *Tolmides*.

b Of building *Plates*, &c.

K 2

Samos,

c As in Cymon and Thucydides his case, and Minutius compared.
 a In Scipio's case, who had never conquered, if he had bearkned to old Fabius.
 b Buying 247 prisoners, as Livius saith, for ten Talents.

Samos ; the first was resolved for his Country against the *Carthaginians* , the second against the *Lacedemonians* ; the one good natured, the other c implacable.

Pericles overlooked others , *Fabius* had power onely to manage his own trust. He was of so much Authority , that he saw none miscarry in his time ; and this of so little, that he saw none prosper in his time but himself a. *Fabius* nobly disposed of the money given him , *Pericles* as nobly refused it. *Pericles* was too rash, and *Fabius* b too wary, towards the period of their lives.

ALCI



XI.

ALCIBIADES.

Contemporary with Haggai and Zachary the Prophet, and Malachi, Darius Nothus King of Persia, Isocrates and Ctesias.

Alcibiades by his Father *Clinias* (as famous for his Victory at his own cost at *Artemisium* , as for his fall at *Coronea*) descended from *Ajax* , and by his a mother *Dinomacha* of *Alcmaeon* , bred under *Zophyrus* , *Socrates* , *Pericles* and *Ariphron* , was happy for his Beauty and Eloquence, which was much graced by a becoming imperfection, and pretty Lipping in his speech , and observed for his great, bold, and aspiring spirit (for a Boy telling him he bit in wrattling, basely as women : Why not, saith he, as a Ly-

A^o.M.3532,
 or 3572.
 An. Christ.
 416, or 395.

a It's observed that Cnecius and Demosthenes, and other famous mens mothers were not known, though his nurse Amycla the Spartan is recorded.

K 3

on?

on? And a Carter one day driving over his skales, the daring and angry Boy fell flat before the Cart, bidding him drive over him if he durst) but well inclined, which *Socrates* observing, prevented those early impressions which plenty, pleasure, company, vaine hopes, and vainer delights might make upon his soft and tender soul, with those more seasonable of Reason and Virtue, which fixed his loose temper to that firmness and consistency, that abandoning his fond lovers and follies, he stuck to *Socrates* wise counsels and grave

b A poor man sold all he had to bestow on him to requite him, he bids him outbid the Farmers of the Commonwealth revenue, which when he did, his sureties were called for, Alcibiades appeared, whereupon the Farmers gave the man a piece of money to be gone, lest he should spoile their Markets. *c* Thucydides in his sixth Book before he perswaded the war with Sicily.

Lectures (abating some follies of Youth; as, 1. Stealing some of his friend *Anytus* his Plate, who invited him to supper; who was so far from being displeased with him, that he said, *It was kindly done he had left some, when he might have taken all.* 2. His *b* out-bidding the Farmers so much in the Market, that they were glad to give him a Talent to be quiet. 3. Killing *Antiphons* servant in the wrestling place of *Sybbertius*. 4. His humor against Flutes, which he disparaged so (as saying that the *Thebans* who could not speak might Play upon it, but not the *Athenians* whose goddess *Pallas* broke it, and god *Apollo* pulled his skin over his ears that played upon it) that playing upon it *c* is excluded the number of the honest and Liberal Arts. 5. His incontinence. 6. His boxing the School-master that had not an *Homer*, and making him a teacher of men and not boys that corrected it. 7. His saying of *Pericles*, who was busie in preparing his accounts for the Commonwealth, That

That it were better he were busie in reckoning how to make no account at all.) Being his Scholar in peace, and his Companion in war; first at *Potidea*, where *Socrates* rescued him; and at *Delos*, where he relieved *Socrates*, who had him crowned for his own success: when growing in * years, (after his four frolicks, 1. Of his great Dog without a tayl sent about the City, that the people laughing at that Gambal, might (as he said) speak no worse of him. 2. The box in the ear he gave upon a wager to the eminent Citizen *Hipponicus*, and his marriage with his daughter *Hyporetas* upon that jest. 3. His demand of ten Talents more then he had with his wife upon his first child's birth, to fright the old man to declare him Heir-general of his Estate upon the failure of his own issue after his decease. 4. The Divorce sued between him and his excellent Lady before the Judges, before whose faces he took her home; and notwithstanding his former indignities, lived quietly with her to his dying day) he advanced in his designs, aiming at Grandeur and Authority, not so much by his Noble Descent, great Estate, and comprehensive Interest and Alliance, as, 1. By bountiful Largeesses: 2. Well-studied Eloquence: 3. Renowned Feats, (especially at *Olympus*, where his Coaches were so rich, his Horses so swift and eminent, his Prizes so many, that Poets praised him, Cities strived to attend him, as *Lesbos* with Provision, *Chios* with Provender, and *Ephesus* with a Tent: but that the cheat put upon *Diomedes* and the

*His encouragement.

One day when the common people quarrelled about money, he clapped a round sum in their hands, whereat they & he so far rejoiced, that he lost his quail from under his Cloak, which Antiochus recovered, a Seaman whom he loved ever after

e Thucydides mentioneth this Varlet in his eighth book, saying he was killed at Samos.

Archestratus said Greece could not hold two Alcibiades at once.

Argives, in borrowing their Coach in his name for his own use, sullied his former glory) especially by eloquence, wherein he out-did all but brave *Nicias* and hopeful *Pheax* (who discoursed better then he declaimed) who striving for precedency and power, had been all three banished upon *e Hyperbolus* that common Barretors (who was as careless what he said, as what was said of him) suggestion, had not the aspiring rivals joyned interest and got that Ostracism Voted upon *Hyperbolus*, which he designed against them; whereupon *Alcibiades*, meditating pre-eminence, contrived a War with the *Lacedemonians*, 1. By suppressing their friend *Nicias* with the odious imputation of promoting their interest in all counsels and negotiations in time of peace, and favouring their cause and prisoners in time of War. 2. By aggravating the defacing of *Panastium*, to provoke the *Athenians*, and proposing a league to encourage the *Argives* against them. 3. By (his last shift) cajoling the *Spartan* Embassadors, who came with full power to conclude a Peace (by concealing their Commissions, lest the *Athenians* might grow upon them, to enrage them to a War) wherein he being chosen General, removed the War to *Mantineia*, where if the *Spartans* yielded they lost *Sparta*, if they overcame they gained nothing; leagued the *Elians* and *Mantineans* with his own people; relieved *Argos*, and secured their popular Government against the thousand *Athenians* encroachments that were kept in pay there; fortifi-

tified *Patras*, and brought its walls down to the Sea, saying to one that told him *Athens* would devour *Petrus*, that *Athens* might do it by piecemeal, but *Sparta* would do it at once) & strengthened *Athens* by land, minding the young men of their Oath at *Argualos*, that they would secure all manured and tilled lands as their own.

These great undertakings of this quick man were attended with as great faults: superfluous he was in attire, an Epicure in his Diet, wanton and loose in his life; in time of War his care was for a soft bed and *Cupids* picture; in time of peace, *Taureus* must be boxed, *Agatharchus* the Painter must be confined till he had painted his whole house, *Melia* must be his Concubine, and the *Melians* murdered; which yet his eloquence, his beauty, his liberality and his noble Ancestors, excused for youthful pass-temps; and the people checked *Anstophan* as rude, for drawing him in *Nemra* the Curtezans Lap, and laughed at *Timon* * *Misanthropos*, for saying he climbed, but they were undone that followed him: but indeed the peoples opinion of him was as various as his temper.

* The Manhunter.

To enlarge his power, a war is determined against *Sicily*, whither (though *Nicias* dissuaded, though *Socrates* feared, and the Astronomer *Meton* boded ill success to this enterprise) he (being put off his tryal for his prophane Frolicks of mocking *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, and breaking the Images of *Hermes* and *Adonis* (that night the women mourned for *Adonis*) for fear of a Mutiny) he Imbarqueth with

with one hundred and forty Gallies, five thousand one hundred foot, and one thousand three hundred light Arms, and won Carthage, but his design upon the Government, his outrage upon the Images, and prophane adding of the holy mysteries of Proserpina and Ceres in the Priests attire, being charged against him by Thestylus Diocliides and Tuccer, and confessed by Andocides his confederate (upon Timens his advice in compliance with the favour of Athens to save himself) he was sent for to Athens privately (that the Army, more inclined to his active, then to Nicias his dull temper, might not mutiny) and hiding himself in Thuria (saying, He would not trust his mothers own a Bean for his life) till he was condemned (after he had betrayed his Countrymens design upon Medina) he retired first to Argos, and upon despair of restauration, thence to Sparta, where to recompence his former hostility with future services, he engaged all Greece against Athens, assisted Syracuse, fortified Decelia, that check and terror of Attica; and obliged as well the people by his Spartan demeanors, as the Commonwealth by his noble undertakings, suiting his carriage to his habitations: in Sparta none more b temperate and frugal, in Ionia none more excessive and prodigal, in Thracia none more debauched and effeminate, in Persia none more magnificent and sumptuous (the Camelion being not capable of more colours, than his nature of humors and deportments) abroad, none more demure; privately, none

a They cast in Beans for their voyces in that country, the black Bean signifying death, and the white life.

b using brown bread, cold water, and black broth, as Lycurgus instituted.

more wanton. Agis his wife after her husbands moneths absence being with child by him, she c confessed, and he would not deny, saying, That of his seed one should rule in Sparta (though fondly Leotyichides, being upon that count disinherited.)

But Alcibiades having conquered the Athenians at Sicily, and disposed Chios, Lesbos and Samia to a revolt in Greece, obliged the Persians and Boeotians to their relief at Sea: 'twas not more spited by Agis, then envied by the Grandees, by whose order he had been privately dispatched, had he not fled to the Persian Lieutenant Tisiphernes, whom he took with his wit and wisdom, his Craft and rollery, that he called his most pleasant gardens and Walks by his name: broke with the Lacedemonians, favoured the Athenians, managed his Councils of War and Peace by sadvice, in so much that all Greece courted him; and his own people being afraid, lest Tisiphernes might gain the revolted Samoits, notwithstanding Phrinicus his suggestions against him to the Athenians to exasperate them, & the Spartans to injealous them, which Alcibiades by a Aristochus his meanes, with whom Phrynicus corresponded) understanding, and disposing to the Athenians as prejudicial to their interest, improved b to his ruine (for he was murdered by an assassinate, and condemned for Athenians for discovering his design for their service to the Lacedemonians; and he being like to be questioned, added one fault to another; would he betrayed the Athenian Navy to the Spartans, rather then they should be commanded by Alcibiades.

c Calling her child's name among friends Alcibiades, though Leotyichides publicly.

a A Creature of Tisiphernes.

b For he accused him to the

a Traytor) called him home, made him Admiral; with his assistance and *Tisiphernes* his command, suppressed the four hundred Tyrants, saved *Athens*, secured the *Hellepont*, *Ionia*, and the adjoining Isles; diverted *Tisiphernes* and the five hundred Auxiliary-ships from *Sparta* by the *Phœnicians*; and when he had scoured *Cos* and *Gnidas*, beaten *Minandrus* and his *Lacedemonian* Fleet, turned the Scales at the Sea-fight in *Abidos*, escaped *Tisiphernes* his displeasure and confinement (because he had rendered him suspicious to his Master for favouring the *Athenians*) privately prized and overthrown both *Mindarus* the *Spartan*, and *Pharnabazus* the *Persian* in a tempestuous day before *Cizycum*, taken that place, chased *Pharnabazus* with *Thrasyllus* assistance; ennobled his souldiers so far, that they scorned to March with any that had been conquered; spoiled *Pharnabazus* his Country, reduced the revolted *Chalcedonians* and thrown the *Lacedemonians* and *Persians* upon *Hippocrates* and *Pharnabazus*, who succoured them; c taken in *Selybera* upon Articles of peace and a sum of money, which he carried, and *Chalcedon*; made peace with *Pharnabazus*, and by a confederacie with *Anaxilaus* and *Lycurgus*, surprized *Byzantium* (driving off from it at noon-day, and setting on fire the Havens by his Gallies, & the Walls by his souldiers at the same time in the night) when, if he had compounded for his miscarriages these atchievements (whereof the first at *Abidos* was remarkable, 1. For that the *Lacedemonians*,

c It was betrayed to him; and when he with thirty men went in upon the signal bearing the City in Armes, he proclaimed by sound of Trumpet, that the *Seliberians* should not fight the *Athenians*, who glad of peace submitted.

monians, against whom he fought, took him for their friend; and the *Athenians*, for whom he fought, for their enemy. 2. That he came to the middest of the fight. 3. For that he jealousd the King of *Persia* and his Lieutenant. The second at *Cyzicum*. 1. For his way of encouraging his souldiers by an Oration. 2. Drawing the enemy to engage a forlorn Hope, while his main strength lay in Ambush. The third in *Pharnabazus* his country for his civility in sparing the Priests and holy Virgins. The fourth at *Selibera* for his ready and present shift when he was like to be taken with his thirty men in founding the trumpet, and forbidding Wars with the *Athenians*. The fifth at *Byzantium*, for his stratagem; and the 6 Reasons wherewith he brought off *Anaxilaus* for surrendring the place) he returns as welcomed as safely, as honorable as spoil, glory, triumphs, and as secure of former fears, as a general entertainment of his friends that met him at *Brea* before he would land; of the multitude, that crowned and applauded him at *Athens* (the old folks shewing him to the young, and all admiring him) could make him; where after a solemn Oration of his own hard fortune and the Commonwealths; the advantages given to enemies to weaken them by land, and to discharge them from commanding the Sea, of the loss of *Sicily*, and former disasters, together with great encouragements for the future; the decree passed for his restoration to his Estate and honor, for his absolution from the public like

d 1. Reason because provision failed: The second was because the City was spared and secured: The third was that *Anaxilaus* was no *Byzantine*.

c *Enmolpides*.

f 25. September feast Phyn-
teria or wash-
ing day, in ho-
nor of Minerva
called Praxier-
gides.

g Therefore
Lyfander gave
his Lacedemo-
nian fouldiers
four obols a
day, when Alci-
biades could
give his but
three.

like Curses by the e Priests and Heralds ; and he was made Captain-General of all the *Athenian* forces by Sea and by Land ; by virtue of which power (notwithstanding some previous mens observation of the unfortunate-
ness of the f day he landed , and the goddess *Minerva* hiding her self upon his return) he (after he had secured the proecess to *Eleusin* , now difused for fear of the *Lacedemonians* at *Decilia* , and so rendred him self acceptable to the gods by Religious observances , as he had done to the people by his brave conduct , and obliging behaviour) set out an hundred Gallies against *Andros* and the *Lacedemonians* there , whom he overcame ; but for want of money (which the *Lacedemonians* g were furnished with from *Per-
sia*) he could not take the place , being bound for *Caria* to recruit his Army , leaving rather *Antiochus* General in his absence (with a charge not to engage) who yet provoked the enemy to a fight , that cost *Athens* fourty Ships , and fifteen hundred men ; whereupon *Alcibiades* being charged by *Thrafsybulus* for neglecting his charge at *Andros* , and deserting it at *Ephesus* ; for fortifying a retyring place at *Thrace* and entertaining Curtizans upon the publick money he scraped up and down the *Attique* Isles , and discharged from his trust which was committed to *Tydeus* , *Menander* and *Adimantus* , and retired for fear of worse with fortifragling forces towards *Thrace* , with the conquest whereof he enriched himself and his fouldiers to a capacity to secure those Coasts from

all invasions ; whence sailing abroad , he observed the *Athenians* general disorder , their ill station and worse discipline , and in vain directed them , who within a few days at *Caprea* lost 192 Ships to *Lyfander* , and next day the City of *Athens* it self , whose Walls were razed , Government altered , freedom lost , and power committed to thirty Tyrants ; In the mean while *Alcibiades* fearing the *Spartan* power now prevailing by Sea and Land , fled with his estate from *Thrace* to *Bythinia* , and thence (by *Artabazans* mediation) as *Themistocles* had done formerly , to the King of *Persia* , where he lived honored by *Artaxerxes* , bewailed and lamented by the *Athenians* , feared by the *Lacedemonians* , by whose order , *Lyfanders* Negotiation , and *Artabazus* treachery , his house in *Phrygia* was set on fire , and himself escaping out of it , murdered by the Assassins *Magens* and *Susamithres* , *Artabazans* kinsmen , according to his Dream of *Magens* and *Timandra* 's Cloaths , who buried him as richly as a common Curtezian could ; though others say he died by private hands in revenge of his abuse of a young Lady : however he made a miserable end of a troublesome life.

M. COR-

A.M. 3503,
or 3461.
Ant. Christ.
538, or 467.



XII.

MARTIUS CORIOLANUS.

Contemporary with Ahasuerus, or Xerxes King of Persia, Aristides of Athens, Joiakim High Priest of the Jews, Hellanicus and Herodotus Historians.

C. Martius Coriolanus (descended of that noble family whence Ancus Martius the King, Pub. and Quintus Martii, the first Conduit-makers, and Censorinus that was twice Censor, and enacted a Law that none should be so any more, came) was bred an Orphan under his mother Volturna, (noble natures do well under any tuition) and being by his great Spirit inclined rather to Arms and Prowesse, then to Courtship or Civility, to Learning or ingenuity, whereto he

inured

The Life of M CORIOLANUS.

inured himself by exercise, hardship and resolution, that as he overcame all Romanes at running, wrestling, &c. so upon King Tarquins attempt for his restoration he saved one, killing the enemy before the Dictators face, who for saving a Citizen, bestowed on him an a Oaken Garland, which he wore not so much as a reward of former services, as an encouragement for future, whence he never returned without a mark of honor; his great actions and greater applause not abating in weaker men, but improving his ambition for greater, to his b Mothers great comfort, whose satisfaction was the crown of his as of Epaminondas his enterprizes.

For when he was married and grown famous for his valour and success, when the people mutined at Rome for their creditors oppression, contrary to the Patricians promise in the Sabine War; and the Volsci invaded Italy upon that opportunity, in the amazed Counsels Martius was resolute for checking the peoples insolence which he said tended to Anarchy, and engaging the Volsci; and when Menenius Agrippa had by his fable of the belly and members satisfied the discontented multitude, that though the people wrought, yet the nobility contrived and advised for the common good. Junius Brutus and Sicinius Velatus being chosen Tribunes, Martius exhorted the Nobility to exceed the people as much in prowesse as they did in place, and under Cominius the Consul besieged Coriola, and while he engaged the succors

L

that

a Either in his
or of the Ar-
cadians, who
were by the O-
racle called A-
corn-eaters, or
of Jupiter
whose tree it
was, or because
it was common,
or in memory of
mans first meat,
which was A-
corns and wild
honey.
b who professed
himself most
happy that his
father and mo-
ther saw the
battle at Lieue-
tres.
Vid. Dional.
1. R. Ant. He-
rodotum 1. 8.

that came from the adjacent Countries, and the remaining Romans were over-Powered by the Coriolans brave *Cajus* (with *Cato* two qualifications for a General, a strong voice and stern countenance) rallieth the disordered Companies, pursues the enemies to the Gates, and with incredible activity and valour gets in with them, takes the City, and leaving it to the spoil and care of two Regiments, succoureth the Consul, engageth the enemies strongest body the *Antiates*; and after the souldiers made their wills, and prepared themselves for the main Battel, unweiriedly pressed upon the main body, overthrew and pursued it to a complete victory, after which the Consul extolled him with a Panegyrick, rewarded him with an horse of War richly accoutred, and the tenth of the spoil, though the modest man waved the one and declined the other, as contented with the peoples acclamation, his own satisfaction, the freedom of his old Host, and the great c name

c The Romans and Græcians had first proper names, secondly surnames of families, thirdly additional names from exploits, as *Soter* Saviour; *ver-tue*, as *Euergetes*; for happiness, as *Eudæmon*; from some accident, as *Claudius lame*, as *Rufus red*, *Posthumus*, &c.

But as an allay to this success, the people enraged with the famine that attended the late War, and stirred up by the seditious (notwithstanding *Martius* his expedient of lifting the discontented against the *Volsi*, and venting the worse humors into the *Velitres* City, that petitioned Rome for inhabitants after its late plague, which the two seditious Tribunes *Scinius* and *Brutus* decryed as new inventions of misery rather than remedies) mutined, untill he compelled some of them to inhabit that

desolate place, and led others to a successful undertaking against the *Volsi* and *Antiates*, whence when he and his followers returned laden with spoils and honor, to the great regret of the people that stayed at home, the envy of those that opposed his enterprize, and his own renown, and as the custom was, appeared in the Market-place with his poor Gowns and many wounds (in seventeen years service of his Country) for the Consulship (for a Banquets and money was not then the price of Authority) which (because he favoured the Nobility, and was countenanced by the Senate) the people otherwise well-affected towards him and his service refused him, and when he incensed with this repulse (which his great and unruly spirit could not brook, as an affront, not onely to himself, but to all the Nobility) and encouraged by multitudes that flocked about their abused Leader and General upon the dole of Corn come from *Sicily* and *Italy* to appease the rabble, advised the curbing of their insolency rather than the satisfying of their humor, was summoned by the Tribunes (whose Office he would have abolished) and upon a tumult of the b people, first by Sergeants, and then by the Tribunes and *Ædiles* themselves (notwithstanding that the major part of the City stood by him, the Patricians rescued him) arrested, and first, for endeavoring to alter the Government from a Free State to a Monarchy. 2. For disobeying authority. 3. For abusing the *Ædiles*. 4. For occasioning a Civil War, after a bold Plea for

a Anytus the son of *Anthemion* was the first that seduced the Judges with money, about the end of the Peloponnesians war; but bribery in Rome was not known five hundred years after that City was built.

b who were provoked by his speech against selling the Corn cheap to humor the people, now grown insolent,

c The assembly met every ninth day, called Nundinae.
d But the Nobility were divided: some, as Appius Claudius, advised the restraint of the people, lest they should overthrow all others; advised that they should have a full power entrusted them, to remove their jealousy of the Patricians.

Coriolanus.

himself, sentenced by the stout Tribune Sicinius to dye; but upon the Noblemens exhortation for the brave man, and to prevent an uproar, he had the third day of the next Session to answer for himself, when (though the War with the Antiates in the meantime promised his release, yet after a peace with that people) in spite of the Nobility who consulted his safety as their own, after he had cleared himself from the accusation about aspiring the Kingdom, he was for obstructing an equal distribution of the Corn of Sicily, and the spoils of the Antiates, by three voices banished, as much to the peoples joy, whose power was by this sentence advanced above the Nobility, as the Senates grief, whose authority was thereby made liable to the people; but the resolved man himself (his anger being above his grief, and his thoughts of revenge above his sense of misfortune) dismissing and cheering up his sorrowful relations and friends, went away contentedly with two or three friends, first to his Country-houses, then to the Volsci, where discovering himself to the King Tullus Aufidius (equally Romes and his great enemy) he could not deny his former services against that King and his Country, which his name confessed, but promised his future for them, adding a resolution to serve them or to dye; a resolution the King acknowledged as an honor to his Country, entertaining the exile most honorably, untill (the divisions between the Nobility and the people increasing, the Priests

and Southsayers Prognosticating, great wonders appearing; f Titus Latinus dreaming of the poor slave that was whipped at the Procession to death, and wonderfully raised from his sick bed himself; (the City being amazed, and the Volsci by Martius his Craft upon a solemn Festival by proclamation commanded out of Rome before Sun-set) Tullus and he had a fair opportunity of War with the Romans, which the provoked Volsci under Tullus and him (now as faithful to them as he had been against them) now very strong and rich, cheerfully undertook, first Garrisoning their Frontier Towns, and (upon the Romanes answer that seeing the Volsci were the first in the field, they would be last) invaded Italy with some light-horse, who returning home laden with Plunder and Victory, encouraged the whole Army to draw towards Cercees and Latinium, which together with the Tolerinians, Vicinians, Pedanians and Bolanians (while the Romans neglected these poor Allies, being divided among themselves (the people charging the Nobility with Treason in corresponding with Martius, and the Nobility charging them with rashness in banishing him) they subdued and ransacked as they did Boles, where he put every man to the sword; with the spoils whereof and their success, they were were so flushed, that they advanced towards Rome, where the Consuls now going out of their Office, were unwilling to lead, and the malecontents as unwilling to follow; and instead of ingaging Martius, who they heard besieged

f Titus Latinus dreamed the gods were angry because a Fidler danced before a Procession, and as soon as he told this dream to the Senate out of his couch being lame, his limbs were restored; and the Senate enquiring who this Fidler should be, thought upon this poor slave, whereupon as they do upon the least miscarriage, they began the Procession again, being very strict in their devotion, according to Numa's hoc agite.

their gods and their Ancestors at *Lavinium*, the people that banished voted him home, though the Senate who favoured him, to cross the people, or loath he should be restored by their favour, or angry that he had revenged the fault of few upon all, contradicted: whereupon the stomackful exile being lodged at the Ditches *Chulia*, within fourty furlongs of the City, the dissention is pacified, the publike fears swallowed up the private differences; the women run up and down, the Temples are full of prayers, and the streets of cries; the young people are astonished, the old weep, and the general vote ordereth Embassadors to invite home *Martius*, who after expostulations about his own banishment, and a demand of the *Volsces* Lands and Cities, gave the Embassadors thirty dayes time to consult with their Masters, and requiring restitution as General of the *Volsci*, and advising the *Romanes* as Citizens of *Rome*, he marcheth on untill other Embassadors beseech him to stay his proceeding while the Senate had debated his overtures, and upon the miscarriage the Priests and Southsayers conjure him to peace; and when all failed, his own mother upon a *Valeria's* request, and absence of the publike calamity with his Wife and children, accost him (with looks and habits suitable to the publike calamity) with doleful expressions of that War which must either undo him her Son, or ruine his Country, requesting him not to betray the *Volsci*, but to pitch upon such an expedient as may

secure

secure their right and save his own Country; and upon his silence charging him with his unnatural revenge and ingratitude, yet falling on her knees: whereupon *Martius* confessed himself conquered, and dislodged his Arms, to the universal joy of *Rome*, whose Watches ceased, Temples were opened, and inhabitants crowned; whose Senate bid the Ladies make their own request, and upon their desires built *Fortunas* Temple for women, whose Image said to the Ladies at whose charge it was erected, *Ye have devoutly offered me up*: which (though *c* we believe all things possible to the gods) we take to be a fancy and imagination, confessing that Images may sweat or make a noise by reason of an inward moisture, or hollowness and separation, yet we know they can neither weep nor speak.

But *Coriolanus* returning to *Antium*, was charged by *Tullus*, who envied his success for betraying his trust; and when he resigning his power into the hands that bestowed it upon him, would have answered for himself in the Marketplace, where many honored his valour, and most pittied his misfortune, they of the conspiracy fell upon him and murdered him, fearing the influence of his desert and eloquence, to the great grief of the whole Nation, who buried him *d* honorably, and missed him dearly when they were infested by the *Eques* and subdued by the *Romanes*, who were contented his relations, who could not enjoy him while alive, to mourn the ten months accustomed for him now dead.

L 4

The

b Volturnia
and her daughter
in Law.

c Heraclitus
saith, The actions
of the gods
are unknown
for want of
saith.

d They erected
him a Tomb, and
adorned it with
Armes and
spoils.

a V. Publicola's Sister.

The Parallel.

BOTH these Worthies were valiant, both wise; *Alcibiades* was hated by the Nobility, because popular; *Coriolanus* by the people, because Noble; and both complained of, because severe. *Alcibiades* did not well to flatter and cajole the people, nor *Coriolanus* to oppress them; the one was subtle and malicious, the other was good natured and honest. *Alcibiades* his greatest fault was, that he deceived the *Lacedemonians* into a War with *Athens*; and *Martius* his most eminent failure was, that he deluded the *Volsi* to a War with the *Romans*: both had success at their devotion, both for and against their Country, victory being always of their side; both revengeful, both spiteful, recompensing private wrongs with publike calamities: but *Martius* was implacable; for *Alcibiades* upon overtures of peace and accommodation *b* desisted his enterprize, but *Coriolanus* proceeded; he *c* as *Aristides* before, consulted his Countries well-fare in banishment, but this its ruine; the *Volsi* honored and employed *Coriolanus*, the *Lacedemonians* neglected *Alcibiades*; the first could not return home in honor, the other was forced to return for safety to *Tisphernes* at least: *d* the one covered money unlawfully and spent prodigally, the other refused it nobly and lived thriftily, and he was therefore the

b He told the Athenians wherein they did amiss.
c To Themistocles.

d Alcibiades.

the more hated, because what he did against the people about debts, &c. was not out of corruption but spight. *Alcibiades* his Vertues smoothed by education, were plausible and obliging, *Martius* his rough and displeasing; wherefore he was refused trust and authority, after all his service for his Country, when the other was courted to both, after all his Frolicks against it. *Alcibiades* was most eminent when he served his Country, *Martius* was most renowned against it: the one *c* *Alcibiades* bore up against all accusations, the other sunk under them; *Alcibiades* won the people, as *Aristides*, *Metellus* and *Epaminondas*, by yeilding to them; *Martius* lost them by resisting them and neglecting their favours; his high spirit was the reason of his fall, and he was undone because he was a man subject to infirmities, and a proud man not sensible of them; he did well that he did not humor, but ill that he provoked the people: he that is not so exact as to please, must be so affable as to oblige; *Rome* afforded not a man of a more unspotted integrity than *Coriolanus*, nor *Greece* a verier Knave then *Alcibiades*: none looser then the one, none stricter then the other.

PAULUS



A^o.M.3760.
Ant. (brist.
188, or 221.



XIII.

PAULUS ÆMILIUS.

*Contemporary with Antiochus King of Assyria,
with Ptolemy King of Egypt, Theresy King
of Scotland, Judas Macchabeus, Plantus, Te-
rence.*

I Go on with these HEROES lives with
no lesse pleasure to my self, than pro-
fit to others : while conversing with these
excellent personages , I am at once invited to
write their Lives , and inclined to live them,
and none more than *Paulus Aemilius* , whose
Father *L. Aemilius* , it's a question whether
he was more eminent in his Original from
the wise and *a* eloquent *Pythagoras* *b* , or
milius from *numia* a fair Speech. *b* He lived in Numa's time,

more

more renowned for his fall at *Cannæ* ; or *c* where he who
more illustrious in his Family , which was al- *disswaded that*
ways *Patrician* ; or happy in his son *Paulus* his *engagement,*
birth , who found and made the age famous *fought to the*
for glory and vertue ; for he followed not the *last, as his sel-*
beaten , but low way to greatnesse, by fawn- *low consul, who*
ing Courtship, pragmatick or smooth O- *rashly undertook*
ratory, but chose that more noble, by valour *it, fled first.*
and integrity ; (not that he was incapable of,
but that he was above those vulgar Arts)
wherein he was so famous above his years,
that he was chosen *Ædile* before twelve Com-
petitors that were all afterwards Consuls, and
afterwards discharged his Augures place with
that observance of Divine Institutions , with
that reverence in divine offices , with that
judgement, diligence and care, that the place
which was before thought but a title of ho-
nour , was since judged an office of Trust,
being no lesse strict in his ceremonious obser-
vances, than he was severe in his Martial dis-
cipline (for his maxime was, *That the smallest*
fault overthroweth the Institution as effectually as
a greater) always first overcoming the unruli-
nesse of his Souldiers to rule and obedience,
and then his Enemies hostility to peace and
submission ; whereby, when Prætor in *Spain*,
as he had , so he deserved honour of a Con-
sul *a* , by gaining two Battles, slaying thirty
thousand of his Enemies , taking two hundred
and fifty Cities , and reducing the whole
Countrey to Homage and Fealty, not so much
by fortune, as skill, in taking *b* and managing
advantages of Victory , whence he returned
with

a He had 12
Axes carried
before him,
whereas a Præ-
tor hath but six.
b He took the
advantage of a
passage over a
River.

with honour, but not riches (being too noble to be covetous) as he did from all his noble Enterprizes, inasmuch as at his death he had hardly estate enough to make a Joynture for his second Wife (being divorced from Papyria his first, a handsome and good woman; but (as he said to those that asked him, why he dismissed so beautiful a woman) a man may have an handsom pair of shooes, and his neighbour not know where they wring him.)

The Ligurians that lived under the Alps infected the Romans by Land, and prejudiced their Trade by Sea, till Paulus with eight thousand men, discomfited forty thousand of them; and upon their yielding up their Prisoners and Ships, dismantling their Towns, left them in peace with, and subjection to the Romans, and their Bulwark against the Gauls, which was the most notable passage of his first Consulship — which he had no sooner discharged, being refused the second, he retired to serve the gods, & bring up his children for whom he had provided Masters in every Art, Science, and Exercise, overseeing them himself, as far as his greater occasions permitted him: — untill Perseus his successe against the Romans, who having not long before sined and confined Antiochus in Asia, * forced Philip out of Greece, and brave Hannibal out of Italy, were ashamed of their tedious War with Perseus, a poor, weak, and despicable Bastard, the heir of his Father Philips marriage, and he Demetrius, and he Gonatos, and he Philip the lesse, and he Antigonus 2d. and he Philip: and he killing his Son Demetrius, this Perseus who was a Taylors son of Aggos was adopted.

lice rather than of his Kingdome. Licinius his overthrow at f Orem, Hostilius his repulse at Enliamia, and the confederacy of the Gauls and Illyrians, called for an experienced, resolute, and powerful man, an Æmilins, who being invited to the Consulship, refused it, saying, He was not fit to desire or accept so great a charge, untill the peoples importunity, and his Countreys danger prevailed with him: and being designed for Macedon (when his little daughter Tertia tells him, their Dog Perseus was dead, a good Omen saith he) he according to the custome made a Speech; That before he had sued for a Consulship for his own honour, and was refused it; and now he was offered it for their safety, he thanked them not for it, but wished them if they knew any, to pitch upon a more expert person; if not, that they should obey as cheerfully as they chose him to command; and not as formerly, all command, till all were overthrown. Which the Romans (who obeying reason, commanded the world) hearkned to; and following him with successe to Medica, what with his prudence and resolution, his experience and conduct, his Souldiers patience and diligence, his Enemies covetousnesse and wretchednesse, who dismissed the Gauls for want of pay, and deluded poor King Gentius * about the 1500 Talents (miserably hoarding that money for

f Loosing 54 Gallies, 150 Oars.

a Gentius K. of Illyria was promised by him 1500 Talents, and then foolishly confined the Roman Embassadors;

which Perseus hearing, and thinking thereby that he was engaged deeply enough against the Romans, so that he need not be hired, he stayed the money though ready told. * This is he who founded Gentian, or Fallwort.

the

c One asked him why he was divorced from so good a woman? He shewed him his shooe, and said, Is it not handsome? is it not new? is it not finely made? I dare say none of you know where it wrings me; Meaning, that strangers do not know the secret displeasures between man and wife, from crooked conditions, or diverse natures.

d Grammar, Rhetorick, Poetry, Logic, Riding, Hunting, the Gr: tongue.

* 15 Talents.

e Alexander dying, left An-

rigonus, and he

Antigonus 2d. and he Philip: and he killing his Son Demetrius, this

Perseus who was a Taylors son of Aggos was adopted.

lice

b Coming over Olympus where it was ten furlongs high, though Geometricians say the highest mountain and deepest sea is but 10 furlongs.

c By Python near Abrabes. See Livy, l. 44.

d who would awake the moon with bassons and kettles, but Fabius knew it was only the interposition of the Earth between the Sun and it.

the Enemy, which he might have honourably spent against them) what with his discipline and order (keeping his Souldiers obedient and watchful) there faced forty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse of the Enemies safely entrenched within at the foot of Olympus b; and having digged out fresh water engendred out of Ayre and Vapours penned in the hollow of the Mount, he commanded his sons *Scipio Nasica*, and *Fabius Maximus* with seven thousand Auxiliaries to surprize another passage into Macedon through *Perrabia*, to draw the Enemy out of their Trenches (what he had hitherto in vain attempted) which the young men did with c successe after a sharp encounter with *Milo* (whom upon intelligence of this circumvention, *Perseus* commanded against him for the Straits of Macedon, forcing the King to dislodge, and either ingarrison himself, or hazard a Battle; the last whereof he pitched upon, rather than make his own Country the seat of War, and encamping before *Pydne* in a level champion between the Rivers *Eson* and *Leucus*, was set on by *Æmilius* in this manner; The old man observing his strong Battalia, and saying to his son *Nasica* (who was eager for an engagement) that he would be so too if he were young: After the eclipse of the Moon, which terrified the d superstitious Souldiers, but moved not the knowing General, and the 21th Sacrifice which promised victory, with a solemn vow

of an hundred Oxen and games of Prizes in honour of *Hercules*; Having staid till the Sun was in the *Persians* faces and their backs, he provoked the Enemy, whom he had a clear view of out of his Tent, by e light Skirmishes to Battle, and encouraging his Souldiers, company after company; first set on the f well-appointed *Thracians*, and then the looser Auxiliaries, and at last on the richly armed *Macedonians* (while weak *Perseus* was retired to *Pydne* under pretence of sacrificing) and g *Salius* having thrown his Ensign, and *M. Cato* lost his Sword among the enemies; to recover which, the *Romans* with undaunted resolution broke into their Battalia, and his right Wing retyred towards Mount *Olocrus*, *Paulus* thrust in his men between his enemies, at the opening of their Van, who flanking them, closed with them with their heavy swords (which rendred their Pikes and Targets unuseful) about three a Clock, and before four, cutting off a Veterane Squadron of *Macedonians*, overthrew h twenty five thousand upon the place, pursuing their victory 120 Furlongs, the joy whereof was something abated by the absence of *Scipio Nasica* a hopeful youth, whom his Father thought dead, untill he appeared next night (reserved for greater conquests over *Carthage* and *Numantium*) in the Camp, now all on fire with Bonfires and the other i solemnities of triumph: Poor *Perseus* (whose cowardly devotion was out-done by that more noble of *Æmilius*, who prayed with his sword in his hand) flies with

e Sending a loose horse towards their Camp, and some Romans after it.

f All *Perseus* his Army armed from top to toe, and the *Macedonians* very richly with gilt and copper Armour.

g Great *Cato's* son, and *Æmilius* his son-in-law.

h Inasmuch as the River *Leucus* ran blood.

i Crowns and Garlands of Laurel.

with his horse privately for fear of the deserted foot, from Pydne by night to Pella, where raging for his misfortune, and murdering Enilus and Eudæus with his own hand for telling him his own, he was forsaken by all but Evander the Cretan, Archedamus the Ætolian, Nero the Boxtian, and the Cretans who followed him for his Treasure, which he hoarded from his friends, and reserved for his enemies, with whom he took Sanctuary in Castor's Temple in Samothracia, while the broken and despairing Macedonians otherwise faithful to their King, submitted themselves with Pydne and Pella to Æmilinus; the news wherof came to the Theatre in Rome none knew how, in four days, (as that of the Battle at Sayta l in one day to Peloponnesus; that of the fight of Micala in Asia the same day to Platoe's; that against the Latines and Tarquin the same day by Castor and Pollux to Ænobarbus at Rome m; and that against Antony in Domitian's time by a strange rumour the very day it was fought, twenty thousand furlongs off) after which Perseus besieged by Cn. Octavius the Vice Admiral in Samothrace, and betrayed by the Cretans a, Oroandes and Ion) after many hardships, to escape through windows and other holes) with his Wife and Children to the Romanes hands, who pitied his misfortunes, but were ashamed of his

k Having given this plate to the Cretans, he cried for them, saying, they were Alexanders, and so cheated them with a Cretan lye of 30 Talents, i. e. 10000 l.

l A River in Italy, where the Locrians and Crocians fought in Tarquinus Priscus his time, the fifth Olympiad: the news wherof came so suddenly to Athens, that they say of an unlikely thing, it's the Battle of Sayta.

m The man to whom Castor and Pollux told that news, was called Ænobarbus, because they stroaked his Beard when he laughed at their news, till it was yellow. a who served him a Cretan Trick, going away with his treasure, leaving him on the Pier of Ceres to lament their treachery, and his own misfortune.

con-

towardliness, the reproach of his former honour and their present victory, and committed him to the custody of Ælius Tubero, when Paulus having paid that just compassion to his fall which is due to the miscarriage of Greatness, and after a pensive look discoursed the young men about him, out of their pride and haughtinesse, to moderation, caution, and humility, from that sad instance of Alexander the great's house, raised by him in many years, fallen now in an hour; and the general uncertainty of all things--- successe being always attended with danger (the spoke that is highest in the wheel to day, being to morrow lowest) he made an honourable progresse through Greece, establishing their governments, relieving their necessities, distributing their stores (where he lacked want to receive, rather than plenty to give;) and after he had settled Macedonia, rewarded his Souldiers, bestowed the Kings Library on his own sons, his Plate on Tubero b, and his Treasure on Rome: Having satisfied the Græcians much with his orderly entertainments, (he would say, there was as much discretion in ordering a Feast as a Battel; to make the one as pleasing to friends, as the other fearfull to enemies) and more with his person; having left this Inscription in the place where Perseus his Image should have stood at Delphos (The conquered must give place to the Conquerours) and this memory at Olympia (That Phydias had drawn Jupiter there as well as Homer had described him) and imposed an hundred Talents, i. e.

b His son-in-law, who was one of 16 relations, who lived together in love contrary to the old way of brethren, in a little ancient farm; whose vertue Æmilius married his daughter to, not his estate.

M

forty

forty thousand pounds yearly tribute on *Macedonia* for their Liberty ; He restored them with an advice to maintain good government and peace. He departed by an order from *Rome* with his ten Fellow-Commissioners which assisted him in the settlement of *Greece* to *Epirus* , which he ransacked ^c and spoiled and made a prize to his deserving Souldiers taking seventy Cities, and 150000 persons prisoners ; and thence to *Italy* in King *Perseus* his ^d rich Galley as in triumph, where the old grudge of *Galba*, and his Souldiers discontent, because he had not distributed the *Macedonian* treasure, had hindred his triumph, had not *M. Servilius* who had fought twenty combats for his Countrey, in a set Speech shewed *Æmilius* his service and his own, with his wounds, then more eloquent than his tongue, and declaimed against *Galba's* unworthiness, the Souldiers insolence, and the dangerous consequences of such affronts, so effectually, that the triumph was unanimously voted, and performed in this manner. — The Streets being scaffolded and hung, the Trained Bands set, the Citizens ranked in their Gowns, the Temples opened and crowned with Lawrel, and the people rayled in ; The first day they saw 250 Chariots of Images and Pictures ; The second they saw the rich Arms ^e, and riches treasure of *Macedon*, carried in three hundred Waggon, and born by three thousand men together with an invaluable masse of Plate. The Trumpets sounded, the hundred and twenty Oxen crowned and gilt for sacrifice

^c He sent his Captains with the Citizens of every City, under pretence of Garisoning them, to plunder. ^d With 16 Oars of a side.

^e 1. Ruggancs. 2. Targets. 3. Habergeons. 4. Greaves. 5. Corslets.

and the young men with Aprons of Needlework followed : Next them came the Kings own Plate ^f, and the holy cup of Gold filled with precious stones devoted to the gods, together with his own Armour and Diadem. After these came the Royal children, whose senseless of their misfortune (when they sit up their heads as their said Tutors and Officers taught them) turned the joy of the day to pity and sorrow ; and at a due distance appeared King *Perseus* himself, who (as *Æmilius* told him, when he desired to be excused his publick reproach) underwent this shame to gratifie his vain hopes & weaker fears, when he might have chosen to dye valiantly, (rather than to live thus despicably) in his ^g black andippers, attended with his mournful Relations and Servants. After him followed the four hundred crowns of Gold that the *Grecian* Cities had bestowed upon *Æmilius*, who (himself a spectacle surpassing his triumph) was drawn in his sumptuous Chariot, in a Purple gown branched with gold, with a sprig of Lawrel in his hand, as his whole Army had, who marched after with their songs of Triumph, which were very loud, but that the peoples Blessings and Acciamations were under.

But this was too great a pitch of happiness not to be attended with some misery ; for (as *Æmilius* foresaw in the revolution of fate) his excess of joy was checked with an alloy of grief of the two sons he had left, (*Scipio* and *Abius*, being adopted into other Families)

^f As the cups of Gold called Antigonus & Seleucus.

^g The custom of Macedon.

one died three days before the Triumph, and the other three days after; whose misfortune damped the whole pomp and shew, amazed all the City but Æmilius himself, whose great and equal spirit bore up as nobly against his mischances as against his enemies, and was constant in suffering as in conquering, his reason being as solid as his resolution; for (said he to the pensive multitude, who sullied their glory with pity) "Now I am safe, and above miscarriage; this is one advantage of my injuries, that they have left no more to suffer." "this publick joy was to be allayed, and I am satisfied it is in my Family onely, and not in your City. Hereupon he pittied Perseus but could not relieve him; who removed from the common Prison, was by two of his

a Leaving behind him one Alexander a Turn r, who became a Magistrat of Rome.

b The Censor might turn out Senators, and choose others; reduce the Horsemen, and the licentiousness of the people; and he kept the Musters, which in his time came to 337452 men.

a sons starved or watched to death—but went on his Triumph, furnishing Rome with as much Treasure as defrayed the charges of their Warre, till the Consuls Hircius and Pansa's time, in the first Wars of Augustus and Anthony.

Thus Æmilius obliged the People, yet stood with the Nobility, revered by one as beloved of the People, and by both the consents was chosen Censor b, an Office of the greatest sacredness and trust in the Commonwealth; in which office he sickned of a burning disease, and upon his Physicians advice retyred to the Countrey to Vella, when returning to do his yearly devotions, he satisfied the People who were impatient of his absence (so entirely was he beloved) he d

ed with as much honour as he lived, and was buried with the greatest pomp imaginable, not gold and silver, but the love and good will of all men of all Nations; who bore his Herse, and attended his Funeral, the Strangers celebrating him for his mercy and prowess, and the Romanes for his publick spirit, and both for a Father of his Countrey, leaving two Sons behind him, Heirs to his Estate, which was but small, and to his publick respect which was great; the one being the Nobilities favourite, and the c other (as c Appius his Competitor for the Censorship jeered him) the darling of the People.

med, being ÆMILIUS his sonne, to receive Honour from Mechanicks.

c Scipio Affricanus, who as Appius told, might be ashamed,

M 3 T I M O -



XIV.

TIMOLEON.

Contemporary with Jaddus the High Priest,
Codamanus King of Persia, Fergus King
of Scotland, Aristotle and Euclid.

^a Diod. Sic.
calls him Ti-
medæus.

^b Æschylus his
Brother-in-law
and Satyrus, or
Orthagoras, as
Theopompus
saith him.

Timoleon, as happy in his noble Parents,
Timodemus a, and *Demareta*, as he
was unhappy in his ignoble brother
Timophanes, that rash and ambitious person,
whom he in a Battel between the *Argives* and
the *Corinthians*, when he served his Coun-
trei in the capacity of a private Souldier, se-
ved ^b; and at *Corinth* (when upon some loose
persons suggestions, contrary to all his friends
perswasions, he affected tyranny over it) as a
publick-spirited man he slew, preferring his
duty

duty to his Countrey before his affection to
his Brother, was upon the unexpected moti-
on of a mean Commoner, chosen General of
Corinth by the unanimous vote of the people
(which in that case looked like the voyce of
the gods) in the *Leontines* behalf, and for li-
berty against *Dionysius* the Tyrant of *Sicily*,
against whom he went with more resolution to
satisfie the world after his twenty years retire-
ment (as ^c *Teleclides* advised) that the death
of *Timophanes* was rather the just execution of
a Tyrant, than the unnatural murder of a
brother (although it was a blemish to that ac-
tion, that he repented of it; a steady constan-
cy, and an even resolution, being the crown
of great undertakings, ennobling them as is-
sues of a solid reason, rather than fond imagi-
nation) for as soon as he had lifted his men,
rigged his Ships, atoned the gods, particu-
larly *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, who promised their
Nuns in a vision to attend his voyage in a ship
of that name, consulted the Oracles, and
discovered *Icetes* the *Leontine* Tyrants design
and league with the *Carthaginians* to oppress
Sicily, and delude the *Corinthians*; and that
a crowned band fallen upon his hand, and a
bright flame shining over his Ship, and con-
ducting him throughout his voyage untill he
came to *Italy*, encouraged him with hope of
successe and victory, he set sayl for *Rhegium*,
whither the Traytor *Icetes* having run up
Dionysius within a Castle; and designing ano-
ther tyranny over *Sicily*, by the *Carthagini-
ans* assistance, with whom he had made an

^c The chief Ma-
gistrate of *Co-
rinth*.

^d Therefore
Phæcis said
when the *Athe-
nians* joyced
for *Leontines*
his successe, in
an undertaking
which he dis-
swaded, that he
would have
joyced if he
had done it,
though he
would not for
any thing but
he had advised
the contrary.

And *Aristides*
said,
he would rather
see his daughter
dead than mar-
ried to a tyrant:
or when the ty-
rant killed his
3 sons thereup-
on, he said, he
was sorry for
what he had
done, but not
for what he
himself had
said.

M 4

under-

underhand confederacy, sent to *Timoleon* (who was as ready to assert *Sicily's* liberty against him, as against the other Tyrant) to discharge his Navy from that service, wherein the *Carthaginians* (that endured not the *Corinthians* partnership either in the conquest or possession of *Syracuse*) had proceeded with that success; which message he submitted to; only desiring it might be, for his better security, delivered in a full Assembly of his friends the *Rhegians*; during whose debates and harangues, with the Governours connivance, he stole away with his Navy to *Tauromenion*, where the honestest man then in *Sicily*, & the grand assertor of Liberty, *Andromachus*, had no sooner entertained, and allowed him five Regiments of Foot, an hearty well-willer to his cause; and Embassadors came from the *Carthaginians* (whom the *Rhegians* in the mean time laughed at) shewing *Andromachus* the palms of their hands turned uppermost, and thereby intimating his overthrow if he dismissed not *Timoleon*; which he answered with the same posture, intimating the overturning of their Ship if they did not depart: But *Isetes* having the *Carthaginians* sure, the *Sicilians* subdued, the *Adranites* divided; and finding all jealous that *Timoleon*, as *Calippus* and *Phorax* did before him, under pretence of Assistance, would usurp over them; drew towards *Timoleon*, who advancing with ease and private marches surprized his enemies now fifteen thousand strong, in disorder, and utterly overthrew them ^a; going on with his victory (upon the successful

a Before whose city he fought with Isetes.

successful Omen of *Adranus* his Temple opening, and his Javelin shaking in his hand) until the *Adranitans* submitted to him. Rich *Mammercus* ^b bought his peace and friendship, haughty *Dionysius* yielded to him his great Castle, his plentiful Magazine and Furniture, his two thousand well-armed Souldiers, together with his Tyranny, being sent privately unknown to *Isetes* and the *Corinthians*, with a little money from *Timoleon's* Camp to *Corinth*, as great an instance of great fortunes unsteadiness, as his Father *Dion* once the most feared King, now the most pined and despised man in the world, whom all men addressed themselves to; some triumphing over and treading him down, some compassionating and encouraging him, while he passed his sad time, and avoided the *Corinthians* jealousy by his retirements to Taverns, Shops, and the employment of a Schoolmaster, leaving many notable sayings behind him; as being asked once what benefit he had by *Plato's* wisdom, he said, *It taught him to bear afflictions patiently*. And again being demanded by *Aristoxenus* a Musician, what offence *Plato* had done him, he answered, "That Tyrants are many ways unfortunate, but in nothing more than in that they have none that dare tell them the truth, and that through their fault he left *Plato's* company. A wagg shook his Gown (as they used to do in their addresses to Tyrants, to shew they had no weapons) in his entrance to his Chamber after he was deposed; "Nay (saith he) shake thy

b Tyrant of Adranata.

"thy Gown as thou goest out, lest thou shouldst
 "steale any thing. When Philip of Macedon
 wondered how his Father writ Playes, he re-
 plyed, "He did it when he and other Kings
 "were drunk, and were disposed to play the
 "fools. Diogenes meeting him since his de-
 privation, told him, he envied rather than
 pitied him, and that he was not worthy of the
 happinesse of a private state. Dionysius his
 misfortune was wonderful, and Timoleon's
 success more; for having taken Syracuse, and
 received two thousand Foot and two hundred
 Horse for supply from Corinth, by the way of
 Thuria, in spite of the Carthaginian Fleet
 under Hanno, although Ictes streightned the
 Corinthians, and hired two Villains to mur-
 der Timoleon as he was sacrificing to Adranus,
 who came up to the Altar; and as they were
 debating who should strike the stroke, were
 prevented by a third person, whose father one
 of them had murdered suddenly, who killed
 one of them to the wonder of those that stood
 by, and saw the concatenation of so many dis-
 tant events in Timoleon's preservation, the joy
 of all Corinth, who rewarded the Avenger
 with a Crown worth ten Minæ, that is, 35 l.
 and Timoleon's honour, who was now looked
 on as a devout and an honest man: although
 Carthage sent Mago with 150 Sayl more to
 that service, yet Timoleon relieved the Corin-
 thians from Catena, drew off the Carthagini-
 ans to besiege it; and in the mean time com-
 manded Leon the Deputy of Syracuse to fall
 upon the remaining Besiegers, as he did with
 succeſſe,

c who was cru-
 elly murdered,
 after he had li-
 ved to see his
 daughters ra-
 viſhed.

ſucceſſe, taking Acradina a great Port of Sy-
 racuſe, with rich booty, and great proviſion;
 and joyning it by a wall and rampire to the
 Caſtle, while Hanno returning upon the news
 in triumph, as if he had conquered the Corin-
 thians, together with Mago, upon a ſuſpiti-
 on of Treason, intimated in ſome mutinous
 words given out by the Grecians under Ictes
 againſt the Carthaginians about the pleaſant-
 neſs of Sicily, notwithstanding Ictes his impor-
 tunity, fled and left him to Timoleon's mercy,
 now advanced when the coaſt was clear, to
 Meſſina, and within five miles of Syracuse,
 where (offering in jeſt a reward to thoſe that
 knew where the Carthaginians were) dividing
 his Army, he attacked Syracuse (which was a
 ſtragling City) d in ſeveral parts, carrying it
 without the loſſe of one man by a general af-
 ſault, demolishing the Caſtle and Palace,
 thoſe monuments of tyranny, eſta bliſhing a
 free State, and taking care to plant the Cities
 with Grecians, which Wars and Tyranny had
 made deſolate.

d One part un-
 der his own
 command ſur-
 prized the Ri-
 ver Anapus;
 another under
 Iſias aſſaulted
 Acardinia; and
 a third under
 Dinarchus &
 Demaratus
 undertook the
 quarter called
 Epipoles.

As ſoon as the noble Captain had (upon no-
 tice that Mago was queſtioned at Carthage for
 deſerting Sicily; and that the Affricans pro-
 vided for another War) upon Proclamation
 to all baniſhed Sicilians, and an Embaſſie to
 Corinth, recruited Syracuse with 60000 men
 in the way of a Commonwealth, and left them
 with a common ſtock to defray all charges out
 of the a Images, Statues, and Lands that were

a The Images
 were condemned
 as if they were
 alive; only

Gelon's was ſaved, becauſe he had won a great Victory over the Car-
 thaginians near Himera.

confiſcated,

confiscated and sold, he (born to assert other liberty, rather than to set up his own government) proceeded 1. to *Icetes*, whom he forced to quit his confederacy with the *Carthaginians*, and lead a private life at *Leontium*: 2. and *Laptines* of *Apollonia*, who submitted to him, and lived meanly many years at *Corinth*. And having assisted *Cephalus* and *Dionysius* in making some Laws, he made some Inrodes by *Dimarchus* and *Demaratus* into *Affrica*, tempted many little Cities to revolt, and drew out 6000 against the seventy thousand *Carthaginians* that under *Milcar* and *Asdrubal* now invaded *Italy*, and discharging some cowardly Male-contents, and satisfying the Remainder about the Smallage *b* that fell upon them, and the Eagles that flew over them, which they took to be ominous, that the one was a Garland of victory in the *Isthmian* games, and the other the bird of conquest, with his Soothsayers prayers after a great mist was cleared. The 20 of May he (observing his enemies order in passing the River *Crimesus* from the top of an adjoining hill) ordered his horsemen to charge their Vantguard as they passed, whom (doing little execution, because of the Carts of War that were wasted first) he seconded with his own Foot, encouraging them with his great voice, untill a seasonable tempest falling in the *Carthaginians* faces, filling their pleated coats with Rain, and their passage now overflowed with water, they tumbled with their heavy Armour in the dirt, and left ten thousand slain in the Field and the

b Smallage being used only at Funerals; whence they say of a dying man, he wants only Smallage.

parts

parts adjoining, whereof three thousand were Natives of *c* *Carthage*) together with their *c* which in former wars lost only strangers, Spaniards, Nomades, &c. d 1000. c 10000. Camp and inestimable Treasure, a spoyl to the *Gracians*, who environed *Timoleon's* Tent with costly Corsets *d*, rich Targets *e*, 5000 Prisoners, and after three days plunder set up in the place a monument of victory. Whence *Timoleon* (having dispatched an expresse of the successe to *Corinth*, together with the fairest Armour he had met with to be offered to the gods, now enriched, not with *Grecian*, but *Barbarian* spoils) he returned to *Syracuse*, and banished the cowardly thousand that had deserted their Colours to *Brutium*, where, as the reward of Treason, they were all contrary to Articles murdered: when *Icetes* and *Mammercus* out of envy or fear conspired with the *Carthaginians*, as did some Provinces which *Timoleon* had entrusted upon his return home with some *Grecians*, particularly they of *Hieres* and *Messina*, and invaded *Sicily* with seventy Sail under *Giscoes* command: and *Timoleon* (notwithstanding sacrilegious *Philedemus* and *Onomarchus* were cut off at *Hieres*, as were 400 of his loose followers at *Messina*, his defeats prospering him as well as his conquests) upon the Tyrant of *Catenaes* *f* riming *f* He took great delight in verses. affronts, drew towards *Calauria*; and upon *Icetes* his return from spoyling *Syracuse*, having pacified a quarrel arising among his own men in passing the River *Damirias* by lots, on the first whereof was the token of triumph, resolutely engaged him on the other side the River, defeated his whole Army, possessed his

his Camp, and had him delivered to him by his own *Leontines*, who with his whole family suffered the same way that he had murdered *Dion* and his: *Euthydemus* his Lieutenant for calling the *Corinthians* women, undergoing the same fate; with no lesse fortune doth he engage *Mammercus* by the River *Obolus*, where two thousand of his men fell; the *Carthaginians* sued for Peace, and were confined on the other side *Lycus*, engaging to assist Tyrants no more: *Catana* is delivered up to him; the *Messinians* betray *Mammercus* to his hands, who having in vain attempted an Oration in his own behalf before the enraged multitude that would not hear him, was first whipped before the children, and then executed before men, having in vain endeavoured to beat out his brains against the walls.

Thus *Timoleon* rooted out all Tyranny, put a period to many years War, civilized and planted *Sicily*, and then secured it, and established it, giving them the Laws of War and Peace, acknowledging the gods favour, and erecting a Temple to fortune: *Timotheus*, *Agésilas*, *Pelopidas*, and *Epaminondas* were renowned, but *Timoleon* was just; they were troublesome and active, he quiet and peaceable; their glory was forced and rude, his easie and civil; for having no higher ambition than that of serving his Countrey, the good man rettyred out of envy's eye, and *Greece* troubles with his family, to his brave and deserved habitation at *Syracuse*, enjoying the joyfull reflections and great content that ariseth from being

g Especially *Agigentum* and *Gela*, the one inhabited by *Megellus*, the other by *Gorgos*.

being an happy instrument of publick and common good; yet (it being as necessary, saith *Symonides*, for free States to have some accusers, as for Larks to have tufts upon their heads) *Laphystius* and *Demanetus* charged him in open Assemblies with some misdemeanors in his Generalship, to which the noble Captain (notwithstanding all the people favoured him) answered no more, but that he was glad he had asserted *Syracuse* to that liberty, that every man might speak what he pleased; which answer, with his former action, made him the common theme of Panegyricks & Poems, which he heard many years, untill having shewed his valour against Tyrants and Barbarians, his justice and mercy to his friends, and escaped the civil dissensions of his Countrey, and many renowned Exploits, that cost *Greece* not a tear, He grew blind with years, and his hereditary constitution; yet while he lived, was honoured with daily visits of *Sicilians* and others that were willing to see their Deliverer, brought to the Theatre weekly to receive the peoples blessings, and give his advice, until he died, loaded with years and renown, and was buried with publique Obsequies and universal grief upon the Commonwealths charge, who by an Herald proclaimed yearly games and exercises to his memory, for suppressing Tyrants, restoring Liberty, and establishing *Sicily*, together with a great Tomb in the Market-place, surrounded with Cloysters and Galleries, called *Timoleonium*, a noble Monument, but not equal to his Laws, which were

a As far as 600
l went, or 200
Mina's.
b Loud-voiced
Demetrius.
c Musick, Horse-
races.

were as lasting as *Syracuse*, in the observation whereof it always prospered as by the neglect of them it was ruined.

The Parallel.

THESE two Heroes were equal in their undertakings (the one against the *Carthaginians*, the other against the *Macedonians*) and in their successes : One taking *Macedon* from the *seventh* King thereof, the other recovering *Sicily* from its last Tyrant; onely *Æmilius* engaged *Perseus* when entire and successfull, but *Timoleon* set on *Dionysius* when broken and desperate ; both actions are parallel, but the meanes not so. *Timoleon* fought with a few loose, mercenary, and undisciplin'd people, *Æmilius* with an expert and well-governed Army. Both persons of great integrity ; though *Paulus* was bred such by the Lawes and Discipline of *Rome*, and *Timoleon* was such by his own Inclination, contrary to his Countreys temper ; his Predecessors, *Gilippus*, *Pharax*, *Calippus*, and all except *Dion*, aspiring to that charge he was sued to ; setting up the Tyranny he abolished, and endeavouring to usurp that Government which he established and resigned. It is *Paulus* his glory, that having deserved an high place, he bestowed much in his Countreys service, but received nothing.

d Perseus the 7th. from Antigonus.

It was *Timoleon* his renown, that having merited a Kingdom, he sat down contented with a single house and Mannour. *Æmilius* was of so equall and constant a temper, that as his highest state never raised him, so his lowest never depressed him ; he neither swelling with his incomparable prosperity, nor drooping with his unparallel'd adversity : *Timoleon* otherwise was unsetled ; for he nobly dispatched his aspiring Brother, but was unworthily ashamed of it, shewing not his face twenty years after in the Market-place. To do well, and then be afraid to hear ill, argues a good nature, but not an excellent spirit ; the tenderesse of a man, but not the courage of a Magistrate.

The Syracusan bestowed a fair house & Mannour upon him, where he lived to avoid the dissensions in his own Countrey. Vide Diodorus Sic. l. 2. de Athacra.

N

PELO



XV.

PELOPIDAS.

Contemporary with Philip of Macedon, Jonathan high Priest of the Jews, Camillus and Manlius, Romans.

Pelopidas the Son of Hippoclus had a great estate and honor entailed on him, and a greater mind to dispose of it; he was as much above his fortune as that was above others, neither a prodigal nor covetous equal to Epaminondas in Vertue, above him in estate, both plain in their Apparel and Diet, both industrious in their way, the one in the toils of the body, the other in the exercises of the mind; both commended for their entire friendship, notwithstanding their Copartnership in all the administration of War

A.M. 3580,
Ant. Christ.
568, or 370.

a Aristotle.

b As we see in Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, Pericles, Nicias, Alcibiades,

War and Peace; obnoxious to jealousies and dissensions to their deaths, having so great an esteem of each other, and such publike spirits for their Country, that they had no contention, but that noble one, who should do most service, and receive least reward. Epaminondas was wary and reserved, never hazarding a Generals publike capacity at the rate of a private souldiers little services, being afraid, as Timotheus said to Choras, shewing his wounds, to see a Dart fall neer him, it being the chiefest point to save him, d that saves all, it being a maxime, That a General should dye of Age, and not Wounds. But Pelopidas was rash and careless, valuing his manhood (as Cato the elder said) so much, that he esteemed his life too little; daring death, as if with Antigonus his e sick souldier, or f the enslaved Spartans, he had been weary of life (it being an equal weakness to contemn life, as to fear death) saying always with that rash Lacedemonian, Callicratidas, That Thebes stood not upon one man; not considering (as the discreet Athenian Iphicrates would say) That the whole Army was guided by one head. But the ground of their g friendship was the battle of Mantinea against the Arcadians, where upon the Lacedemonians Wings retreat (where they were) Pelopidas falling by seven wounds, Epaminondas fought by him, untill the Spartan King Agesipolis with the other Wing recovered him, now falling too, and the victory; for which the Spartans loved the Thebans intirely, untill

c For Epaminondas would receive nothing from Pelopidas, as Pelopidas would receive nothing from his Country.

d Raskess and wantonness in Commanders.

e Antigonus had a daring souldier sick, who was no sooner cured by his order, but his courage failed him; being asked the reason, he said, Antigonus was the cause who cured his disease, which made him weary of life, and so daring of death.

f The Sybarites would say of the Spartans, that their strength and miserable life made them resolved to die.

g Epaminondas & Pelopidas friendship.

N 2

Ar-

d The Faction at Thebes, and the Lacedemonians usurpations.

e Androclidas.

f They made a Law, that, no Athenian passing through Boeotia against the thirty Tyrants, should be molested.

g The Thebans design for recovering their liberty.

Archias, Leontidas and Philip, the wealthy Citizens of Thebes, suspecting Ismenias, Androclidas and Pelopidas popularity, invited Phæbidas a Captain of the Lacedemonians (who were now jealous of Thebes) d to surprise their Castle Cadmea, as he passed to Boeotia upon the Holy-day called *Theismoporia*; which he did accordingly, murdering Ismenias, banishing Pelopidas, Pherenicus, and Androclidas (Epaminondas being neglected as poor and bookish) and overthrowing the Thebans privileges and government, though to the admiration of all neighbors; the Spartans fined the man, yet they allowed and improved the fact, untill the banished Citizens who fled to Athens (a place of great humanity towards all strangers, and of particular obligations to the Thebans) where e one was by Leontides Partizans murdered, and the rest by his suggestions endangered (though the Athenians were as civil to the Thebans, now oppressed by three, as the Thebans were by f decree to them when troubled with thirty) consulting their Countries liberty (upon young Pelopidas his motion, who pressed on his Countrymen the love of their Country, their respect for their gods, and Thrasybulus his example, who expelled the thirty Tyrants of Athens) g they engaged Charon for his house to assemble in, Philidas to be employed as Secretary to Philip and Archias; Epaminondas and Gorgias, to encourage and engage the Thebans against the Spartans in Wrestling and other exercises. And when the design was ripe, Pelopidas and twelve

twelve more in disguise came in a dark and tempestuous night (after a foot-post sent before) but (saint-hearted Hipposthenidas his h Messenger to forbid their coming, having spent the whole day in quarrelling with his Wife for a Bridle, and not meeting them) to resolute and constant Charons house, where as they were preparing for their enterprise, Philidas invites Archias and others of the Tyrants to a delicate Banquet and a drinking, who being informed first by a Messenger of the Company at Charons house, and then by a letter from the i chief Priest of Athens, of the whole conspiracy, by Philidas his dexterity, passed by the one by a slight examination of Charon, and the other by shuffling the letters under a Pillow, and saying in their Wine, *Serious things to morrow*; and in the dead of night, the height of their excess, Charon and Melon in the Whores apparel, they looked for surprised Archias and Philip in their drink (the rest being secured by Philidas) Pelopidas sets on sober and discreet Leontides in his own house and chamber, where Cephisodorus was killed, and limping Hypates as he was flying to his neighbors. Whereupon arming the people that flocked to them out of the Spartans Magazines, and joyning with Epaminondas and Gorgias, his honest multitudes (the amazed City being all in an uproar, and the foolish Guards fled to Cadmea) they cryed, *Liberty*; and dispatching away letters to Athens for all the exiles, they held a Council next day, where the people and Priests crown-

h Clidon.

i Archias by name.

ing Pelopidas and his followers as Saviours of their Country, upon Epaminondas and Gorgias motion, chose Pelopidas, Melon, and Charon Governors, who in six days, to prevent the Lacedemonians relief, reduced the Castle, the Garrison whereof marching out upon composition, met with Cleombrotus King of Sparta coming with a great Army to their assistance in the way, who hanged two of the Captains *a*, and fined the *b* third. A noble attempt this! and second to none but that of Thrasylulus! for Pelopidas with his twelve men, laid that design in one night, that overthrew the strong and indissoluble Government of Sparta; and though the Lacedemonians invaded, and Athens deserted them (executing and banishing their well-willers) yet Pelopidas and Gorgias being chosen Generals for that year, first denjealousing Athens and Sparta to an endless war, by tempting Sphodrius (who lay at Thebes spies to countenance the Boeotian revolvers) with money and other arguments to attempt Pyrea, and then exercising the Thebanes in light skirmishes against the Lacedemonians; as Antalcidas observed to King Agesilaus one day, saying, He was sure in pay to teach the Thebans to be souldiers against their wills; prevailed so far against the Spartans, that Pelopidas was chosen as long as he lived, either Governor of Boeotia, or Captain of the Holy Bands, as at Platees & Thebes (where *d* he that surprized Cadmea fell) at Tanagra, where Parthoidas died (skirmishes that encouraged the conquerors, but dispirited not the conquered) and

a Hermippidas and Arcillus.
b Dysaoridas, who thereupon retired to Peloponnesus.

c For fear of the Spartans.

d Gorgias and Pelopidas policy in dividing the Spartans and Athenians.

e Pelopidas his exploits.

d Phæbidas.

and especially at Tegeira, where Pelopidas having missed his design upon Orchomene (a Garrison of the Spartans, supplying their places that had marched out according to his Intelligence) and marching by the Marshes of the River Melos, not far from the Apollos Temple (whether an immortal God, or an Heroick man, those times are uncertain) met the Lacedemonians under Theopompus and Gorgoleon, and commanded his Horse against them in a narrow passage, by reason of their Foot, seconding them with his Foot so resolutely, that their two Generals fell, and the whole Army opened the Thebans a lane through it, and (when they slew all before them) fled under the protection of Æchomene; this being the first time they were conquered by a lesser number than themselves, and it being now manifest that it is neither the River Eurotas, nor the Valley between Cnacion and Babyce, but an honest resolution to dye honorably rather than to live shamefully, makes a brave souldier indeed. *g* The Holy Band of four hundred Trained always within Cadmea, knit to each other by firm love and indissoluble affection (whereby they will dye rather than part, or do any dishonorable thing before each other) Harmonia the daughter of Mars and Venus was Protectress of Thebes) was invincible (till the battle of Cheronea, where they all fell together) especially since Pelopidas set them always together to encourage each other

c Apollo Tecyrian, whose Oracle ceased in the Median war, Echecrates being Priest thereof, near Delos, and Mount Proum.

e Saying to a Captain that feared falling into their hands, That they were fallen into ours.

g The Holy Band. Love is a great encouragement to valour; therefore Nestor adviseth that every Tribe should be set in battle array by themselves, Hom. Il. 3. Called the Holy Band, because a Lover

is called a divine friend by Gods appointment. Hercules and Iolaus were lovers, and therefore valiant. Vid. Callisthem, Ephorum, Polybium.

ther, where as before they were mingled with other companies.

a The battle of Leuctres.

But the *a* Lacedemonians recovering themselves, and making peace with all Greece, invade *Bæotia* (now more desperate than ever) with ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, when *Pelopidas* finding fears at home, and distractions in the Army, closed with General *Epaminondas* opinion for a battle at *Leuctres* (where *Scedæus* had cursed the *Spartans* for ravishing his daughters, whose Tombs were there, whereof they were forewarned by a prophesie) and having upon *Theocritus* the Southsayers advice, sacrificed a Filly which ran strangely into the Army instead of the red Virgin, he was admonished in a dream to offer *Scedæus* his daughters (after a hot dispute, whether God, who is no Airy impression or Giant; but an Eternal power, was pleased with such bloody and inhumane sacrifices) engaged the *Spartans*, drawing his whole Army to the left hand, that the *Spartans* who confronted might be further off the other *Grecians*: which Policy altering the posture of the enemy, and so disordering them, *Pelopidas* and his three hundred rushed in upon them, before they could range themselves, and being seconded by *Epaminondas*, notwithstanding the *Spartan* expertness and resolution, gave them such an overthrow, as no Chronicle ever mentioned; and pursued their victory with equal honor, though (in the depth of Winter, the year expiring with *c* their Offices) to *Peloponnesus*; reducing the *Elians*, the *Arcadians*, the *Argives*,

b Mnecius the son of Creon sacrificed *Macaria* the daughter of *Hercules*; the *Spartans* offered *Sphærecydes*, *Themistocles* his boys before the fight at *Salamina*; *Leonides* sacrificed himself; *Agessilaus* failed his enterprize, because he would not sacrifice his daughter.

c It was a Theban Law, that none should hold an Office above a year, upon pain of death.

Argives, some part of *Laconia* it self, *Messenia*, & marching over *Euratus* (taking in & destroying all places as they came) to the very Walls of *Sparta* with sixty seven thousand men (most *Elians* and *Argives*, who though they clashed with the *Spartans* in Council, yet submitted to them, and obeyed them in Wars) whence they returned home by the way of *Cenebrees* (overthrowing the *Athenians* that would have cut off their passage in the streight of *Peloponnesus*) generally applauded and honored, yet privately *a* envied, for both *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* having held their Offices four months longer then they should in the foresaid services, were questioned, yet discharged: one-ly one *Meneclides*, a spiteful Orator that was not considered for his service in *Charons* house) willing to set *Charon* and *Pelopidas* at variance, would have had *Charons* small skirmish *b* painted and set up, and *Pelopidas* neglected, continually declaiming to this purpose, untill *Pelopidas* (who was more impatient then *Epaminondas*, whom this Demagogue had put by the Government of *Bæotia* one year) had him fined for attributing the glory of the whole people to one *c* man, and attempting an alteration of Government.

a Envy.

b Our forefathers painted their battles.

c Philip, who afterwards attempted to overthrow the liberties of Greece.

About this time *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Phætes* infesting *Thessaly*, he upon their request (to employ himself, *Epaminondas* being in *Peloponnesus*) came against him, and having in vain offered to bring the Barbarous man to reason at *Larissa*, secured *Thessaly* and settled it; composed the difference between *Ptolemy* and

d Pelopidas a
prisoner, his ex-
ploits.

eEpaminondas
being under
some displea-
sure, other Ge-
nerals were em-
ployed, who
were fined ten
thousand
Drachmes, i. e.
five hundred
pound apiece.

and Alexander King of Macedon, bringing the Kings brother, who there took after Epaminondas resolution, but not his Vertues, and thirty other young Noblemen for Hostage to Thebes, as an argument of its spreading power and renown; brought Ptolomy, who had suppressed the Royal Family, and usurped the Kingdom, to promise a restauration and League offensive and defensive with Thebes, taking his son Philoxenus and fifty more pledges, notwithstanding his Army was corrupted by the enemy, and he had no Thebane about him, but his own great name; but d marching to Pharsalia, where his treacherous souldiers goods and families were, to be revenged of them, he met Alexander, who observing his slender Guard, took him, to the amazement of all that saw it (none now upon this after thinking themselves safe) and being informed of his stout and stubborn discourses to the Phereans against his Tyranny, shut him up close prisoner, none being permitted to see him but Thebe his own Wife (who rather pitied his misfortune then understood his worth) (asking him whether he was in haste to dye, to whom he replied, He was, by making himself every day more odious to the Gods and men) untill Epaminondas (upon the miscarriage of other e Generals who were sent to release him) his name frightening the Tyrant (whom he durst not run up to despair, lest he who buried men alive, baited men in Beasts skins, or shot at them; put the Cities of Malibea and Scolusa when in League with him, to the sword)

sword; sacrificed to the g Dart that killed his Uncle Polypron; who was ashamed to pity any man (going off the Stage at the acting of Euripides his Tragedy, called Troades, for that reason) should in a rage use Pelopidas Barbarously) to Pelopidas his h release, and thirty days truce, refusing to make peace with the Villain.

h Pelopidas
release.

He was no sooner released, than upon the Athenians and the Lacedemonians applications to Artaxerxes, he was sent i thither, whose fame was so spreading, that the people flocked to him throughout his journey; the Princes of Persia admired him, the King honoured him for his excellent courage and graceful speech, with several rich presents, and a full grant of all his requests, viz. 1. That Greece should be free. 2. Messina inhabited. 3. And Thebes Allies to the Kings of Persia for ever. After which answers, refusing the gifts, to avoid that jealousy that brought k Timagornus to the block; he returned with general satisfaction (his single name having done more then all the Harangues of the other Agents) and l was immediately upon the Thessalians request, voted General of the Auxiliaries against the Tyrant of Pheres (whom the Thebans opposed for the liberty of Greece, while the Lacedemonians and Athenians, both with m him and the n other Tyrant of Sicily) against whom he went with the highest mo-

i His Ambassie.

k He died for
taking 980
Milch Kine and
a bed, with a
chamberlain,
and Neatherds
from Artaxer-
xes, or rather
for designing a
Law that nine
poor men should
Govern Athens
who should be
made rich by

Ambassies to the Persian King. l His last expedition against Alexander of Pherees. m The Athenians set up Alexanders Statue in Brass, as their Saviour. n Dionysius.

cives

tives of a private revenge and publike Liberty.

But (his *Thebanes* upon an ominous Eclipse being frighted to an incapacity to serve him) he against the Southsayers intimation, with a few *Thessalians* drew up against the enemy in the *Pharfalian* Field (saying to those that desired him to have a care of himself, *That a General must not only have a care of himself, but of others*; and to them that told him of *Alexanders* multitude, *All the better, we shall kill the more*) where his Horse pursuing their success against the Vant-Guard too far, *Alexanders* Foot got the vantage of the Hill, whence he beat his Foot, to whose rescue the Horse was called back, who encouraged with *Pelopidas* his presence as their new Soul and Genius after their onsets, recovered the higher ground, whence viewing the enemy in disorder, and the Tyrant in the right Wing rallying them, his great stomach could not hold but he must singly challenge him, who had more wit then to venture him and the Kingdom upon a single Combate; therefore sent some inferior Officers to him, three whereof died at his feet; and when his *Thessalians* came down to his rescue, he falls too, but with victory on his side (the desperate souldiers revenging his death upon three thousand *Phereans*) lamented by his *Thebans*, who cryed all day their Father, their Saviour! Honored by their confederates, who made Edicts to his memory; mourned by the whole Army, who neglected their Horses and themselves

• The Pharfalian battle.

themselves, untill they had seen him; so sensible of his fall, they forgot their victory; attended by all the Cities he was carryed thorow with triumphs and Ornaments of Victory; and (the *Thessalians* requesting they might perform the last Office they could to the Noble Captain, who died in their service, with whom they might bury their Liberty, being ashamed to ask *Thebes* any more Captains, since they could not return *Pelopidas* alive) buried not with the vain and barbarous pomp of Ivory or Purple, as *Dionysius* (whose burial was the sumptuous conclusion of a stately Tragedy) nor with the forced and invidious solemnity of razed Walls, clipped Horses and Mules, as *Alexanders* darling *Ephestion*; but with multitudes of Crowned people and sad Cities, striving who should most advance his glory, who was the love of *Greece* when alive, and their desire being dead; in revenge of whose death, the *Thebanes* force *Alexander* to their devotion, free and ungarrison the *Magnesiens*, the *Phthians*, the *Achaïans*; *Thebe* the Tyrants Wife with her brethrens assistance, murder him, whom because the house was strictly guarded, she lodged neer the Bed-Chamber, commanding the Keeper to withdraw the dreadful Dog that watched the door, and letting down the Ladder (by which they went up to the Chamber) wrapped in Wooll, by which they came in, and she shewing them the sword at the Beds-head, to assure them he was asleep, with much ado they tying him to the Bed, murdered him, and next day saw him drawn

Alexander the Tyrants death.

drawn through the streets by the common people, and made Dogs meat.



4^o.M.3736.

Ant. Christ,

212.



XVI.

MARCELLUS.

Contemporary with Reuda King of Scotland, Philip son of Demetrius King of Macedon, Antiochus M. King of Assyria, Onias the second, High-Priest of the Jews, Jesus the son of Syrach.

Marcellus the first of the name (saith *Possidonius*) for his warlike inclination and temper, his nature was gentle, his disposition studious; especially of the Greek tongue; his body strong and hardy, his minde skilful and active, trained up in his youth in the Wars against *Sicily*; in his riper years in that against the *Gaules*, and in his old age in that against *Hannibal*; more eminent

ent in his youth for Combats than Battles; yet having saved his Brother *Oetacilius* in *Sicily*, he was crowned by the General, and voted *Edil* by the people, as he was installed *Augur* by the Priests; in which office having nobly punished his own Colleague for Sodomy with his own son, a person of as exquisite parts as beauty, and as nobly consecrated his Fine to Temple-Utensils, (now the 21 years *Carthaginian* Wars were finished; now the *Insubrian Gaules* invaded, and *Flaminius* with *Phil* the two Consuls, notwithstanding their success against these *Gaules*, were upon the three Moons seen at *Remine*, and the River of blood in *Romania*, together with some inauspicious observations of the Sooth-sayers, recalled: and because they obeyed not the Letters (as *b* the Romans were rigid observers of their religious Institutions, thinking it had more concerned the Commonwealth that the least Ceremony were neglected, than that the greatest victory were obtained) deposed, as *Scipio Nasica* and *C. Marius* were, because *Sempronius* chose them both in one *c* Sooth-saying house.

strate was called from observing Prognostications in place, he must not observe the second time.

The two Priests *Cornelius* and *Cetheus* were degraded, because they set not the best *Entrails* in order: *Q. Sulpitius* was deposed, because his Mitre fell off his head in sacrificing. *Flaminius* was laid aside, because they heard a Rat at his Election. *Cneius Cornelius*, and *Marcellus* were chosen Consuls, who (when the

a Young Marcellus, who blushed & wept when called before the Senate, whereupon *Capitolinus* was fined.

b The Romans strict observations of Ceremonies.

c There was a Law at Rome; that if a Magistrate was called from observing Prognostications in place, he must not observe the second time.

* From Gæsa, a
singers ball in
Virg. and Prop-
ert. Servius
calls all valiant
Gæsi his tri-
umph.

a A village on
this side the
Alps.

† Marcellus his
remarkable de-
feat of the
Gauls.

* N. Pompili-
us in his Com-
mentaries, men-
tioneth 3 sorts
of those spoils;
the one dedica-
ted to Feretrius
à feriendo,

the other to Mars, the third to Quirinus: and that they should give him
that won the first Spoils 300 Asses, the second 200, the third 100
b who sung all along.

the *Gassates joyning with the Insubrians to
the number of 120000 (notwithstanding the
late Peace against Marcellus his opinion) laid
siege to Acerres, and spoyled all along the
River Poe) leaving the main Army near A-
cerres with a few light-Horse and Foot, march-
ed directly to Clastidium a, where (though
over-nimbred by Sisomarus) Marcellus ha-
ving turned his Horse that would have run a-
way from the noise, pretending that he was
shipped the Sun, which they do turning round
and vowed the spoils to Jupiter Feretrius,
charged the insolent and presuming Enemy,
laying their King at his feet with his own hand,
and imploring Jove's favour, with the Bar-
barians rich Arms in his hand, overthrew the
whole Body; and returning with spoil, re-
lieved his Colleague, frighted away the Gas-
sates, took Millain, and the adjacent Cities, and
brought the Gauls to peace and submission;
for which † successes he was voted the most
honourable Triumph, for sumptuous show,
rich spoils, and numerous prisoners, that was
ever celebrated; where the most eminent pas-
sage was, Marcellus himself carrying the royal
spoils * called Spolia Opima, on a straight
young Oak before his triumphant b Army, to
Jupiter Feretrius (as once Romulus did when
he slew Acras; and Cor: Cossus, when he killed
Tolumnius) a massie cup of Gold was bestowed
on Apollo at Delphos; and the spoils divid-
ed on Apollo at Delphos; and the spoils divid-

ded among confederates, among whom Hie-
ron of Sicily had his share.

After which triumph c Hannibal entring I- c His engage-
taly, offered new matter of glory; for upon the ment with
fatal defeat at Cannes, Marcellus sent five hun- Hannibal.
dred men to secure Rome; and his resolution,
who (saith Posidonius) was called the Sword,
being joyned with Fabius his warinesse, who
was called the Target, the last whereof Han-
nibal called his Jaylor, because he watched
him, and the first his Enemy, because he
annoyed him) snapped Hannibal's loose and
disordered Forces, securing Bizantium, com-
posing Nola, and reclaiming Bandius d (whom
Hannibal had obliged to treachery) by five
hundred Drachmaes, i. e. 20 l. and a Horse:
he understanding the compact between Han-
nibal and them of Nola, lodging his Men and
Carriages in the City, opened the Gates, and
trapped Hannibal in a careless posture thi-
ther, whence issuing out upon him in three
parties, he forced him with the losse of five
thousand men to his Camp, reviving the Ro-
man spirits with these thoughts, that their late
Conquerour was not invincible: whereupon
he was chosen Consul, and (upon some ill
Omens resigning that office) sent Pro consul
to Nola, where he punished their Revolt, and
taking the advantage of Hannibal's weaknesse,
when his Army foraged, slew five thousand
Carthaginians, and 46 Elephants, and three
dayes after drew off three hundred Spaniards
to his side.

d Bandius, one
that having
sought stoutly;
was found a-
mong the dead
bodies, and by
Hannibal re-
warded for his
valour; in re-
quitall for which
favour, he un-
dertakes the re-
volt of Nola.
Vide Livium,
lib. 25.

Now the Carthaginians prosperities had
prompted

prompted them to some design upon Sicily, now disordered upon *Hieronimus* his death, *Marcellus* in the capacity of Consul, was sent to *Appius* to *Syracuse*, where having offered to the Senates consideration the R. Captive case, who tendered their service to him, to recover that in *Sicily*, which they had lost at *Cannes*; but in vain (dejected men being not likely serviceable, and cowards never to be encouraged) he reduced the *Leontines*, and (notwithstanding *Hippocrates* the *Syracusan* Generals suggestions, who aspired with the *Carthaginians* assistance to the Kingdom) used them civilly, and then streitned *Syracuse* by Sea and by Land, assaulting it with Engines of Battery, and his own great Name, until *Archimedes*, who (according to *Architas* and *Eudoxus* example, for which *Plato* reproved them) had brought the imaginary conclusions of *Geometry* down to sensible instances and practices, and offered to remove this earth, if he had another to stand on, (drawing great ships with ease up and down) but what he had done for his own recreation afore, he must attempt now for publick safety; for *Marcellus* his *Sambuca* ^e having distressed *Syracuse*, *Archimedes* let loose his Instruments, which showed out stones upon the Field-Forces, and Timberlogs upon the Ships, overtured them with iron hooks, tossed them in the Aire like a Whirligig, and ^f broke them to pieces, this afar off: but *Marcellus* drawing neerer the walls to be out of their scope and level, *Archimedes* met him there with a shower of

^e called so, because it was like an instrument of Musick.

^f Tumbling their lading into the Sea.

Darts

Darts, which pursued them with great Execution a mile off (they being able to make no return, the Engines being out of sight within the Walls) where three huge stones fell on *Marcellus* his Engine, and brake its Galley-foundation to pieces: whence retreating safely, but displeased, that one *Briareus* should from his chair make such sport of his Army and Navy; and reducing old *Megares*, surprizing *Hippocrates* as he was encamping by *Aciles*, with a slaughter of eight thousand men, drawing off the *Carthaginians* Allies, over-running the Champion of *Sicily*, he (by the advantage of a Parley about a *Syracusan* Captain called *Dannippus*, that he had taken) observed a Tower near the weakest and worst guarded part of the City; where lodging his men when the *Syracusans* were busie in *Dianaes* solemnities, upon the sound of Trumpets from the sides of the wall, he affrighted the amazed, but secure multitude, from two parts of the Town, which ^a he took by break of Day, breaking open the main Gate *Hexapile*, as he did the third part called *Acradina* not long after by correspondence and treachery, preserving the Town from being razed, and the Inhabitants from being enslaved, or murdered; not so joyful that the City was his own, as sad that it was to be the Souldiers spoyl, a spoyl as rich as that of *Carthage*, where *Marcellus* saved nothing but the Royal treasure, which he sent to *Rome*: but nothing troubled him more then *Archimedes* his death, who desiring to compleat his demon-

^g A City of Sicily.

^a a *Syracusa* taken, and *Archimedes* his death and character.

b Built by the Cretans, where they worship the Mothes, where are Helmets of Copper, whereon are graved the name of Ulysses and of the Meriones. Vide Possidonium.

stration, or carrying some Sphaeres or Engines to *Marcellus*, was barbarously murdered, having done as much as he could to save himself and *Syracuse*; a man wrapped up in demonstrations (that flowed from his quick and clear soul as fluent as his words) and extasied with Mathematicks, as if he had been as immaterial as his principles, being above all drouse respects and designs, as his Science is above matter; whom *Marcellus* rewarded in his friends, and revenged in his murderer; for others brought in courage to *Rome*, but *Marcellus* taught it civility and mercy, an instance whereof is the old City *Enayum b*, wch notwithstanding *Nicias* his endeavours to reclaim it, stood close to *Carthage*, and growing insolent against him (who was feign to counterfeit madnesse, and divine vengeance for an escape) and others was subdued by *Marcellus*, who upon *Nicias* his tears and supplication pardoned and spared it, ordering that a pins head should not be taken there, onely some Lands he bestowed upon him.

Whence (being called home by the Wars at his own doors) he brought the fairest Tables and Pictures *Syracusa* afforded, to adorn *Rome* with pieces of pleasure, which was hitherto hung with those of Terroure (that City being then by *Pandarus* called *Mars* his Temple, as *Baotia* was by *Epaminondus* called his Scaffold, and *Ephesus* by *Xenophon* his Shop) as much to the young peoples satisfaction, as the old ones displeasure; who endured not that the people should see the gods led in triumph

umph to condemn them, or that they should gaze on the curious workmanship, and beidle, therefore denied him a second Triumph, permitting him onely an Ovation *c*, that is, a private Entrance with Pipes *d* and Flutes before him, such as all bloodlesse Victors have, though they (as the *Spartans* decreed, deserved most, it being more honour and safety to overcome by policy than by force) but *e* now he is the fourth time Consul; and (having like a man of a constant and equal spirit been cleared from the *Syracusans* suggestions by the most voices in the Senate, and pardoned the prostrate City that ingratitude, made a Law That when ever he or his passed that way, the *Syracusans* should observe a solemn day with Garlands, Sacrifices and Triumphs) marcheth out against *Hannibal*, whom all Generalls declined after the defeat at *Cannes*, out of a warinesse that would ruine *Italy*: but *Marcellus* accosteth him, when he had taken *Samnium* in his way, and (notwithstanding the Pro-Consuls fall and defeat, with the losse of six Tribunes, *i. e.* Colonels, he promised in this expresse to the Senate) drive *Hannibal* after a whole dayes engagement from *Apulia*, and pursued him close, avoiding all his Ambushes, until *Q. Fulvius* being made Dictator, and he Pro-Consul upon consultation with *Fabius*, half the Army under *Fabius* was to regain *Tarentum*, and the other half under him to ply *Hannibal* near *Cannussum*, where being constrained by uncessant skirmishes to joyn battel, he was overthrown *f* by an unseasonable stratagem of

c From Ovis, because then the Generalls offered a sheep. Or from Javan, or Evan, a song of joy, in honour of Evius, *i. e.* Bacchus.

d Made of Fir, which was consecrated to *Venus*.

e *Marcellus* four times Consul, and his expedition against *Hannibal*.

f. i. e. Bringing the revere suddenly to the froat, which disordered his

his own one day, with the losse of three thousand men: but gaining more resolution from the shame and danger of his defeat, after a speech more bitter and cutting than the Enemies sword or conquest, routed Hannibal next day, (who said of him, that Marcellus was quiet neither with good nor bad fortune) forcing his Elephants upon his Army with the slaughter of 8000 Carthaginians to his very Camp, which he removed to escape Marcellus to Sinuesse in Campania, where he Ingarisoned himself that Summer, and while the Romans were recovering and recruiting, laid waste all Italy, until Marcellus (notwithstanding Tribune Bibulus his suggestions of his cowardlinesse and carelesnesse) was upon the Senates avouching him the onely Captain Hannibal feared, not deposed his Pro-consulship, as some expected, but chosen now the fifth time Consul g, having composed the seditions in Tuscany, sacrificed the spoils of Sicily to the goddesses honour and vertue; (when an Ox-spake, a childe fell out of an Elephants head, Rats eat the Gold in Jupiter Capitolinus his Temple; other Temples were on fire, and all things boded his misfortune) untill I say Marcellus in a pang of Ambition unbecoming his years, would needs engage Hannibal (who was all his dreams by night, and his discourse by day) who lying between Bancia and Venusa, and avoiding Marcellus under the hill Petelinum, surprized two thousand five hundred Romans that were designed for the siege of Locris a; which misfortune heated Mar-

g Marcellus
now the fifth
time Consul.

And his unfor-
tunate death.

a Called Epi-
zephyria, i. e.
western, all the
Grecians being
Eastern.

cellus

cellus so far, that he would needs view a commodious Hill (which Hannibal seemed to neglect, but indeed made it his Ambush, as the next hill was his Camp) with his fellow Consul Q. Crispinus his own son, and 220 Horse more, the hollow caverns and woods whereof being by Hannibal filled with Arrows and shot, let flye upon them such a multitude of Foot, when they came up, that (which was unusual to Rome) both Consuls fell, the Thuscans fled, and some forty Fregellanians with the Consuls officers were cut off, a fatal design (as the b Sacrifices foretold) and a sad overthrow, which all men pittied! even Hannibal himself, upon a narrow view of Marcellus his parts and features, wondring he should dye so strangely, who after an honourable burial, wearing his Seal-Ring on his own finger, sent his Urne crowned with Gold to his son, who c (say most) nobly interred it, erecting the fifth Monument for him over his Grave (the first being erected by himself at Catana, the second at Samothracia, the third at Syracuse, the fourth at Lindos) whose living Monument was an honourable posterity, that lasted to Marcellus, Augustus sisters son, who marrying Julia, and dying when Aedil, had a Library erected for him by his Mother Octavia, and a Theatre by his Uncle and Father-in-Law Augustus, which are called Marcellus his Theatre and Library to this day.

b Whereof one
had a liver
without a head.

c i. e. Livy and
August. Caesar,
though Cor-
Nepos & Val.
Maximus say,
the Numidians
met with the
urnes and scat-
tered the ashes,
so that Hanni-
bal concluded,
the gods had
decreed him a
strange death,
and no burial.

The Parallel.

and who if he had been there, the Orchameni-ans say, they had not been so barbarously handled.

e So Cæsar, Livy, Corn. Nepos, and K. Juba writes.

THESE are the most considerable remarks of *Pelopidas* and *Marcellus*, who were both valiant and noble; onely *Marcellus* spilled much blood, which *Pelopidas* saved: Famous was *Marcellus* his victory over the *Gaules*, and as famous was *Pelopidas* at *Lenetres* and *Tegyra*; one he slew was King of the *Gaules*, and this was slain by the Tyrant of *Pheres*: *Pelopidas* his stratagem at *Thebes* was more eminent than any action of *Marcellus*, who engaged the prevailing *Carthaginians*, as the other did the successful *Spartans*. *Marcellus* was not always overcome, neither did *Pelopidas* always conquer. *Marcellus* strangely recovered the *Romanes* courage, and *Pelopidas* as strangely the peoples liberty. The one made his people ashamed to be conquered, the other ashamed not to conquer. It was no less renowned for *Pelopidas* to draw neer *Sparta*, then for *Marcellus* to over-run *Sicily*; onely this had a partner of all his glories, the other none: *Pelopidas* died unhappily, but honourably; *Marcellus* fell undiscreetly, but pittied (selling his noble life at the rate of a Light-horseman, who sets but 12 Drachmaes pay upon his head) the rashness of both their deaths blemished the glory of their lives. *Pelopidas* had the happiness to be buried by the confederates of *Thebes*, and *Marcellus*

Marcellus the honour of being interred by the enemies of *Rome*; the one was attended to his Grave by friends, that were obliged by his civilities, the other by enemies that admired his worth.



*An: Mundi
3461. Ante
Chr. 490.*

XVII.

ARISTIDES.

Contemporary with Xerxes, otherwise called Ahasuerus in Scripture; with Joiakim High-Priest of the Jewes, Protagoras the Philosopher, and Herodotus the Historian.

A *Ristides* son of *Lysimachus*, born of the Tribe of *Antiochides* in *Alopeia*, (though some make him and his children poor) was so far in the Subsidy-book, as

a Saying, his daughters married not because poor.

b But Plato & Epaminondas did that upon Dion and Pelopidas his charge. See Demetr. Phalerius in his book called Socrates, & Parnatius his objections.
 * He was Pen-tacosiomedimnes, i. e. could dispend 500 bushels of wheat yearly and upwards; but there were other of his name, as Xenophilus, & the Author of the Greek Orthography.
 c Aristides and Themistocles different tempers.

d His justice.

as to be chosen by the Bean *Archon Eponymus* or Mayor of *Athens*; so rich and potent, that he was ostracized; so well furnished, that he maintained Games, and offered *Bacchus* a three-footed stool, with this inscription, *The Tribe of Antiochides won the victory*, *Aristides defraided the charge of the Games* b, and *Archistratus the Poet taught them to play their Comedies*. *Themistocles* and he had one education, but divers inclinations; the one favoured the Nobility, the other the populacy and their faction: *Themistocles* was quick, subtle, and daring; *Aristides* temperate, plain, and steady, both just Rivals in private affections to *Megacles*, and then in all publick matters c: the one would rise by his friends, that they might support him; the other without them, that he might not displease, or shelter them, or wrong others for their sakes, trusting his own integrity and merit. *Themistocles* his rash counsels were poized by *Aristides* prudent opposition, and *Aristides* his mistakes, upon better arguments, were suppressed by himself, and his good advice was proposed by others, that *Themistocles* his spight might neither endamage the Commonwealth, nor disparage *Aristides*, whose integrity was immoveable, whose actions resolute, his d justice so exact, that he petitioned the Judges (who were ready to award him a cause without hearing) himself to give ear to his Adversary.

2. He replied to one that told him his enemy had wronged him; *Friend, I am here to judge for thee, not for my self*. And 3. being exact

exist in his Treasurers place one year, and discovering the Commonwealths Thieves, he said he was accused of corruption, and dissembling a remissness the next year; and conniving at the publick cheats, he was applauded, and chosen Treasurer the third year, which he generously refused, being more ashamed of their favour now, than of their fine last year, and bewraying the common frauds as much to the corrupt parties regret as the honest mens content: His humility was as eminent as his justice: For assisting *Miltiades* against *Dathis* of *Persia*, as one of the ten Captains that commanded by turns for the Peace of the Army, and the security of the Cause, he yields him his place as the rest did after, yet e relieves the distressed *Antiochides* in the heat of the Battle: and while *Miltiades* went to secure *Athens* f, honestly kept the Camp, and all its Spoils.

After which Battle at *Morathon*, he was made *Archon g*; in which place, as some got the name of *Poliarcetes*, City-conquerours; others of *Cerauni*, terrible; others *Nicanores*, subduers; others *Aetes*, Eagles: So he had the name of *Just*, and the honour of being like the gods in vertue, the priviledge of men as other creatures are like them in power or immortality, a name that procured him the

er to *Bacchus*, a great honour saith *Pausanias*, being revered by a Barbarian; and shewed a prize, took it, and killed the poor soul, whence his Posterity are called *Laccoplures* to this day, i. e. Ditch-rich.
 g Though some say it was after that Battle at *Platees*.

honour

e As *Themistocles* did the *Leontides* the same day, both fighting well out of envy.
 f The Barbarians being beaten by a tempest to *Athens*, *Miltiades* went to secure it, entrusting the riches of the Camp with *Aristides*, where one *Callias* Torch-bearer to *Bacchus*, a great honour saith *Pausanias*, being revered by a Barbarian; and shewed a prize, took it, and killed the poor soul, whence his Posterity are called *Laccoplures* to this day, i. e. Ditch-rich.

h called so from an Oyster-shell, wherein the banished name was written by 6000 at least, else it was no Ostracism.

i Aristides his Ostracism and player contrary to that of Achilles. Hom. II. r. lib. he is miscalled. k Sanduace K. Xerxes sisters sons.

l Aristides his wife answers.

honour of an universal Arbitrator, and be envy of an Ostracisme h (a way in a free State to curb the ambition of the Nobility, and satisfy the envy and lightnesse of the people which was banished it self with poor & loose Hyperboles that embased it) upon which being upon a Countreyman's request wrote *Aristides* his name in a shell, and asked him what injury *Aristides* had done him? who said, None, but that every body calleth him a just man i. He left the City, praying the *Athenians* might have no need to recall him.

But *Xerxes* k invading *Attica*, all Exiles being recalled, *Aristides* was courted home. He left he, and others of his example, should side with the *Barbarians*; who as he always encouraged *Greece* to assert their liberty, so now (laying aside all private Animosities that might endanger the publick service by agreeing with *Themistocles*) seeing *Eurybiades* the *Athenian* General environed by the *Persians*, after a Council of Warr, he attacked the Enemy in the Isle *Psythalea*, and took it (with three *Persian* Lords l, who were by the Soothsayers direction sacrificed to *Bacchus Omestes* the eater of raw flesh) setting up a Trophy there, as the place whereabout should be the greatest Encounters, that his friends might not perish, nor his Enemies escape; and then advised the *Grecians* to threaten the cutting off of King *Xerxes* his bridge, that he might run home (it being safer to raise two Bridges for an Enemy, than to cut off one from them) as he did, leaving *Mardonius* behind him.

him, who threatened to invade them by Land who could deal with him by Sea, and offered peace and restitution to wasted *Attica*; but *Aristides*, 1. Told his Messengers that the *Athenians* would be as constant as that Sun he shewed them, in their revenge upon them. 2. Excommunicated all that would confederate with the *Barbarians*. And 3. checked the *Spartans* for forgetting their former valour, and insisting on their present poverty, so far as to offer them victuals to defend the Liberties of *Greece*, as if they suspected their integrity, upon the news of *Mardonius* his overtures.

Now upon *Mardonius* his second invasion, *Aristides* (after he had perswaded the *Spartans* out of five thousand men for the service, which they sent while he was a expostulating with them) being chosen Lieutenant-General of eight thousand *Athenians*, joyned with *Pausanius* the *Grecian* General at *Platces*, where observing the *Barbarians* had intrenched nothing but their Carriage, and encouraged by the South-sayers, the Oracle of *Delphos*, and *Arimnestus* his conference with *Jupiter* in a Dream, that (after they had sacrificed to *Jupiter*, *Juno* of *Citheron*, *Pan*, the Nymphs b *Sphragitides*, and the c *Demi-gods* of *Platea*; and if they fought in their d own territories) promised them success; he having, 1. *Citheron* and the fields adjoyning made e over to him by the *Plateans* (to fulfill the O-

a The next day after their solemn Feasts called *Hyacinthia*.

b In whose Cave men were possessed formerly, who were called *Nympho Ipti*, or taken with their Nymphs.

c *Androcates*, *Leucon*, *Pisander*, *Damocrates*, *Hypsi-on*, *Aetæon*, & *Polydius*.

d And in the Coasts of *Ceres Eleusian*, who had an old temple it seems

e For which *Alexander* many years

racle)

acle) an excellent place to encampe. 2. Composed the unreasonable difference between the *Tagetes* and the *Athenians* about the left Wing of the battle, whereof the *Lacedemonians* had the Right. And 3. Punished some of the male-content conspirators of *Athens*, giving the rest liberty to purge themselves in the Independent battle) upon the *Megarians* danger in the Vale, and *Pausanias* his request, drew down the Hill upon the Barbarians, and slaying their Horse-General *Masistius*, forced them with great f moans and cries to their Camp; where *Mardonius* (being scantied in his provision, and observing the daily increase of his enemies) notwithstanding the South-layers forewarning, that they on the offensive part should perish, drew out privately over the River *Asopus* upon the *Grecians*; who being admonished thereof secretly by g Alexander of *Macedon*, and calling immediately a Council of War, ordered their Wings answerable to the Barbarians, always opposing the *Athenians* to the traitorous *Thebanes*, and the *Spartans* to the Barbarians (making many alterations upon intelligences between both Armies, not without some discontents, which *Aristides* reconciled) and removed their Camp with much difficultiy; a stubborn *Lacedemonian* called *Amompharetus* resisting and disordering them, untill the enemy at break of day was upon them, whom the *Grecians* upon *Pausanias* order, engaged not (though some of them were b killed) till (the gods being prayed to, that the Barbarians should either be

con-

conquered, or buy their victory dearly, after many sacrifices, were at last pleased) they whipped the *Lydians* who would have taken away their sacrifices; and enraged with provocations, engaged the *Persian Forces* *Pell-mell*, and with the *Athenians* relief (who overthrew the *Thebanes*, who would needs fight against the Liberties of Greece, notwithstanding *Aristides* conjuration of them in their way) slew two hundred and sixty thousand of the *Persians*, with their General *Mardonius* (who (according to the k *Carions* dream) was knocked in l the head with a stone) pursuing them through their Trenches, Caves, Holds, and Woods; so that but fourty thousand under *Artabazus* escaped: after which victory (the contention about it being appeased by a General Council of Greece, called by *Aristides* advice, and to avoid envy, the glory of it by *Athens*, *Sparta* and *Corinth*, the pretenders being bestowed on *Plataea*, the fifty valiant *Bantides* sacrificed to the Nymphs *Sphragitides* according to the Oracles order; the *Plataeans* with eighty Talents of the spoils assigned them, built and m adorned *Minervaes* Temples; *Sparta* and *Athens* triumphed by themselves; the sacred fire now polluted by the Barbarians, was purified and recruited by *Euchidas* in one n day from *Apollo Pythias* his Altar, the Protector of Liberty, *Joves* Altar was erected, and the General Councils of Greece enacted upon *Aristides* motion yearly sacrifices of that are married do sacrifice, she dying a Virgin, the daughter of *Hercules* and *Myrto Menæus* daughter, and *Patroclus* sister.

chanks

f Polling their hair, shaving their Horses.

g Alexander came himself and imparted the secret to *Aristides*, who promised an acknowledgement of that favour if they prevailed.

h As *Callicrates*, who said he was contented to dye, but not cowardly.

i In memory of which feat there are boys whipped about the Altar in *Sparta* to this day.

k who being sent to the Oracle of *Amphiaras*, was there knocked in the head with a stone.

l This battle was fought the fourth of *Bordromian* or

June, or as the *Bæotians* will have it, on the 24 of *Parcemus*, the day of the solemn assembly of the States of Greece.

m With Pictures that remain to this day.

n He went one day a thousand furlongs, but died at night, and buried in the Temple of *Diana Euclia*, or the goddess of good renown, to whom all

a Decrees of Greece.

b Called Mæ-mæsterion in Greek, and Al-alcomnies in Bæotia.

c All the year he goeth in a white Gown, and toucheth no Iron.

d which Themistocles saying it was not to be published by the peoples order, communicated to Aristides.

e Whipping them for the least offence, or making them stand under an Iron all day.

thanks at Platea, yearly Games for Liberty in Greece; a 10000 Foot, one thousand Horse, an hundred Ships against the Persian, and the Plateans being honored as sacred persons, should observe Anniversaries (for their souls that fell in their territories on the b sixteenth of January in a solemn procession, led with Trumpets, and followed with Chariots adorned with Fir-trees and Garlands of Triumph, with noble young men and Free-born Boys, with a Black, Wine, Milk and Odors, and the Provost at last in c his Purple Coat, washing and anointing their Tombs, drinking to their souls, and inviting them to the Feasts; and at last considering the merits and inclinations of the people, established an equal Commonwealth, wherein all power was invested in and derived from the people.

By whom (for his Prudence and Justice in rejecting d Themistocles his profitable, but not just crotchet, for burning the Grecian Ships to advance the Athenian power) he was voted General with Cimon, in which command he gained as many by his mild and Grave Government, as Pausanias lost by his haughty and severe carriage; in so much that all the Captains of Greece devolved the chief command upon Aristides (the Lacedæmonians themselves being contented, finding it safer to let their souldiers submit to the good discipline of others, then to be without any of their own, they being fitter to receive Law then to give it; and all men being weary e of

Pau-

Pausanias his rigor, who slighted the Captains, even Aristides himself, vexed the private souldiers, would whip a man but for fetching Water before the Lacedæmonians; and therefore was cashiered by Uliades the Samian, and Antagoras the Chian) whereupon Aristides as chief Governor, levies so equal and easie a Tax upon Greece (which always contributed a joynt stock towards the publike occasions) that his time was judged the Golden Age of Greece (the Assesment thereof being in his time but four f hundred Talents, and raised by Pericles and the Orators to g thirteen hundred, not for the necessary charges of War, but the more superfluous expences for Games, Images, and Temples) and he esteemed highly of all but Themistocles, who said, It was not an honest man but an Iron Chests commendation, to save money; to be even with Aristides, who told Themistocles when he would have a General h knowing, that he would have him honest and clean-fingered

f i.e. Nine hundred pounds.

g 139000 l.

h Of his enemies secrets.

In the next place he swore himself and all the Grecians to their League, vowing him to perdition, as the hot-Iron he threw in the Sea, who first broke it, although i Aristides himself, afterwards, upon some alteration of affairs (as indeed he always respected convenience in State-matters, and strict Justice onely in private causes) against this League, disposed of the Treasure at Delos for publike service, saying, It was not just but profitable.

i Aristides his state-honesty.

k His poverty. Vid. Plat. de Æschin.

k This Aristides was not so proud of his

P

pub-

publike services, as of his poverty, saying always privately, and once openly to his Cozen *Callias* *Ceres* his Torch-bearer, that offered him supplies, That he had more reason to be ashamed of his riches (which many use ill, and few well) then he of his penury; so that the whole City was perswaded it was better to be poor with *Aristides*, then rich with *Callias*. His moderation was as eminent as his humility, for none more malicious against him to his banishment, then *Themistocles*; none more civil to him in his extremitie then *Aristides*, who

I Although we read of *Themistocles* exiled, *Miltiades* imprisoned, *Petricles* fined by the insolent rabble, yet we read not of *Aristides* banishment the second time.

m The daughters having three thousand *Drachmaes*, i.e. one hundred and fifty pounds, and she sons an hundred *Minaes*, i.e. three hundred & twelve pounds ten shillings, with an hundred Jugera of Land, besides the four *Drachmaes* a day upon *Alcibiades* his motion to each. Vid.

Demetrius, *Phalerium*, *Hier. Rhod.* *Aristoxinum* & *Aristotelem*.

MARCUS



XVII.

MARCUS CATO, The Censor.

Contemporary with *Rantha King of Scotland*, *Antiochus King of Syria*, *Eumenes of Pergamus*, *Judas Maccabæus*.

Marcus Cato (descended of obscure but honest Ancestors, that had been rewarded for their service to their Country, and surnamed *Priscus* for his experience, and *Cato* for his prudence) was born at *Tusculum*, and lived among the *Sabines* a while upon his own estate (a man of a sanguine complexion, a strong constitution, a temperate inclination, and (what he judged necessary for Government) of a becoming elocution) which by pleading lesser causes in neigh-

P 2

boring

An: Mundi

3760.

Ant. Christi.

188, or 222.

a Sigonius saith
he triumphed
four times.

b Cato's dispo-
sition, and his
step to prefer-
ment.

boring Villages, he fitted for the weightier affairs of the great City, whether (upon observation made of his noble spirit, above private mercinarineſs and applauſe) his grave behaviour, his early valour appearing in the field againſt *Hannibal* at ſeventeen, his ſpare diet of his own dreſſing, wherewith he allowed himſelf nothing but water, unleſs in caſe of weakneſs; whether *Manius Curius* his perſwaſion (who though a he had Triumphed three times, and overcome *Pyrrhus*, lived yet in a poor Cottage hard by *Cato*, and was there found by the *Samnites* Embaſſadors boyling Parſeneps for his Supper, ſaying to them when they offered him Gold, that it was more to command them that had Gold, then to have it himſelf; and whom *Cato* imitated in his induſtry and good huſbandry) or upon *b Nearchus* his requeſt (whom he met in *Fabius Maximus* his ſervice at *Tarentum*, and from whom he learned contentment, ſobriety, and thoſe excellent ſayings of *Plato* (*That the body was the ſouls plague, and that its health was Reaſon, example, and contemplation*) to underſtand whom, he learned Greek in his old Age, and profited much in *Thucydides* and *Demosthenes*, as appears by his Works, which are full of Greek Citations) or upon that grave and wiſe Nobleman *V. Flaccus* his encouragement, who (diſcerning his good inclinations, and the firſt ſprouting of his virtues in his induſtry, temperance, and humility at home, in his wiſe ſayings, and notable pleaſe abroad, and obſerving him a graſſe fitter for

better

better ground:) invited him firſt to his own table to diſcourſe, and then to the publick Aſſemblies to plead, where he had not long practiſed, but what with *Valerius* his countenance, what with his own worth, he was maſter of ſuch general eſteem and affection, that from Tribune or Colonel of Foot, the firſt Office beſtowed upon him by the peoples Votes, he was fellow-Conſul and Cenſor, with his own Patron *Valerius*. The great Pattern he ſet before himſelf, was *Fabius Maximus*, not ſo much for his eſteem and reputation, as for his prudent conduct and Government; and a conſequence of his love to *Fabius*, was his envy to *Scipio* (in whole way of riſing *Fabius* ſeemed to ſtand) whoſe charge of prodigality and riot, to the debauching of the Army and the undoing of the Commonwealth, managed by *Cato* and *Fabius*, even then when he had made all things ready for a Victory, was his greateſt miſcarriage, and his Patrons untowardſt oversight. But his eloquence improved *Cato's* eſteem much (all men aſpiring to his Oratory) and his temperance more, for now *Romes* plenty and populouſneſs, (being incapable of its former Auſterity and diſcipline) from a Conſul to wear a Gown worth no more then an hundred pence, to leave his houſe and War in *Spain*, to ſave the charge of transporting him; to drink no better Wine then his Servants; to Dine and Sup for thirty Aſſes, that is, ten pence; to ſell away all his Tapiſtry, and endure no Plaiſter or Wainſcot; to take no more then

three Bushels of Wheat, and a Bushel and an half of Barley a month when General; to think every thing too dear that was too little; to entertain no fine, but laborious attendants; to refuse Gardens, and purchase Arable Lands, as Cato did, was such sobriety, humility, and good husbandry, as seemed a miracle, if not a defect, the effect of a greedy rather than a temperate nature; for since good men have been so kind to the very beasts that served them, the Athenians to their mules which they fed when old on the public account; Cimon to the Mare that won him three Races at Olympus, in burying her; Xantippus to his Dog at Salamina: It were hard to turn off those servants (when Aged and weak, as Cato did) who served us when young and strong: justice and severity are Vertues, gentleness and humanity are more; to put off my wearied Oxe to the Shambles, is hard; to expose my aged slave to the wide world, is inhumane. However, his plainness was obliging, especially at Sardinia, where he cut off the superfluous Impositions of other Pretors, visited the Cities afoot, and attended but with a one servant; his gate was simple as *b* Socrates his, and his Government just and severe; his speech so sweet and pleasant, yet grave and severe, that by his strict Government and powerful perswasion, the Sardinians loved and feared the Romane Government.

a who carried his Gown and sacrificing Cap.
b His carriage in the Government.

c His sayings.

c His sayings are renowned: As 1. To the Romanes about distributing Corn, *It's hard,* said he, *to perswade the belly that hath no ears.*

2. And

3. And reproving its Government, *It's hard,* said he, *to keep up that State where a fish is as dear as an Ox.* 3. He said, *The Romans like Sheep would be driven in flocks, but not singly.*

4. Others, said he, *command their wives, we command men, and our wives command us.*

5. He advised the Romanes to honor the noblest exercise (the young men being likely to embrace that which the City best esteemed) and if they attained to greatness by good deeds, *not to grow worse; if by bad, to grow better:*

d Suiters for Offices, said he, *will abuse them, as likewise would continuers in them.*

6. When a woman prayed that her wicked son might survive her, *This was,* said he, *not to pray but to curse, and wish a plague to the world.* 7. Of one that sold an inheritance by the water side, he said, he was stronger then the Sea, *For what that washed away by little and little, he consumed in a moment.*

8. Upon King Eumenes his entertainment at Rome, he said, *Kings were but ravening beasts that live of the prey; extolling Epaminond, Pericles and other Commonwealths men beyond them.* 9. Being envied for his early addresses to publick affairs, he said, *He had rather lose the reward of well doing then suffer for evil doing; and that he could bear with others neglect, but not with his own.* 10. When first a Gouty, 2. a foolish; and another cut-pated Embassador was imployed to Bithynia, he said the Romanes had sent an Emballie, *That bath neither feet, head, nor heart.* 11. To Polybius his motion about the exile Græcians, he said,

d They are, said he, afraid to loose their way, therefore they will have many servants.

It seems we have little to do, when we beat our brains about which should bury these old exiles, *Rome* or *Achaia*. 12. He observed that wise men learn more by fools, than fools by wise men; for they see their weakness, to avoid it; these consider not *their* Vertues, to imitate them. 13. He was for ruddy rather than pale youth, and against that souldier that waggeth his hand as he goeth, or his feet as he fighteth, or snorteth louder than he crieth against the enemies. 14. What (said he of a fat man) should the Commonwealth do with him who is nothing but belly from his chin to his Codpiece? and to an Epicure, I cannot live with him (for he thought the soul was not where it lived, but where it loved) who hath more judgement in the palate of his mouth than in his heart. 15. He always repented of three things. 1. That he told a secret to a woman. 2. That he went by water when he might have gone by land. And 3. That he had spent a whole day idle. 16. He would say to a loose old man gray-bearded, Add not your vices to the other deformities of old Age; and to a Seditious Tribune that used to poison, upon a motion for a wicked Law, It's all one to take thy Druggs, and to receive thy Laws. 17. When a leud fellow reproached him, he said, He was too hard for him, for he was used to scold and be scolded at, but he to neither.

c For two hundred Talents,
i.e. 35000 l.
f As he told the Romanes that grudged it.

His actions are as famous for being Conful in *Spain*, and in some extremity e hiring the *Celtiberians* to be f paid by the enemies spoil if they overcame, or perish if they were

ere overcome; he overcame the numerous barbarians, razed as g many Cities as he had been there days, and (though he contending rather for Vertue with the best, than money with the richest, took no spoil or bribe in all his expedition, nor allowed b his own five followers any) bestowed a pound weight, i.e. five pound of Silver, besides the spoils, on his souldiers, saying, He had rather all had silver, then a few onely had Gold; with seven hundred of whom when his Rival *Scipio* succeeded him in *Spain*, he overcame the *Laccanians*, and took 600 runagate Romanes in his way home, to *Scipio's* discontent (of whom *Cato* said that *Rome* was like to flourish while the i Noblemen strived to be above the upstarts, and the upstarts to be equal with the Noblemen) but to the Romanes great satisfaction, who voted him a triumph, which was not the period (as to some who aim at honor rather than Vertue) but the encouragement of his services, which were ready for his friends in the Market-place, & for his Country, i. In the Wars of *Thrace* under *Sempronius*; of *Greece* under *Aquilius* against the proud encroachments of *Antiochus*. 2. In Embassies to *Corinth*, *Patras*, and *Aegia*, to keep them stedfast to the general cause of Liberty, where there is a Greek speech of his delivered by an k Interpreter, that sheweth the Græcians words are in their Lips, and the Romans in their heads. When *Antiochus* had barred up *Thermopyla* the passage to *Greece*, with an Army and a Trench, *Cato* l remembering how *Xerxes* had

g i. e. All on this side the river Boetis, to the number of four hundred.
h One Paccus his servant having got three boys in the wars was so afraid of his Masters anger, that he hanged himself.

i *Scipio* was a Nobleman, and *Cato* an upstart.

k For he honoured the Latine tongue, as appears from his year on *Albinus* his Greek Book.
l By reading history, which is useful for a soldier.

Vid. Herod.

en-

b A new Colony, as Valerius saith.

c whereof himself was so sensible, that he said Rome was more obliged to him then he to it.

d His Actions in war and peace.

e Lucius Scipio, who was fined.

f when he accused Servius Galba.

encompassed *Leonidas* in the same place by *Ephialtes* his direction, one night with incredible patience clambered through Rocks, Woods and Boggs, untill coming upon the enemy, and by a Prisoner the *Firmians* took discovering their small number and great disorder, overthrew their Army at the same time that *Manius* assaulted their Fort with so fierce an on-set, that *Antiochus* struck with a stone turned back his Horse; and his men durst not fight, so fierce were the enemy nor flye, so streight was the place; after which Battle he was sent home by *Manius* (with this commendation (after they had embraced each other) that neither he nor *Rome* could recompence his service) to report his own glory, whither coming in five days by *Bridides* and *Tarentum*) he filled the place with joy and sacrifices.

d These were his martial exploits: in his civil capacity he was a severe accuser, and promoter of accusations (especially against *Scipio*, as *Scipio* was against his own brother) (saying to a young man that had overcome his fathers enemy, That the tears and condemnations of enemies, rather then Kids and Lambs, were to be offered to our fathers souls) untill he was eighty nine years fold, a *Nestor*, out-living the two *Scipio's*; wherefore he was fifty times accused himself, saying what was then noted, That it was easier to give an account of this life here then hereafter; and when he would have been (as he was always in effect) Censor, the Nobility out of envy to his preferment, and the

Commoners out of fear of his severity, set up seven meal-mouthed Competitors against him, although the noble *Romanes* then worthy of good Governors, yet pitched upon him, who publicly threatned all vices and disorders, and another severe man *Val. Flaccus*; who 1. as soon as he had made his Colleague Prince of the Senate, put out 1. *Q. Flaminius* for murdering *g Titus* his brother, a man wantonly *h* to please his *Ganymede* (who was as much pittied upon publike solemnities for his families sake, as he was abhorred for the fact which he denyed, but would not forswear it) 2. As he did one *Manlius* an hopeful man, for kissing his wife publicly before his daughter, saying, *His wife never kissed him but when it thundered.* 3. He discharged all Idle Feasts, Games, and expences, valuing all mens estates, and devoting their superfluities for publike service. And 4. In envie to *Scipio*, took *Luc. Scipio's* Horse of triumph; and (though he was envied and exclaimed at by those that thought (as *Scopas* the *Thessalian* said to him that would borrow of him a toy) k That their riches consisted in a power to enjoy superfluities, and opposed by *Titus Flaminius* and others, who would make void his Covenants and undertakings, especially the heady Tribunes) yet he cut off their curious Water-Conduits and Pipes, razed their Porches, raised their Farms and Customs, brought down the prizes of common workers, built the Commonwealths Palace called *Basilica* 1 Porcia, with the ill will of some, but the satisfaction

g who had conquered Philip of Macedon.
h Cic. de Senectat. Pliny l. 7. c. 27.
i His deeds while Censor.

k Aristotle wondred at nothing more then at this, that they were thought richer that had superfluities, then they who had profitable things

l From Porcius.

tion of the most, who erected his Statue at
as (he said) in their hearts, and then in the
Temple of health, with this inscription, *Marcus Cato the Censor, who besides his victories and triumphs reformed a disorderly Commonwealth by his wife precepts, his good example and his holy Institutions*; although he would say to those who asked why he had not Statues as well as meaner persons, That he had rather *men should ask why he had not, than why he had an image*: none declaimed more against praise and none praised *m* himself more than he; if a man offended, he was to be pittied, forsooth because *he was not Cato*; if a man came near him by imitation, *he was a left-handed Cato*. if Rome was in danger, all eyes were upon him, as upon the Pilot in a storm.

m Cato's self-praise.

n He was a good Master of his Family.

o He would leave the weightiest affairs, to see his Son unswadled.
p As vaulting, riding.

Indeed he was praise-worthy in the Commonwealth, & to be *n* commended in his Family, 1. For a good husband to his noble not rich Wife, whom he married, because noble persons are ashamed of dishonesty, and would say *Socrates* his patience was commendable, *being*, said he, *the highest sacrifice in the world to beat a wife*. 2. For an indulgent Father to his hopeful Son, which his mother suckled together with the slaves, that they might love him; *o* he very fond of him, taught him himself all Arts, Sciences, and man-like *p* exercises, especially famous Histories written, which he was to imitate with his own hand) with the assistance of his slave and Grammarian *Chilo*; whence though he was weak-bodied, yet he was noble spirited, as appeared in the battle against *Perseus*.

few, where by inciting the souldiers to recover his sword among the enemy, he gained the victory, to his Fathers great content, as appeared in his letter to him; and General *Æmilius* his satisfaction, who married to him his daughter *Tertia*. 3. He was a careful Master of his slaves, whom he trained up prudently, keeping them close at home, either to work or sleep: for he liked a sleepy slave, because he would be tractable, inuring them to silence (so that whatever was asked them, they said they could not tell) and allowing them for money the use of bondwomen; he required strict attendance on pain of whipping, and sometimes of death: he kept his slaves at variance, that they might not confederate; and his covetousness growing with his years, he set up Usury, took part in Ships, kept Factors abroad, set up his slaves under him, and reduced his stock from the troublesome and hazardous way of Tillage, to the quiet and sure way of Ponds, Baths, Fullers-Earth, Pastures and Meadows; as he taught his Son (saying) *It was the noble part of a man to improve his wealth, it was the weak part of a woman to diminish it*.

When *Carneades* the Academick, and *Diogenes* the Stoick (the Embassadors of *Athens* for a release of the five hundred Talents, *i. e.* sixty thousand pound Fine laid upon it at the Suit of the *Oropians*) had perswaded all Rome to the study of Eloquence and Oratory, *Cato* not out of envy to them, but good will to the Commonwealth, and his antipathy against learning

learning, proposed, that they might be dismissed to effeminate the *Græcian* boyes with learning, while the *Roman* lads exercised themselves in Arms, and obeyed the Senate; adding withal, that the *Græcian* curiosity in *Socrates* and others, did but raise sedition and a dislike to ancient Laws and Customs (although Learning went round the world hand in hand with Empire and glory.)

a When the King of Persia sent for him.

b His son having observed the Maid going to his Chamber, he went one day with his servants to the Market-place, and calling to *Salianus*, whether his daughter were married; he answering No, *Cato* said he would provide her an Husband, and that he would marry her to *Salianus* his great content. *c* Where worthy men were always discoursed of, and praised.

Out of the same humour he would banish all Physicians because they had taken an Oath like that of *Hippocrates* *a*, not to help the barbarous; adding, that he had few Physick-directions; for wholesome Herbs, and light meat, that preserved his Family, where yet he saw his Wife dead before him, into whose bed (he being of a strong constitution) brought his slave *Solinus* his daughter, after some unlawful familiarity with her; which being *b* discovered by his son, he varnished over with a Marriage, saying to his son, who asked wherein he had offended him (as *Pisistratus* the *Athenian* did to his) that he did it to leave behind him many such Citizens as himself.

And then having buried his eldest son, when *Prætor*, with an æquanimity and patience becoming a wise man, he retired not, as *Lucullus* and *Metellus* did for age, nor as *Scipio Africanus* for envy, but resolved to dye serving the Commonwealth, as *Dionysius* was to be buried in Tyranny, he (bestowing his vacant hours, *i* in Writing and Tillage, saying, that his two Revenues were Husbandry and Sparing: 2. In *c* Table-talk, as he said, the great

great fomentor of love, wherein he pleased his neighbours with his Jests, and profited them with his Experience: 3. In little observation about preserving Fruits *d*, and making Cakes, *d* whereof he writ a little Book. attended the publique service to his dying day. His last remarkable Act being the third *Carthaginian* War, which he (having viewed the strength and power of *Carthage*, as he went to decide the controversie between *Masinissa* King of *Numidia*, and the *Carthaginians*) persuaded upon this ground, That the *Punicks* having not lost so much strength in the late Warre, as they had gained skill, waited onely their opportunity to put for the Empire. Adding at the end of all his Speeches, that he thought *Carthage* was to be destroyed, as *Scipio Nasica* added, That he thought *Carthage* was not to be destroyed, but reserved as an exercise to the *Roman* power, which would otherwise grow loose, wanton, insolent and unruly: and as soon as he saw it begun, dyed; prophesying, that *Scipio* the second, then a young man, should finish it; and leaving behind him *Cato Salonian* his son by his second Wife, who dying *Prætor*, left a son that was afterwards *Consul*; and what was more, Grandfather to * *Cato* the Philosopher. * *Cato* *Ultimæ* *cenis*. *Vide* *Liv*.

The Parallel.

TO compare these two Heroes as we would do two Tablets, there are few things wherein

e Miltiades at
Marathon,
Themistocles
at Salamina,
Pausanias at
Platees.
f For which
Antipater
praiseth Alex-
ander.

a Soothsayers,
Fortune-tellers.

in they differ, many wherein they agree; both attained great honour by their own merit, only *Aristides* had it among the mean *Athenians*, where his Competitor was a poor *Themistocles*, and *Cato* among the wealthy *Romans*, where his Rival was great *Scipio*, or rich *Flaminius*, having nothing to commend him but uprightness and eloquence. *Aristides* was but one of ten Captains, and *Cato* one of two Consuls and Censors; he was under others e, this under none, having all the glory of protecting *Greece*, and opening the way to *Asia* to himself; both were invincible in War, and *Cato* so in Peace, who accused many, yet was by none condemned, as *Aristides*. His eloquence helped him, whereby he could persuade what he list: but his innocence saved him, whereby he did but what he ought. Oeconomy is the beginning of Policy, and *Cato* was as good a Master of his Family, as he was Governour of the Commonwealth. *Aristides* brought poverty and idleness to *Athens*, and *Cato* riches and industry to *Rome*: Good husbandry and justice being linked together, and it being necessary for him to take care of his own, that would not wrong another: Justice is not like oyle, which may be wholesome to anoint, but deadly to drink; good to others, and carelesse of its own: *Aristides* left not wherewithal to bury himself, or marry his daughter, *Cato* provided for all his Family: this mans Posterity for many Generations attained the highest dignities, the others drudged in the meanest a employments.

Aristides

Aristides had not so much as would exercise his vertues, nor *Cato* more: his poverty was no effect of his idleness, nor the others riches of his injustice. *Aristides* had the justice and content, *Cato* had that, and the sufficiency of the gods. *Aristides* his victories enlarged the borders of *Greece*, and *Cato's* those of *Rome*; onely his are as much above *Cato's*, as *Xerxes* was more potent than *Antiochus*, and *Persia* more considerable than *Carthage*. *Aristides* was ambitious to deserve triumphs and praise, and *Cato* to obtain them. *Aristides* helped his Adversary *Themistocles* in the common service, and *Cato* crossed *Scipio*. *Aristides* observed temperance and sobriety; *Cato*, as appears by his Maid and second Wife, did but commend them: It was dishonourable to bring a young mean maid to be a Mother of his noble Family; it was worse to make her first a Whore—and then marry in a poor house; not because it was honourable, but because cheap and easie.

Q

PHILO-

An: Mundi

3757, or
3800. Ante
Chr. 191, or
221.



XVIII.

PHILOPOEMEN.

Contemporary with Marcus Cato Censor, Plautus Ennius, Polybius, Jesus Syracides.

a who was to
him as a Phoenix
to Achilles. Homer
Il. 1,

Philopoemen of Megalipolis was kept by a Cassander the Mantinean, as he was by his Father Crausis, and bred under those State-Philosophers, Ecdemus and Demophanes, Arcefilaus his Scholars, who reckoned the education of Philopoemen that last Grecian (as that Romane said) the instituting of so noble a nature to publique rules and principles, a more concerning service to Greece, where his power grew with his years, than settling Cyrena, expelling Nicoles from Sicily

The Life of PHILOPOEMEN.

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ly, or Aristodemus from Megalipolis; he was so homely a man, that his Hostess at Megara made him cleave wood as a servant, while she was making great preparations for him as General, until her Husband came, and asking what he meant, he said, he was punished, because he was neither a fair boy, nor a handsome man. His ambition so heard him to an imitation of Epaminond's wisdom, resolution, and integrity, that finding himself exceeding bounds of modesty and courtesie in civill matters, he betook him to warlike exercises from his youth, (avoiding wrestling, for which men were to dyet and sleep themselves to an effeminacy) being the first that came on in the Megalipolitans Wars with the Spartans, and the last that came off (bestowing his leisure-time, 1. In hunting, that might inure him to hard-ship c. 2. In tillage, the honestest way he said of growing rich, so rich as to be above coveting other mens estates. 3. In studying such books as incited him to d vertue and valour, especially Evangelus his Book of Alexander's discipline and life, whose rules he practised in his marches, passes, retreats, wheelings and Order upon all occasions, even doting on Warlike discipline) until Cleomenes King of Lacedaemon one night surprized Megalipolis; which though Cleomenes could not save, yet with much hazzard brought he off the Citizens to Messina, where notwithstanding Cleomenes his cajoling invitation to return and take their City, he kept them untill (as he said) the King was forced to leave the bare walls, and

b Flaminius said of him that he had fair hands and feet, but a little bel-ly, jesting not upon his slender waste, but upon his Army, where he had good Horse & Foot, but no money.

c To which end he lay on a mat-tress all night.

d Reading onely so much of Ho-mier as stirred him up to valour.

Q

King

c. which he by
stretching his leg
forward, broke
in two pieces,
which were
pulled out, and
he fighting as
desperately as
ever. Vid. Po-
lyb. in fin. lib.
2di.

King *Antigonus* came to their assistance, against whose order he and his *Megalopolitans* engaged *Cleomenes* his Light-horsmen, who had disordered the *Illyrians* with that resolution and successe (as foot, over hills and dales in his Armour, notwithstanding a Dart shot through his thighs) that he beat *Cleomenes* out of his strong hold and passe on the mountains *Sellasia*, with *Antigonus* his commendation for his valour, rather than his check for his haste, whose offer of an under-command he refused (knowing his own nature) retyring for more experience among the expert *Cretans*, whence he returned with that reputation that advanced him to be General of the *Achaian* Horse, whom he found so ill horsed, worse armed and trained; but disciplined them with that industry and severity, that by training, mustering, and exercising, they were most ready at all postures, as appeared in the Battle against the *Ætolians*, where *Philopæmen* shewed himself as stout as the youngest in fighting *Demophantus* the General, and as prudent as the eldest in leading his Army, which prevailed now, not by Intelligences and Confederacies, as under soft *Aratus*, who first ennobled *Achaia*, but by valour and resolution, scorning to engage under any Ensigne but their own, especially since *Philopæmen* secured them with Barganets, Corslets, and Greaves, and taught them the use of large Pikes and Shields, instead of their little Targets and Spears, together with the *Macedonian* close posture of War: and since he turn-
ed

ed their excesses in diet, apparel, or furniture, into that of slinging, and rich armour, which encouraged and enlivened the wearers, their games and playes into breaking of young horses, and exercising at Arms; and their loose order that was formerly obnoxious, into close ranks that cannot easily be broke. They were at strife who should excell, when *Machanidas* of *Sparta* aiming at a Tyranny, met *Philopæmen* at *Mantineæ*, and beat his Forlorn three miles out the Field, while he set upon their naked Foot, and slew four thousand of them, with their General *Machanidas* as he leaped a large Ditch between them, with his own hand; for which, and his prudent conduct, he hath a Statue at *Delphos*: his order of embatteling was presented at the *Nemean* Games. All mens eyes and hearts were toward him, under whom they could do wonders, as without him their hearts failed them, from him they expected liberty and protection. At his appearance the Army shouted for joy, and his Enemies trembled for fear; his name being so dreadful, that *Philip* of *Macedon* laid a design against his life, as the support of Greece; the *Boeotians* quitted the siege of *Megara* in disorder upon the bare report of his approach. The *Megalopolitans* followed him to *Messina* before his Commission was voted; and the Tyrant *Nabis* stole out of *Messina*, which he had newly taken with his great Army upon his very name.

But that he either out of vain-glory, choosing rather to be the chief Commander a-

a The new ar-
mour fetched
out Achilles
his actions at
Mantineæ.

broad, than second at home ; or fear, or an unseasonable ambition, should serve the *Gortians*, when *Nabis* distressed, starved, and laid waste his own Countrey, was a miscarriage; the *Megalipolitans* (forced now to sow Corn in their streets to support themselves) would have banished him ; for had not the *Achaian* General *b Aristænetus* nobly interposed, and when he had made himself, 1. terrible, by seducing many little Villages from their duty, which they disputed before the general Council of *Achaia*, and eminent for defeating the *Cretans* with their own devices and ambuscades. 2. He was chosen General of *Achaia* (who had confederated with the *Romanes* against *Philip* of *Macedon*, whom under *T. Q. Flaminius* they overthrew) in whose service (having *c* miscarried in a Sea-fight, wherein he was not experienced, and almost lost his men in an old leaking Vessel) he surprized and burned *Nabis* his stragling Camp before *Gythium*; and being surprized again in a narrow and dangerous passage, the resolved man modelling his Army to the situation of the place, upon a just view of it by a fierce onset, scattered the Enemy ; and retreating from their pursuit through woods and quagmires, laid Ambushes for them in the hills and brooks as they fled into the City ; into which, as into a Net, they all fell.

These acts got *Philopæmen* not more renown in the Assemblies of Greece, than envy from the *d* Consul of Rome, who upon sound of Trumpet, and Proclamation, had rescued the

Grecian

b Who yet was at variance with him about the Commonwealth.

c His feats against *Nabis*.

d Flaminius.

Grecian liberty from *Philip*, and frighted *Nabis* to peace : who being murdered by the *Ætolians*, and leaving *Sparta* in a tumult, *Philopæmen* partly by force, partly by persuasion won that powerful and rich City, and united it to *Achaia*, to the great satisfaction of the *Achaians* for so considerable an enlargement of their Territories ; 2. Of the *Spartans* for their hope of liberty, who therefore presented him with 120 Talents of *Nabis* his estate ; which as no man durst offer him, so when his host *Timolaus* (after he had attempted it twice in vain, being awed by his wise discourse, his temperance, and just dealing) offered him, and he going to *Sparta* like an incorrupt man, refusing them, wishing them to spare their charges upon honest men, and their entire friends, with which they might stop the mouths of the seditious and ambitious.

And not long after, *Diophanes* the General of *Achaia* (notwithstanding his advice to him rather to watch *Flaminius* & *Antiochus* (now engaged in the heart of Greece, than take notice of the *Spartans*) coming to punish some *Spartan* innovation, was kept out of the City by *Philopæmen* (more nobly than lawfully) who composing it, put it into the hands of the *Achaian* Commonalty, though afterwards he razed their walls, murdered eighty natural Citizens *e*, layd their Territories to *Megalipolis*, annulled *Lycurgus* his institution and discipline to make way for that of *Achaia*, untill the *Romans* upon their supplication re-

e Saint Polybius, 350 fault Aristocrats.

Q 4

stored

Marrying a young Girl.

When Aristonetus said they should deny the Romanes nothing, he said, what? do you long to see an end of Greece? In A motion made by Manlius, which yet he did afterwards.

In discourse.

stored them to their ancient freedom and customs.— Whom upon *Antiochus* his defeat now with his Army was lost in disorder, *slow* and excess having got ground in *Greece*, and growing by the favour of the gods Masters of the world, when all courted them, *Philopomen* opposed in defence of the Liberties of *Greece*, contradicting all speeches made in their favour, and casting out all motions (as that of the banisheds restoration) made in Council by their meanes.

But being made the 8th time General in the 70th year of his age (as a punishment of his insolency (particularly against the Captain who suffered himself to be taken by the enemy alive) when the weaknesse of *Greece* promised peace and quiet) and going four hundred furlongs in a day in a fit of an Ague to reduce *Messina*, debauched from its allegiance by his Rival *Dinocrates* (who was coming to take *Colondes*) he was beaten by his five hundred reserve near the hill *Evander* when he had overthrown the Vantguard, and bringing off his men with unwearied courage, notwithstanding his age and sicknesse, till his horse threw him, he was taken Prisoner, and pittied by the people for his former services, though cruelly used by *Dinocrates*, who put him in a Dungeon called the Treasury: and left the *Achaians*, who prepared Embassadors and Armies for his rescue, should deliver him by force or love, sent him a poyson by the Hang-man; which when he heard his men were safe, rejoycing they were not all unfortunate, he took, and his weak

weak body yielding to it, immediately died, but was revenged by the *Achaians*, under their General *Lycortas*; at whose approach *Messina* yielded, *Dinocrates* dispatched; and they that would have hanged *Philopomen*, were hanged themselves. He being buried by all *Achaia* with the pomp of a triumph, and the solemnity of a Funeral; not so joyful as if they had conquered, nor so sorrowful as if they had lost a Patriot, carrying his ashes through the Countrey, which came generally to meet him, attended with the Nobility in their Robes, the Souldiers in their Arms and Garlands, and his Enemies in chains, to the gates of *Megalipolis*, where all Sexes and Ages met with tears, and buried him, stoning his enemies about his grave, over which they erected a Monument, as was done in all *Achaia*, now filled with his Statues; which when *Corinth* was burned, and an envious *Roman* would have defaced, but that Consul *Mummius* interposed for the worthy mans memory, whose enmity they were sensible of, but they revered his vertue.

k Polyb. Lycortas his son carried them.

Vide Polybius.

T. Q. F. L. A.



XIX.

T. Q. FLAMINIUS.

Contemporary with Philopœmen, and Polybius
the Historian, Tutor to Scipio Africa-
nus.

a which was
brought from
Carthage.

b As Colonel of
1000 Foot,
c Between Ban-
cia and Venu-
sa.

Flaminius (whose Statue is next that of
a Apollo) that good-natured man, who
had rather converse with those that
wanted his help, doing good, than with those
whose he wanted, receiving good; that
thought it a kindnesse to serve others, and
loved them most intirely whom he had mis-
obliged; was born and bred in a warlike time,
and served b under Marcellus against Hammi-
bal, in whose stead (when he was slain in an
ambush c) he was made Governour of Ta-

rentum

rentum then re-taken, where he shewed him-
self so good a man, and so expert a Souldi-
er, that he was appointed their Leader that
were to inhabit the new Cities of Narnia and
Cossa; and before he had born the inferiour
offices of Ædile, Tribune, or Prætor, notwith-
standing the Tribunes exceptions against his
years) by a common vote chosen to the highest
place of a Consul d, wherein by lot hastily he
was to engage Philip of Macedon, from whom
he withdrew the Græcians by his gentlenesse
and justice to an inward correspondence with
the Romanes, cutting off all supplies from
Philip, who must now hazard all in a Battle:
and doing more in one year with prudence
and lenity, than had been done many years
before by force and severity. For not trifling
the best part of the year upon the softer ho-
nours of his place, nor the rest in taking pas-
ses, or cutting off Convoys, as his Predecessors
had done, he with e three thousand Veteranes
(committing the Se-forces to his brother L.
Quintus) passed safely to Epirus, where
(discharging P. Julius that had done nothing
in his year, and viewing the Countrey and
the passages to King Philips Army, which he
attempted in vain) he by direction of f Choro-
pas his Neatherds, got four thousand Foot,
and three hundred Horse above Philip a pri-
vate way, and attacqued his Van with the rest
of his Army divided into three parts, the
known way, with that successe and violence,
that two thousand of the surprized Mace-
donians fell, the rest fled, leaving their Camp
and

d With Sextus
Ælius his for-
wardnesse.

e That had o-
vercome Af-
drubal and
Hannibal.

f Son of Ma-
chætas an emi-
nent Epirot,
that favoured
the Romanes
under-hand.

and Slaves to the Conquerours, with that passage open to Epirus; through which the *Romanes* (hearing that King *Philip* had frightened the people to the Mountains) though scantied in Provision, and far from the Sea, marched without the least injury offered to the Inhabitants; for which their civility, the *Thessalians* upon their first approach, and the *Grecians* beyond *Thermopylae* submitted to them; the *Aetolians* waved the *Opuntians* ^g, and desired the *Romans* protection. *Pyrrhus* viewing their order, said, *It was a barbarous people, not barbarously disciplined*: All men desired to see *Titus*, who conquered *Greece* by Courtship, rather than War: and King *Philip* sued for Peace, which he offered, upon condition he would remove the Garrison, and restore the Liberties of *Greece*; which he refusing, all *Greece* perceiving the *Romanes* made War rather for, than against them, deserted him; the *Boeotians* siding with *Titus* and the *Thesbanes* (when he had walked with those of them that met him into their City) to a neutrality; whereupon having hindered the Peace which *Philip* sued for at *Rome*, and continued his own power (that another might not have the glory of finishing what he had begun) he met King *Philip* with 26000 men near *Scolusa* ⁱ, where both Armies faced each other, the *Romans* reckoning on the glory of a *Macedonian* conquest ^k, and the *Macedonians* on that of a *Roman* overthrow; and after mutual

^g which they had desired.

^h upon *Pucius* and *K. Accalus* his persuasion in their Assembly, whither *Titus*, being met by their Citizens, walked, holding them in talk untill they came to the City.

ⁱ In *Thessaly*.

^k They being judged the valiantest men in *Greece*.

and these the most renowned in the world.

encourage-

encouragements ^l, to shew themselves men in that Theatre of valour and mutual skirmishes with uncertain successe in a misty morning, *Titus* observing the weaknesse of the *Macedonians* left wing, which was not so close as their discipline required ^m, forced it upon the main Body: and ordering a Brigade to pursue that successe, he flanked the Enemies right Wing, that yet prevailed, with the advantage of a rising ground, with that fury, that layd eight thousand of them dead upon the place, and took five thousand Prisoners; among whom *Philip* had been one, had not the *Aetolians* minded the spoyle more than the victory; for which oversight of theirs, together with their challenge of the honour of that victory in *Alcæus* his verses, *Titus* ambitious of a renown in *Greece*, made no reckoning of them, wherefore they slandered him upon the *Macedonian* Envoys addresse for selling *Philip* a dishonourable Peace, when he might make an end of an honourable War, until upon the King his personal submission, he gave him Peace, upon condition he surrendered to him all he had in *Greece*, payed a thousand Talents tribute, delivered up his Naval forces; a seasonable peace, when *Antiochus* upon *Hannibal's* persuasion now banished to him, and his former successe, which firnamed him great, prepared for a War, *Titus* prudently contriving that the War with one great King should cease before that with another should begin; which prudent overture raised not *Titus* to such esteem in *Rome*, as his Proclamation at the *Ist-*

^l It was ominous to the *Macedonians*, that *Philip* made his speech to them from the top of a Charnel-house.

^m which sets a Battle close and invincible.

i. e. 300000.

mian

mean Games; that (notwithstanding his Counsellours had advised the garisoning of *Corinth*, *Demetriades* and *Chalcide*, to the great regret of Greece, who thought their old chains were only exchanged for new shackles) the Senate of Rome, and *Flaminius* the Consul having overthrown *Philip* and his *Macedonians*, discharged the *Corinthians*, *Locrians*, *Phocians*, *Eubœans*, *Achaians*, *Magnesiensians*, *Thessalians*, *Phthioten* and *Perræbians* from Garisons and Taxes, to enjoy ancient freedom, did him in Greece, which flocked about his Pavilion with such Acclamations as reached to the Sea, and stifled or broke the Aire (so that * Crows fell down dead) and such a crowd as had killed him with kindnesse, had he not withdrawn and left the people to kiss and embrace each other; to tell the happinesse of that War, which without any blood of theirs by the assistance of strangers ended in that happy peace and liberty, when their own wars ended in their bondage to their Enemies or themselves, to admire that their Enemies should with so much hazard purchase them so great an advantage, and celebrate *Titus* for their Saviour, saying, *That few were so valiant, fewer so wise, and none so just as he; who to promote an universal freedom, sent Lentulus to discharge the Bœotians, Titinius to free the Thracians, Publius Julius to ease Antiochus his Provinces, as he himself did the Magnesiensians from all the Garisons and Impositions of Philip or Antiochus, and in the Nemean games, whereof he was Rector, or judged,*

* Vide Valer.
Max. lib. 4. &
8. of lesser Pi-

proclai-

proclaimed again the liberty of Greece, (as *Nepos* did in a speech there some years after) whose Cities he visited, Exiles he recalled, Lawes he reformed and established, and whose dissensions he composed (pleasing himself no lesse that he had reconciled the *Græcians* by his perswasion, than that he conquered the *Macedonians* by his Sword) Liberty being the least part of his kindness: so not only enlarging his own renown, but the Roman Empire, whose Protection and Government all oppressed States and Princes, yea the whole world not only submitted to, but requested and sued for a service, that which he reckoned beyond all his former, as appears from his inscription on his Targets offered at *Delphos*; *The true Roman that offered these, restored the Liberty of Greece: only it's a blemish to this performance, that when in a just War he might have taken Nabis, he beyond all expectation (either 1. Envyng that incomparable Souldier, but mean person, Philopœmen, the equall honour he had with himself, a Consul of Rome, and a Saviour of Greece: or 2. Fearing a successor might share in his glory) concluded with him a dishonourable Peace to himself, and dangerous to distressed Sparta, which he forsook: and being presented by the Achaians with twelve hundred Romanes they had bought since the second Punick War, returned (with greater content in that gift than in all the recompence he had received) and triumphed with those redeemed Romans at his heels, an infinite store of bright Arms and rich Treasure adorning his Pavilion. More-*

a *Lycurgus the Orator, having rescued Zenocrates the Philosopher from prison for not paying taxes, Lycurgus said he well rewarded him, because he was the occasion of his great commendation.*
See *Livy* 33.

b *Icanus, or Hyrranus rather, as Guarinus calls him, makes the treasure 3713 pound weight of 1400 gold, 43269 of silver, & 14500 of Coyne called Philips, besides Philips ransom which he procured forgiven, as he had his son Demetrius enlarged, and he proclaimed confederate with Rome.*

Moreover when *Antiochus* with a great Army and Navy upon the *Ætolians* suggestions dealt with the *Græcians* to revolt from Rome under pretence of Liberty, which they now enjoyed to the utmost they could wish; *Tiberius* under *Acilius* the Consul confirmed the Romans friends, reduced the backsliding, and saved the very Apostates; for when *Mannius* in pursuit of his victory against *Antiochus* at *Thermopyle*, spoiled *Ætolia*, *Naupaclum*, and *Heraclea*, as *Philip* did *Magnesia*, &c. *Tiberius* out of his own piteous inclination, and upon the poor peoples cry to him by name to save them, chid *Mannius* for suffering *Philip* to reap the benefit of his victory, while he wreaked his fury upon a poor City, & prevailed for peace and pardon for the stubborn & malicious *Ætolians*, yea, and the *Chalcidians* themselves, who had given the Usurper a fair wife, and a safe protection after his defeat; for which noble service they consecrated to him the most publique places in their City, which together with one of their Priests bear his name unto this day: And indeed all Greece honoured him for his courtesie and good nature, which was hasty, as in his clashes with *Philopamenus*, and *Diophanes*, but placable, and generally very pleasant. *d* When the *Achaians* would usurp *Zazinthium*, he said, *That* for them to go out of *Peloponnesus*, was as the *Tortoise* going out of his shell. When *Philip* said he came to part with him alone; *True*, said he, for all your friends are slain. He told *Dinoerates* who had been merry at a Feast, and desired his assistance

c There is a Temple called Delphinium, dedicated to *Titus* and *Apollo*, and a Theatre to him and *Hercules*.
d His sayings.

assistance in dividing the *Messenians* from the *Achaians*, that he wondred he could be merry with such matters in his head; he said, *That* is his Host once treated him with many dishes, but all Porke; so *Antiochus* his Embassadors might boast of many Souldiers, but ill-armed Syrians.

But as the crown of his honours, when *Antiochus* his Wars ended, he was closen Censor, and turned four dissolute persons out of the Senate, whereof one upon *M. Cato's* suggestion was his own Brother *Lucius*; in revenge whereof, he made *Scipio*, *Cato's* enemy, Prince of the Senate, and made void all his Deeds of Sales and Leases during his office (an imprudent and an uncivil part, to oppose so worthy a Citizen for so unworthy a Brother) whom the people seeing at the lower end of the Theatre, piteed and restored to the Senate: But *Tiberius* his ambition, which was honourable in the Wars, was troublesome in time of Peace, and dishonourable to him in *Hannibal's* case, whom for envy forced from *Antiochus* upon the peace; and when he fled to *Prusias* of *Bithynia*, he (notwithstanding *Prusias* his perswasion to pity the old and broken man that came to him for succour) when Embassadors there pursued him to the Caves of *Libyssa*, where he either strangled, or bpoysoned himself for fear of being taken by him. This cruelty sullied his former glory in Rome, where they did not more disparage Carthage. *h* Some say by drinking Bulls blood, as *Midas* and *Theomistocles* did before him.

c See *Marcus Cato's* life.
Cicero de sen. Valer. Antiqu. the History of *Tit. Livius*.

f He sued for all the places he had.

g where the Oracle said he should dye, though he understood it of Carthage.

R

him

him for killing an old man now dropping to his Grave, than they honoured *Scipio* for his courtesie to him, before he overthrew him, and his esteem of him afterwards, (never making his Banishment an Article of his Peace) yea, giving him the upper hand at *Ephesus*, and taking it well from him, when he sayd, *Alexander was the first Captain in the world, Pyrrhus the second, and himself the third.* What, said *Scipio*, if I had not overcome thee? Then said he, I had been the first. Although it was alledged in *Flaminius* his behalf, that he followed his Commission, rather than his Inclination; and that the Senate thought fit to remove him out of the way, because he would never alter his minde, but fortune might alter his State. *Aristonicus* a poore Bastard could disturb *Asia*, *Mithridates* after so many overthrowes and losses recovered *Pontus*, *Marius* could whip his enemies at *Rome*, though he begged in *Affrick*, and all by the Peoples favour. A great Commander cannot be too low to be mischievous, nor secured but in his Grave, whither also *Flaminius*, though a man of War, went in Peace.

The Parallel.

P*hilopamen's* wars for *Greece*, undid it, *Flaminius* his against it, made it; he left his own Countrey, because he could not help it,

it, this came thither to relieve it. One slew more of his own *Gracians*, than the other did of his enemies the *Macedonians*. *Titus* was ambitious, and easily provoked; *Philopamen* was obstinate, and hardly pleased. He bestowed their Kingdomes and Cities on enemies, this took them away from friends, to whom one was constant, the other fickle, as in the *Lacedemonians* case, loving their City at first, and then razing their walls.-- *Choler* managed the first, *Prudence* the second, who did more in two Battels, than the other (though valiant and fortunate) in 36. Indeed *Titus* was famous when *Rome* flourished, and *Philopamen* when *Greece* failed. Others had the honour of *Titus* his actions, *Philopamen* onely of his own: the one found valiant Souldiers, the other made them so. *Titus* practised that policy and discipline, which *Philopamen* invented: many noble things did *Philopamen*, *Titus* none; for as *Archedamus* the *Aetolian* jeered him, *Titus* lift up his hands to the heavens, while *Philopamen* layd it on his sword: One did well onely in command, and the other did wonders out of it against *Nabis* in *Messina*, and *Diophanes* in *Sparta*; commanding the *Laws* by necessity, as much as he did himself by the *Law*. They do well who commend *Titus* his clemency and courtesie to the *Gracians*; and they better, who praise *Philopamen's* valour and noblenesse towards the *Romanes*: it's more to resist the strong, than to gratifie the weak. The most equall judgement is, that the *Gracian* for his Martial discipline, have

the honor of a good Captain; and the *Roman* for his just clemency, the renown of an honest and Courteous Gentleman.



A^o. M. 3663.
Ant. Christ,
287.



XX.

a PYRRHUS.

a i.e. red : In his time they writ on the bark of Trees. Pliny writes of Prusias, that he had but one bone in his upper Jaw. b whether Phæton, Deucalion, or Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, who is a god in Epirus.

Contemporary with Selomus King of Syria, Philadelph King of Ægypt, Manius Son of Far-gusius King of Scotland.

PYrrhus descended from the *b* first Kings of Epirus after the Flood, whose acts and memory perished in their own barbarisme by his great Grandfather Thorritas, and his father *c* Æabides, upon a Sedition raised by Cassander in behalf of Neoptolemus his Family, was the onely person of all that time that was saved by Androclion, Hippinus, and Neander

Neander in his infancy, and carried with much difficulty, first to *Megara*, and then to *Illyria*, whose King *Glaucias* struck at his entertainment for fear of *Cassander*, who set two hundred Talents upon his head, untill the child crawled, some say to his knee, others to the Sanctuary, as it were suing for protection; the pittifull King secured, educated, and at twelve years of age established him in *Epirus*, where he was eminent for the one great Bow, instead of teeth in his upper Jaws; for curing the Spleen with *d* his Toe, which when his Body was burned, would not consume; whence (going securely to *Illyria* to marry King *Glaucias* his daughters) he was expelled again by *Neoptolemus* his faction, untill having acquitted him a faithful friend and valiant Champion of his Brother-in-law *e* *Demetrius*, and being sent hostage by him to *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, he crept into his beloved *Q. Berenices* favour and her *f* daughters bed, and by their assistance, together with *Neoptolemus* his harshness, recovered his Kingdom, whereof he admitted him partner, untill Trepanning him and *Gelon* by *Myrtilus* his favourite, and *Alexicratides* his Cup-bearer *g*, two Witnesses to prove the Treason) to a design of poysoning, he upon the *Epirots* requests, who were weary of him and that pretence, dispatched him, and enjoyed all *Epire* as he was born to it; taking the Oath of Government, and giving that of Allegiance according to custome, before *Jupiter Martial*.

d For which they sacrificed him a Cock.

e who married his wives sister *Decidamia*.

f By Philip.

g Phænareta also Samons wife heard it, and told it Antigona from Neoptolemus his sister.

And having great matters in his head, greater

h They were discovered for want of this greeting in all King Ptolomys letters, To my son Pyrrhus health; the counterfeit being, King Ptolomy to King Pyrrhus health

i Flamius his Parallel.
k One day being asked, whether Python or Cepheus was the best Flute-player, he answered Polypercon was the best Captain, as if that were the only thing a Prince should seek for.

ter in his hopes (having begotten his Son Ptolomy, called so in honor of the King of Egypt, and built *Berenicida* in honor of *Berenices*; he takes footing in some parts of *Macedon*, where young *Alexander* was expelled by his brother *Antipater*, & pledged to him, & Garrisoning them, distressed the Usurper, notwithstanding King *Lyfimachus* *h* his counterfeit letters (being able to do no more) from *Ptolomy*, to whom he could deny nothing to desist, whom he detected for a cheat, and made peace between the brothers (but because the Ram, the Goat and Bull being ready for sacrifice, the Ram fell down dead, he upon *Theodorus* the South-sayers judgement swore not to it) whereof *Alexander* according to the Omen was murdered by *Demetrius*, against whom as well for some old quarrels in *Thessaly*, as his late usurpation upon *Macedon*, when *Deidamia* was dead, *Pyrrhus* marched to waste his Country, as he after the *Ætolians* overthrow did *Pyrrhus* his, untill he allied to *Achilles* in valour as well as blood, overthrew *Demetrius* his Lieutenant *Pantauchus* with his own hand, killing and taking fifteen thousand of his men, not so much to the *Macedonians* regret, as his own renown, in whom great *Alexander* seemed to live again; whose gesture, voice and garbe others imitated, not more fondly then he did his prowess and discipline nobly; to the study whereof as became a King and a Soldier *i* he gave himself *k* so devotedly, that in *Antigonus* and *Hannibals* judgement, he was the most experienced and skilful Captain in the world;

world; but not more Martial then civil; so grateful to his friends, that he much bewailed *Atropus* his death, because he had not time to requite him; so gentle to his enemies, that being perswaded to banish an *Ambracian* that spake evil of him; Nay, said he, let him speak evil of me to a few at home, rather then to many abroad. So pleasant, that one being questioned for speaking ill of him, and confessing he had said so, and would have said more, but that his wine failed him, he did but smile: So obliging, that he engaged the *a* Kings of *Illyria*, *Pæonia* and *Syracuse*, by marrying *b* their daughters, having by them three *c* Sons, promising his Kingdom to him that had the better sword.

After this exploit the *Eagle* *Pyrrhus*, carried as he did on the *Epirots* wings, returning to his Country full of honor and content, during *Demetrius* his sickness, made an inroad as far as *Edeffa*, the whole Country submitting to him; and notwithstanding a peace made, and a defeat received in *Macedon*, he (*d* considering *Demetrius* his great preparations which might fall upon him at last, and choosing rather to fight for the Altars and Temples of *Macedon*, then of *Epire*; besides that *Demetrius* had taken from him his wife *Lanissa*, and her portion *Corpbue*) upon *Alexanders* encouragement in a dream to help him with his name, fell upon the lower parts of *Macedon*, by the way of *Beræa* (while *Lyfimachus* attacked the higher parts by the way of *Thrace*) which he Garrisoned, as he did all Cities in his way, untill

a 1. Bardellus
2. Autolcon.
3. Agathocles.
b Bircena, Lanassa, &c.
c Ptolomy, Alexander, and Helenus.

d Indeed other Kings fearing *Demetrius* his preparations, lest he made peace with *Pyrrhus* only to invade them, put him upon this action,

the Macedonians being drawn off from Demetrius by his courtesie, civility, and promise of Liberty, which his Agents spread up and down, the amazed King run away in disguise, and left his Camp to his spoil, and his Kingdom to his Government, whereof *Lysimachus* was partner, untill (havinge overthrowne *Demetrius* in Syria, either exercised the Macedonians in War, lest they mutinied in peace, or enlarged his appetite of Empire, which neither Sea or Land could limit) he cut off *Pyrrhus* his supplies and convoys, corrupted the Macedonians with some seditious suggestions of a stranger slavery, &c. and forced home to *Epirus*, where he might have lived happily, but that he could not spend his time in peace, and pine away in ease: wherefore being (much against some wisemens counsel, who feared his tyranny) courted by presents with the promise of three hundred thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, by a popular vote at *Tarentum*, to be their General against the *Romanes* (whom they could neither fight nor appease) (by the way *Cineas* the Orator, *Demosthenes* Scholar, and his favorite, asked *Pyrrhus*, What if wee overcome the *Romanes*? He answered, Then *Italy* is ours; he rejoyning, What then? Why, saith the King, *Sicily* will then be delivered to us by its corrupt Orators; but replied *Cineas*, Will our Wars be then at an end? No, said *Pyrrhus*, for then our way is open to *Affrica*; Yes, said *Cineas*, and *Macedon*; but what then? Then, said the King, we will be at rest: And why, said the

e It was an observable saying of *Pyrrhus* to the Athenians, when he went out of their City, that he thanked them for their confidence of him, wishing them if they were wise, never to admit a King within their walls more. f Particularly *Meron*, who by the anticke of a Garland, Torch and Minstrel, intimated they might not do what they pleased when *Pyrrhus* came.

the Orator, are you not so now, without any hazard to your self, or wrong to others?) but *Pyrrhus* his ambition being rather incensed then allayed with this discourse, dispatched *Cineas* with three thousand Foot to the *Tarentines*, who sent *Pyrrhus* twenty Elephants, three thousand Horse, twenty thousand Foot and five hundred Bowmen in flat bottoms, which were all dispersed by a Northern tempest on the Coasts of *Apulia*, *Pyrrhus* himself hardly escaping on the Coast of the *Messapians*; and upon his return to *Tarentum*, recruiting his scattered Forces, and training the luxurious and befotted inhabitants to Martial discipline and exercises, he marched towards the Consul *Levinus* that spoiled *Lucania*; and being by the *Romanes* refused as a Judge of the controversie, depending and decided as an enemy, upon view of the *Romanes* order and posture upon the banks of *Siris* (which in spite of his Guards they passed) and finding them beyond expectation ranked in battle array, bid his men keep close together, and charge them, when his Elephants had disordered their Horse; which they did with that resolution (*King Pyrrhus* at once fighting as well as any souldier, and commanding better then any General; and narrowly escaping b one *Oplacus* and others in *Megacles* his Armor (who was slain for him) saying, That the man should have no joy that would deal with him) that c fifteen thousand *Romanes* fell, their Consul fled, their Camp and Allies fell to his hands; and he came to meet his

a A River between *Heraclia* and *Pandosia* b from whom he escaped narrowly upon *Leonorus* his advice, who killed the *Italians* Horse as he did *Pyrrhus* his.

c *Dionysius* saith fifteen thousand, *Hieronymus* seven thousand, and four thousand *Epirots*, though *Dionysius* saith thirteen thousand.

con-

confederates (whom he checked for their delay, though he was pleased that the honour of the late victory was intirely his own) within thirty six miles of *Rome*, which not at all appalled with their overthrow (in putting it to *Pyrrhus* his conduct, rather than their own weakness) recruited the broken Legions, and refused *Pyrrhus* his overtures of peace, his private presents, and publike Caresses of friendship and assistance (upon old and blind *Claudian* his Oration, who was brought that day in a Chair to the Senate) untill he left *Italy*; *Cineas* his Embassador saying of their Senate, that they were an assembly of Kings, and of their people; that like the Serpent of *Lerna*, they grew upon their overthrow; and *Fabricius* the *Romane* Envoy refusing his Gold, as all the *Romans* had done, denying all private friendship apart from publike Interest, and not frightened with his Elephants that were set behind the hangings to that purpose; and discoursing merrily with him, that if he would prefer him, as he promised, his people would choose him King; so that *Pyrrhus* permitted his prisoners to celebrate the *Saturnalia* with their friends at *Rome* upon his word.

Fabricius one day discoursing of the Epicureans opinion of the gods pleasure and unconcernedness in things below, and of mens happiness, wished the Samnites were of that mind while enemies to *Rome*. And returning exactly upon the day appointed by the King.

But *Fabricius* being chosen Consul, and (notwithstanding he had nobly discovered the Physician that would poison King *Pyrrhus*, advising him how unhappily he fought with honest men, and trusted knaves) refusing to accept of the prisoners offered without an exchange of *Tarentines*, or of the peace without

out an end of the War, and the freedom of *Italy*, engaged him at *Asculum* with equal success in the Marshes, where the Elephants could not annoy them one whole day, but *Pyrrhus* getting to the open field next day, he yielded to his fierce onsets and fiercer Elephants, to the loss of six thousand men (which were easily supplied from the Spring-head, while *Pyrrhus* protested that another victory at that rate would undo him) after which battle he left the *Tarentines*, laying hold of an overture the *Sicilians* made him of conquering *Affrica*, where the Cities submitting to him with thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse, he drave all before him, took *Erix* a strong City in *Sicily* (after a vow to *Hercules* of Games and Sacrifice) by assault, subdued the unruly and troublesome *Mamertines*; shewing, as *Homer* saith, that valiant men are sometimes acted by a divine power beyond themselves; dismissed the *Carthaginians*, now suing for peace, with a denial, unless they quitted *Sicily*, and made the *Libyan Sea* the bounds of their Dominion; and pressed the *Sicilians* to serve in his Gallies. But now prosperity had swelled his gentleness into Tyranny; now *Theron* was murdered, *Softratus* fled, and all *Sicily* under oppression and discontent; letters from the *Tarentines* and *Samnites* invited him seasonably to *Italy*, whither (leaving *Sicily*, a brave field for the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* to fight in) he passed with much difficulty, being engaged by the *Carthaginians* with loss in the streight of *Mes-*

There being but two thousand lost by Pyrrhus, as his own Chronicle Hieron, and Dionysius write.

See Strabol. 11 Plin. 1.6.c.25.

Messina on the one side, and the *Mamertines* in a narrow pass with some danger on the other (a where he did more then a man) by the way of *Tarentum* with twenty thousand Foot and three thousand Horse, part whereof he sent to attacke the *Fabricii* in *Lucania*, with the other part (surprizing *Manius Curius*, who expected assistance from *Lucania*, and favourable signs from the gods, neer *Benevento*) but discovering his approach, bent his Vanguard and Elephants with that fury upon the body of his Army, to a compleat victory over him, and after that success over all *Italy*; whence he returned home after six years vain expectation with a broken Army and fortune (a man of great valour and experience, that b lost by his vain hopes what he gained by his famous performances) to recruit both, which with some *Gaules* he makes an inrode into *Macedon*, where having taken divers holds, and received two thousand souldiers of the enemies to his service, he surprized *Antigonus* in a streight valley, and charged him to a disorder and an overthrow, c with a great slaughter of the *Gaules*; whereupon the whole Realm submitted unto him, which he used very hardly, particularly *Aegis*, where his *Gaules* unpunished rifled the Kings Tombs; whence *Cleonymus* (in whose place the discontented *Spartans* had put quiet *Arim*, with whom he had a private quarrel for his sons second wives familiarity with his young and fair Wife *Chelidonida*) invited him to *Lacedemonia* with 5000 foot, two thousand horse, and twenty

a Against a *Barbarian* that challenged him when hurt in the head, whose head he cleft.

b Therefore *Antigonus* called him the Dice-player, that cast well, but could not use his fortune.

c He rejoiced that he overcame the *Gaules*, offering their spoils to *Minerva* *Donida*, with great triumph.

twenty four Elephants (an Army designed by *Pyrrhus* not to restore him, but to conquer for himself, though pretending the Liberty of *Peloponnesus*, and the breeding of his Sons in *Sparta*) where he abused the people with d fair speeches, till he had spoiled the country, and laid siege to *Lacedemon*, whence neglecting *Cleomenes* his good advice for an assault, who had provided his Supper in *Sparta*, 2. Being opposed by the women, who cast up *Trenches*, gave the young men weapons, and clapped them on the back, to fight honorably before their friends, It being an honor to dye in their arms, and a shame to live when *Sparta* was destroyed. 3. Beat back by e *Acroatus Chelidonida's* Gallant the first assault; And (after his doleful Dream that he struck *Lacedemon* with lightning) filling the Trenches for the second assault, was thrown off his Horse, and forced to retire (upon *Phocian* King *Antigonus* his Lieutenants approach with supply) first to the Country, which he spoiled and designed his Winter-quarters, and then upon the sedition between *Aristeas* and *Aristippus* (being never quiet, conqueror or conquered: not conqueror, for then he embraced new hopes; nor conquered, for then he had new shifts) to *Argos*, in his way to which place *Arim* having guarded all the Passes, he (as the Southsayer forewarned him) lost his son *Ptolemy*, who fell by *Orasus* a bold *Cretans* hand, but revenged by his father on thirteen hundred of the choicest *Spartans* and defeated *Antigonus* neer *Naplia* (who answered he fought with time

d He said he and the *Spartans* never reported what they would do: and *Mandricidas* one of the *Spartan* Embassadors that attended him, answered, That if he were a god, he would not hurt them if a man, he should meet his match.

e Whom all the women loved; and the old men cried, enjoy *Chelidonida*, and beget children for *Sparta*; *Chelidonida* in the mean time having provided a knot to hang her self if *Pyrrhus* and *Cleomenes* overcame.

as well as weapons; and that Pyrrhus might find ways enough to death, if he were weary of his life) whence he went to Argos by night and surprized it, forcing the Citizens to strong holds, untill Antigonus from the hills, and Arius from Sparta, relieved them by a cruel fight in the dead of night, wherein Pyrrhus and his Gaules hemmed in by the enemy on the one hand, and their Elephants with their own Army that came in by a mistake on the other, were cut off, he himself being b knocked in the head by an old woman from the top of an house, who spied him running at her poor son by Licymmius Tomb, whence Zopyrus cutting off his head, brought him to Antigonus, who wept, considering his father Demetrius and Grandfather Antigonus fate, and checking their barbarousness, and gave order for his honorable burial, saying to his son Aleonemus, who used young Helenus well, and brought him civilly to him, that he had rather see the preserved son, then the lost father; Though (added he) his poor Coat is more our shame that conquered him, then his that wears it: whereupon Cloathing him, he sent him with all his surviving friends and servants to his Realm of Epirus.

C. MA.

a For he bid them break the wall to let him out, and they came in at the gate to keep him in, by the messengers haste and mistake.

b At the place where the Bull and Wolfe stood fighting, as it was told Pyrrhus before, set up by Danaus, when he took the City from Gelanor.



XXI.

CAIUS MARIUS.

Contemporary with Hanna the Prophetesse, Luc. 2. Synanus King of Scotland, Aristobulus K. of Judea, Tygranes of Syria, Hircanus High-Priest of the Jews.

C. Marius had no surname (from conquest, as *Africanus*, &c. or from his shape or nature, as *Torquatus*, *Grypos*, or *Mnemon*) more than *Sertorius*, or *Mummius*, who subdued Spain and Corinth, and was as meanly bred in ignorance of the Greek tongue a (the tongue of Slaves, as he called it) as he was born: For want whereof, and because (as *Plato* said to rough *Xenocrates*) that he had not sacrificed to the Graces, he was self.

An. Mund.
3860. Ante
Chr. 86, or 88

was as rustick in his manners at Rome (as he was grim in his image at *Ravenna*;) whither coming from poor *Cirration* with nothing but hardinesse enough to be a good Souldier, he served under *Scipio* at *Numantia*, whose discipline he took so readily, and before whose face he fought so resolutely, that being asked at Supper where *Marius* was invited, who should succeed him, he said, *It may be this fellow*: (and indeed he conjectured not wide, nor did *Marius* promise lesse) for by *Metellus* his favour he was made Tribune; in which office he established one Law for Elections in favour of the People, in spite of the Senate ^b, and opposed another free distribution of Corn in favour of the Nobility, in spite of the people (pleasuring neither the one nor the other, but providing for the Commonwealth) and after two repulses in one day from the ^c two *Ædiles* places, he was with much difficulty, yet fairly (as he made it evident at last hearing before the Judges for bribery and corruption (his friend *Sabacon*, and Patron *Herennius* (contrary to the Law in that case) being examined upon his election) chosen *Prætor*, and sent by lot to *Spain*; which when he had civilized from their Thievish way of living, and upon his return to Rome, by his simplicity, industry, and integrity, gained that repute, which others did by their riches and eloquence, he married to the *Cæsars* Family *d*, and under his Patron *Metellus* went against King *Jugurth*, fearing not the greatest service, nor disdaining the least; out-

^b Some of whom as his own Patron *Metellus*, he threatened to imprison.

^c Curulis and Popularis.

^d To one *Julia* *Julius Cæsars* Aunt, who imitated him.

going

going the bravest Souldier in prowesse; and the meanest in patience; so engaging and encouraging his followers (who wrought at the same work, eat at the same dish, and slept in the same Bed with their Leaders, and filling both Rome and *Affrica* with his name; inso-much, that first eclipsing, and then contesting with *Metellus* (who lost himself by ^e *Turpilius* his foolish Treason and death, who would ask him whether he would be Consul with his Son, then a boy) after a prosperous sacrifice, promising him more than he expected, having leave to go but twelve days before the Election, he was at Rome upon the Election-day, to the joy and wonder of the people: who upon his accusations of *Metellus*, and a promise either to kill or take *Jugurth*, made him (when presented by the Tribunes in the Pulpit for Orations) unanimously Consul. In which place, what with his new Levies of poor men never used before (it being Rome's interest to have rich Souldiers as well as Officers) what with his haughty words against the Nobility ^f, saying, *He had gained the Consulship from an effeminate Gentry, not by Pedigree or ancient Statues, but fresh wounds and merit, as their Ancestors; not by noble descent, but heroick actions*: And what with his ingratitude to *Metellus* (who would not see him, but delivered him the Army by his Lieutenant *Rutilius*) he procured himself much envy and hatred: and as a just revenge, *Sylla* his Quæstor or Treasurer took from him the glory of ending the War, as he did from *Metellus*, for

^e *Turpilius* his Client, *Att* of his Camp, and Governour of *Vacca*, out of easiness suffered himself to be betrayed, and the Town taken: wherefore upon *Marius* his suggestion, *Metellus* was forced to condemn him, for which he was ever after exceedingly troubled.

^f Especially *na* fortunate *Albinus* and *Bestia* whom he called Cowards.

S

to

to his hands was *Jugurth* delivered by his Father-in-law *Bacchus* of *Numidia*, who assisted him not, for fear of his ambition; nor protected him, for fear of the *Romanes* power.

^a That of Marius and Sylla.

The sharing of which action, by some attributed to *Marius*, by most to *Sylla*, who had it engraven on his Ring, raised a faction ^a that overthrew the State, though at present suppressed, while the *Cimbri* of *Germany*, the Inhabitants of *Meotis*, or the *Cimmerii* of *Hercynia* that live under the *Æquinox*, some six hundred thousand in all, overspread *Italy*, against whom prevailing against all the Captains of the borders, *Marius* was chosen the second time Consul in his absence; and before he had resigned (the Law in this case yielding to necessity) when he had triumphed, with that subtle King *Jugurth* at his Chariot-wheels, and 3705 pound weight of gold, 7775 of silver, besides 28700 crowns in coyn, and put him (now mad, with his ear cut for his ear-rings) in the Dungeon, that cold Stove as he called it, where he pined to death; heard that this barbarous rabble was happily gone to *Spain*. In the mean time he trained his men to strict discipline, and inured them ^b called his Moyles to long journeys, hard labours, and fierce looks, obliging them and all *Rome* by his justice to *Trebonius*, who having killed *Marius* his own brother, because he would have forced him in his Tent to uncleanness, was so far from being revenged on, that he was crowned by the Consuls own hand;

^b Though others say his shewing a fat Moyle to *Scipio*, who took care of the beasts as well as the men, was the occasion of that saying, *Scipio's Mule*.

hand; who for this and his other noble acts, and because the Souldiers would follow none other, was the third and fourth time made Consul, when the *Barbarians* returned towards *Italy* in two bodies, the one about through high *Germany*, where *Catulus* was, the other streight over the Alps, where *Marius* encamping himself, provided for his Army so well (by a present stock, and a future way of supply neerer than formerly by a new channel of the River *Rhone*, called *his* to this day) that he need not engage but upon fair opportunity; and shewing the Souldiers those *Barbarians*, that they might be used to their grim looks, and provoked by their base Languages, when they were so heated, that he could scarce keep them from fighting; and the ^d *Propetse Marius* he always carried with him, the two Vultures that always followed him, the Shields and Targets seen at *Tudertum* and *Armeria*, and the mother of the gods by her chief Priest *Barabaces*, promised him success; he (suffering the *Tentons* to march ^e by him, and asked if they had any thing to their wives at *Rome*) followed their Rear to *Aix*, where incamping himself in a strong, but dry place, his slaves venturing for water hard by the enemy, which he said they must buy with their blood, surprized them in their Baths, and alarmed thirty thousand *Ambrons*, who had formerly overcome *Cepio*, and, whom clashing their Arms, and crying *Ambrons*, *Ambrons*, the *Genouans* met, crying *Lyguriens*, *Lyguriens*, and seconded by the *Romanes*, overthrew

^c Though he then dissembled his willingness to accept the charge, which by *Saturninus* the Tribunes practice he carried.

^d who sacrificed always in a purple gown clasped, with a Spear in her hand, crowned with Garlands.
^e So many were they, that they were six dayes marching by him.

a great number of them as they passed the River, pursuing them to their main Body; whence refreshing his men, and lodging three thousand under *Marcellus* in an ambush behind the *Barbarians*, he provoked them in the morning to climb a great hill, from the top whereof he beat them down with great slaughter, untill *Marcellus* assaulting their Rear with a great shout, so disordered them, that they fled: and (notwithstanding the wonders the women did, in encouraging and stimulating their flying friends, and haling their pursuing enemies) left an *a* hundred thousand men with rich spoyles upon the place, which were all presented to *Marius*; who receiving at that instant an expresse, that he was chosen the fifth time Consul, in his Robes and Crown of Triumph in the midst of his Souldiers acclamations, sacrificing the broken Arms to the gods, reserving the whole ones with the *Ten-ton* King for his triumph at Rome; which yet he waved upon the sad newes (as fate always chequers our successes with failures) of *Catulus* his overthrow by the huge multitude that rather oppressed, than conquered him and his Forts upon the River *Athesis*, to whose succour *Marius* after his speech in the Senate, and his Rendezvous upon the *Po*, (where he kept the *Cimbres* from those outrages on this side of that River that they committed on the other) marched: and having laughed away the *Barbarians* who came to demand habitations for them and their brethren whom he had provided

a In so much that the *Marsilians* inclosed their Vines with dead mens bodies, and the ground was saturated by their blood; and it rained, as it usually doth after great Battels three days to clear the ayr. See Strabo's fourth book, and Festus.

provided for, and wished them to visit them, he encamped himself strongly, and (making the Darts more *b* serviceable to themselves, and uselesse to the enemy) appointed a pitched field in the Plain of *Verselles* within three dayes (upon King *Bæorix*'s challenge *c*) when commanding the two wings himself, and leaving the main Battle to his Colleague *Catulus*, he observing the *Barbarians* design (who lay all square) to hen them in between their richly armed Horse and numerous Foot, and vowing his Hecatomb to *Jove*, as *Catulus* did his Temple to *Fortune*, with hands lift up to heaven, he lost the enemy in a sodain dust that was raised, while *Catulus* advantaged with the *d* heat and dust that hid and stifled the enemy, unaccustomed to heat, with his unweari- ed Souldiers, (as *Sylla* that was there writes) broke their ranks, tyed together with thongs, took sixty thousand Prisoners, besides those that were slain by their women, by *e* themselves and the *Romanes*, whose difference about the spoyles was referred to the Embassadors of *Parma*, who awarded the spoyles to *Catulus*, though *Marius* went off with the honour of both the overthrows given to these *Barbarians* (to whom the Citizens in their Feasts offered a goodly dish, as to the third *f* founder of their City) yet so modestly as to admit *Catulus* partner of his triumphal entrance to Rome: and now he was not so resolute in the War, as he was in complying in the time of Peace, aspiring to be the greatest, not the honestest man; for which purpose he enfran-

b By fastening the wood to the iron loosely.

c Although he said the *Romanes* did not consult the enemy when and where to fight.

d It was the 17 day of July that this fight was on.

e Some would tie their balsters to the Oxens horns, & prick them forward until they were strangled; the mark of whose pikes were seen in the *Barbarians*.

f Romulus the first that built Rome, Manlius the second that saved it from the Gauls, and *Marius* the 3d that saved it from the *Teutons* and *Cimbres*.

g An honest & allowed none; but Valerius Corvinus, who yet interposed forty years between his first Consulship and his last. a Of his fellow Tribune Nonius.

b Metellus his grave saying.

c Both whom he ent'ined one night in his house, and under pretence of loanes, & kindness, one to the other to set them at farther odds.

chised a thousand Camerines (saying to them that alleaged Law against it, *That for the noise of Armes he could not hear the Law*) designed Metellus and other Senators of Integrity for banishment, and confederated with Glancius Staterninus and the Desperadoes (below his place) (as *Rutilius* saith) by whose vote and money he was the *g* sixth time Consul with *Valerius Flaccus*, rather his Instrument than his Colleague.

In which Consulship he gained much hatred, 1. By winking at a *Saturninus* his murderer. 2. By fraudulently over-reaching grave and staid Metellus to his banishment for (refusing to swear an assent to what the people should decree; which oath *Marius* declaimed against, until he had entrapped the Senators, and then took it) which to prevent dissention, the honest man (who judged, *that to be good, is to be wise*) cheerfully underwent (*b* saying, *That to do evill was too easie; to do good without danger was common; but to do well with danger was heroick*) being followed with a Proclamation that none should allow him either fire or water. 3. By his *c* double-dealing between the Senate and dangerous *Saturninus*, that by sword and murder aimed at Tyranny; which untoward passages put the Nobility to their owne defence in the Capitol, where for want of water they submitted, lost *Marius* the Censors place, recalled his enemy Metellus, and forced him to *Galatia* in pretence to sacrifice to the mother of the gods, but indeed to provoke *Mitridates* with his churlish

return

return for his kindnesse, (*viz. That he must either be able to command the Romans, or obey them*) to a War, wherein he (who was now in peace, as little regarded as an old rusty harness) might be employed; but *Sylla's* honour and Statues had put him upon seditious practices in opposing the one, and demolishing the other, had not the Confederates War interposed, wherein *Marius* (though he slew six thousand of the enemy, and secured his own Army against all *d* provocations) for his weakness and years sunk in his former reputation (as much as *Sylla* rise) and was discharged from all trust, untill his own ambition exercising like a youth in *Mars* his field, and engaging the editious Tribunes, procured him a Commission by a popular vote for the Pontick Warre (mad *Sulpitius* carrying all force of Arms before him at Rome) but that the Army, to whom *Sylla*, after his escape from the sedition at Rome had so endeared himself, that they came with him to Rome, and allaying the distempers there, forced *Marius* through many hazards by Sea and Land to *Ennarium* (and his son to *Affrica*) where Proclamation being made, and Spies sent every where to take him, he deserted of all, though betrayed by none, was taken naked in a Marsh and brought to the Governor of *Minturnes*, who committed him to his enemy *Fannia*, (against whom he had given judgement in case of Dowrie in his sixth Consulship, who yet used him civilly) and hired a *Gaul* to dispatch him; who seeing two flaming eyes in his

d Saying to a Captain that said, If he were valiant, he would fight; If you were valiant, you would force me to it.

dark room; and being asked, *How darest thou kill Marius?* threw down his weapon, and protested he could not kill *Marius*. Whereupon the *Minturnians* repenting of their cruelty, and pitying the man, attended him to the Sea-side with all necessaries through the sacred fields, through which they never carried any thing, but that (as the old man said) *they would do any thing to save Marius*. Whence having offered a Table of his sufferings in the Temple; he sailed by the way to *Sicily* (where he narrowly escaped the *Roman Quæstor*) and *Menine to Africk*, where (sending *Sextilius* word, when he forbade him landing, that banished *Marius* was safe upon the ruins of *Carthage* (to mind the uncertain state of things) he meets his son (who by a Concubines kindness had escaped from *Hiempsal* King of *Numidia*) and for fear of that King retires to *Cercina*, whence (hearing of *Sylla's* Wars against *Mithridates* his Lieutenants, and the Consuls *Octavian* and *Cinna* one against another, And bearing himself up upon the seven young Eagles he took when a child, that he should be the seventh time Consul) he came with a thousand Horse he had picked among the discontented States to *b Telam*; and mustering some forty Saile of Labourers, Slaves, and other desperate persons, he confederates with aspiring *Cinna*, despairing of any good by honest *Octavius*, who aimed at Law and Equity, by whom being made Proconsul (but refusing the honour of it as unbecoming his fortune, dissembling his fierceness and pride in the affable-

a The African Governor.

b A Haven of Tuscany, the Inhabitants whereof he murdered & spoiled.

bleness of a servant, and the humility of a crown beard, and an old gown) 1. He cut off all provision and Trade. 2. He took all Sea-Towns, even *c Ostia* it self by Treason. 3. Made a Bridge over *Tyber*, and stopped up *Rome*, which he took by *Octavius* his superstitious adhesion to Sooth-saying and Law in the case of the Slaves (whom he would by no means arm, saying, *He would never break the Law in keeping out Marius, in maintenance whereof he had been banished.*) And intending to enter it according to the Senators request, peaceably, and as a banished man upon revocation of the decree against him, he (laughing at the Assembly met to recall him) before three Tribes had voted him home, came with his Rascals called *Bardæians*, who guided in their cruelty by his Nod, killed all he saluted not (as *Anchorias* the Senator, notwithstanding his awful power; *Antony* the Orator, notwithstanding his charming Eloquence; and *Lucatius* his fellow-Consul, who he said must needs dye; *Cornutus* onely escaping by his faithful servants, who hanged and buried another in his stead) and committed horrid Rapes and Spoils, until *Cinna* & *Sertorius* slew them two; and that *Sylla* having overthrown *Mithridates*, and rescued the usurped Provinces, came to *Italy*: Whereupon *Marius* was chosen Consul the seventh time; but the old man (though otherwise very patient, as appears in the lancing of his leg, which he endured without binding or any other motion, though he would not lance the other, saying, *The cure is not*

c He choked himself with a Charcoal Fire.

not

not worth the pain:) broken with his former sufferings, and future fears, together with his years and diseases, lost his sleep; and when he would have recovered that with excessive meat and drink, lost his life by a Plurisie, as *Posidonius* writes, attended with phrenzy, and a fancy that he engaged *Mithridates*, against whom he would have gone instead of *Sylla*, whereof, seven dayes after a Narrative of his fortune, to which no wise man would (he said) trust more, he died, sorry that he lived no longer (forgetting things past, with his eye onely on things to come) whereas *Plato* died, rejoycing that he was a man, a *Greek*, and contemporary with *Socrates* and *Ambipater of Tharsus*; that he had seen *Athens*: but *Rome* rather shifted than escaped misery, being as cruelly harassed by the son (as by the father) who for his valour being called the son of *Mars*, and effeminacy the son of *Venus*, was besieged by a *Sylla* in *Perusia*, or *Preneste*, where seeing no way to escape, he hanged himself.

a The 17th day
of his 7th con-
sulship.

a See his Life.
Vide Strab. l.
14.

L Y S A N



XXII.

L Y S A N D E R.

Contemporary with *Malachi* and *Ezra* the *Prophets*, *Camillus* the *Romane*, and *Isocrates* and *Xenophon*, *historians*.

Lysander, whose image with a bushy hair, which was (as *Lycurgus* said) an ornament to the beautiful, and a shame to the deformed (under a the name of *Brasidas*, is at *Athens*) was born and bred poorly, lived obediently; abstained from all pleasure but those of Honor and Vertue, which the *Spartans* allow their children nobly; knew when to yeild, and when to be obstinate; had as much melancholy as made him wise in his lowest fortune, above corruption, refusing *Dionysius* his

An: Mundi
3546. Ant.
Christ 203,
or 300.

a With this in-
scription, *Brasidas* and the
Acanthians,
with the spoils
of *Athens*.

b wise men me-
lancholy, saith
Aristotle.

c Two gownes sent his daughters, as he said, to make them four; though after, when he was bid take his choice for them, he said they should chuse, and so carried them both.

his presents, and reserving himself not a Drachma of the *Athenian* spoil.

In the long *Peloponnesian* War (when *Alcibiades* upon his restauration had made *Athens* as powerful by Sea as by Land) he as Admiral of *Sparta* recovered *Ephesus* (now back-sliding to the *Persians* that surrounded it) by setting up and securing there a flourishing Trade and *Arsenall*, and meeting *Cyrus* a Prince of *Persia* in *Sardis*, pleased him with his converse so that he willingly heard his complaint of *Tissaphernes* neglect of them, and favour of *Alcibiades*, and gave upon his request ten thousand *Daricks* towards a half-penny a days advance more to the souldiers that emptied the enemies ship, which (upon *Alcibiades* his retirement to *Phoea*, whom he looked upon as invisible) under rash *Antiochus* provoking him he overthrew, taking fifteen Gallies; and (when the *Athenians* had hereupon discharged *Alcibiades*) he put his intire friends upon practising alteration in City-Governments from the peoples hands) to their own, who promising all things not onely lawful but feasible from him, parted with him as discontentedly as they received his successor *Callicratidas*, too plain a man for their design, whose Vertue was an Antick piece of modesty and simplicity, which in a pinch of the *Spartans* necessity chose rather to want money, than (as *Lysander*) beg of their *Persians*, after which just and noble mans death and defeat in the *Arginusae* (when he had in vain endeavoured to reconcile the *Gracians*, to the Barbarians

d Though marking a vertue of necessity, he waited patiently, lying at his gate till he had dined; and yet could not speak with him.

terror)

terror) upon the confederats request, who now declined, and *Cyrus* his letters) *Aracus* being chosen Admiral, *Lysander* was his e surintendent, too much to their content who hoped for some alteration by his subtle contrivances, as their fear, who hoped for settlement by *Callicratidas* his plainness, for he made interest Justice, and said, That the Lyons skin must be cased in a Foxes, adding (what became not a *Spartan*) that children were to be deceiv'd with rattles, and men with oaths, as if for fear of an enemy, it were secure to break an oath and offend a god; accordingly at *Miletum* he cajoled both the ruiers and the people with such distant pretences, that he mined and entrapped them both; for which his policy *Cyrus* valued him so much, that he said he would melt his own chair to supply him, & ordered him the taxes of his Provinces, a leavy of men out of *Phenicia*, and his Lieutenantcy; with which favours and authority, being forbidden and unable to fight the *Athenians*, he scoured the Seas, took and robbed *Salamina* and other Isles, shewed his power and discipline f to his Master *Agis* his Army, and being pursued by the *Athenians*, surprised *Hellefpont*, took *Lampsacus* by Sea and Land-force; and when the enemy g came up to him, kept his forces by Sea and Land in battle-array for five days, untill the *Athenians* (rejecting *Alcibiades* his advice, to retire further from that well-disciplined enemy to a more commodious place for succor and provision) were upon a signal given by his Scouts, (viz. a Copper-Target hung in the Air)

e Not chosen Admiral, because by their law none could be twice so.

f In the firme land of Attica.

g where Philocles commanded off the prisoners right-hand thumb, that they might hereafter tug at the Oare, and not trait a Pike.

Air) surprized in disorder (some at Supper, some a Bed, some abroad) to a defeat, where many were slain, three thousand taken, fifty Gallies lost, and *Conon* (after a noble but vain attempt to rally his men) saved himself in Cyprus; after which victory (that with few men and days had easily done the business of many Armies and years, and was prognosticated by *Castor* and *Pollux* shining on *Lyfanders* Gallies, and the holy stone, whether an unsettled story, a tossed Meteor, a sparke of the element of fire, or a Rock removed out of its place, is uncertain) that fell in the *Goats River*, (to the astonishment of the vulgar, and wonder of the wise) and the spoil, *Lyfander* comes with his Captive Gallies and Mariners, his Flutes, Hoboys and Songs of triumph to *Lampsachus*, where *Philocles* that gave the foresaid cruel advice (bidding him do as he should have been done to, and refusing to plead where there were no equal Judges) and the three thousand prisoners went to their deaths & unto their weddings; and *Lyfander* ordering all *Athenians* to their own City upon pain of death (that they might want victuals) scouring the Sea-Coasts; putting his *Lacedemonians* confident with ten Councillors over every City, altering their Governments, banishing the *Samians* and *Sestians*, the *Athenians* confederates, and restoring the *Aeginets*, *Melians*, and *Scioneians* their enemies, and at last distressing *Athens* it self (scanted of provision) from *Pyrea*, to a surrendry upon too hard conditions, 1. Of razing their wall & fortification

c For *Anaxagoras* saith, the stars are out of their first place, and kept up by the motion of the element all fire. And *Damachus* in his book of Religion saith, there was a ball of Fire seen before the fall of the stone sixty years. d *Theophrastus*. e Whereupon *Theopompus* the *Comælian* said weakly, That he like a Vintner, gave the *Gracians* a taste of the sweet wines of liberty, but mingled it afterwards with the vinegar of oppression.

at

at *Pyrea* in ten days, which upon *Theramnes* his advice, they demolished for the publike safety, as they built it, judging they might (as well as the *Spartans*) flourish without walls. 2. Of yeilding up all their Ships but twelve, and Cities but their own (being contented with their lives) 3. Restoring the banished: And 4. altering their Government: at which last Articles when they demurred, *Erianthus* in the confederates Councel advised the ruine of their City, and slavery of the inhabitants: but the wisest men of *Sparta*, and of the deepest Judgement, fearing the power of Gold and Silver, and seeing by proof of *Gylippus* doings, that it had such power to make one of their chiefest men fall through covetousness; they greatly blamed *Lyfander* for bringing of it into *Lacedemonia*, beseeching the *Ephori* that they would send all the Gold and Silver out of *Sparta*, as a plague, provocation, and wicked bait, to make them do evil; declaring unto them, that they should use no other Money, but their own ohely. Whereupon they referred all to the wisdom and determination of the Councel; the which first of all coming from the fire red-hot, was quenched with Vinegar, to the end they should be forged no more, nor employed unto any other use: For it was so eager and brittle by means of this temper, that they could no more convert it to any other purpose; and beside, it was heavy and unhandsome to remove, considering that a great heap and quantity of it, was but of small value. And it seemeth they did use of

of old time, certain little Iron Money, and in some places Copper money, called *Obolisci*, from whence the small pieces of money now extant are called *Oboli*, whereof he made a *Drachma*, so termed for that it was as much as the hand could gripe. Nevertheless, at the earnest suite of *Lyfander's* friends that stood against it, and held hard with him, it was decreed in the Councel, that the money should remain in the City, and ordained that it should be currant onely but for the affairs of the Commonwealth. And if it were found that any private man did ever lock up, or keep any money, that he should suffer death for it; as if *Lycurgus* when he made his Laws, feared Gold or Silver, and not the covetousnesse and avarice which the Gold and Silver bringeth with it. The which was not taken away so much, by prohibiting private men to have it, as it was engendred onely by a toleration of getting. For the profit which they saw it brought withal, made it to be esteemed and desired. For it was impossible they should despise a thing privately for unprofitable, which they saw reckoned of commonly, as a thing very necessary: and that they should think it would not serve their turn privately, seeing it so commonly esteemed and desired. But we are rather to think, that private mens manners are confirmed according to the common uses and customes of Cities, than that the faults and vices of private men do fill cities and Commonwealths with ill qualities. And it is more likely, that the parts are marred and corrupted

ted with an infection of the whole, when it falleth out ill, than that the parts corrupted should draw the whole to corruption. For to the contrary, the faults of a part destroyed, which might be prejudicial unto the whole, are oftentimes redressed and corrected by the other parts whole and entire. But they that took this resolution in their Councel at that time, to have Money in the Commonwealth, made feare of punishment, and of the Law, to be the outward watchmen of Citizens houses, to keep that no Money should come into them. But all this while they made no inward provision, to keep the entry of their soules from all passion and greedy desires of Money: but to the contrary, they made them all to have a covetous desire to be rich, as if it were a great and honourable thing. And moreover *Lyfander* caused a Statue of Brasse to be made like himself, of the spoyl he had gotten of the Enemies, to set it up in the City of *Delpbes*, and for every private Captain of the Gallies in like case, and the two Stars of *Castor* and *Pollux* in Gold besides, which vanished away a little before the battell of *Leucitres*, and no man knew what became of them. Again, in the Chamber of the Treasury of *Brasidas*, and of the *Acambeans*, there was also a Galley made of Gold and Ivory, of two cubits long, which *Cyrus* sent unto him after the victory he had won by Sea of the *Atbenians*.

The *Samians* by publick Decree ordained, that the Feasts of *Juno*, which were called in
T their

their City *Heræa*, should be called *Lysandria*, *Lysander* had ever one *Chærilus* a *Spartan* Poet about him, to write and set forth all his doings in verse. Another Poet called *Antimachus*, one day made certain verses in his praise, which pleased him so well, that he gave him his hatfull of silver. There were two other Poets, *Antimachus* a *Colophonian*, and *Niceratus* born at *Heraclea*, which did both write Verses to honour him, striving whether of them should do best. *Lysander* judged the Crown and Victory unto *Niceratus*, wherewith *Antimachus* was so angry, that he razed out all that he had written of him. But *Plato* who at that time was young, and loved *Antimachus* because he was an excellent Poet, did comfort him, and told him that ignorance did blinde the understanding of the ignorant, as blindnesse doth the sight of the blinde. *Aristonius* an excellent player of the *Cythern*, and one that had six times won the Prizes of the *Pythian Games*, to win *Lysanders* favour, promised him, that if ever he won the prize of his Art again, he would cause himself to be proclaimed *Lysander's* slave. This ambition of *Lysander* was very odious and grievous, only unto great persons, and men of his estate: but besides his ambition, in the end he became very proud and cruel, through the flatteries of his followers, and them that courted him: so that he exceeded in recompensing his friends, as also in punishing his enemies: For, to gratifie his friends and familiars, he gave them absolute power and authority of life and death

death in their Towns and Cities: and to pacifie and appease his anger where he once hated, there was no other way but death, without all possibility of pardon; and that he plainly shewed after wards in the City of *Miletum*: And therefore was *Etecles* a *Lacedæmonian* greatly commended for his saying, That *Greece* could not abide two *Lysanders*. Nevertheless, the *Lacedæmonians* passed over all other complaints exhibited against him, saving when they heard the complaints of *Pharnabazus*, who purposely sent Ambassadors unto them, to complain of the wrongs and injuries *Lysander* had done him, spoiling and destroying the Countrey under his Government: Then the *Ephori* being offended with him, clapped up *Thorax* in prison, one of his friends and Captains that had served under him: and finding that he had both Gold and silver in his house contrary to the Law, put him to death. And to himself they sent immediately that which they call a *Scytala*, (as who would say, the scroll written upon a round staffe) commanding him that he should return immediately upon the receipt thereof. When this Parchment scroll was brought unto *Lysander*, who was then in the Countrey of *Helleſpont*, he was marvellously troubled withall, fearing above all other things, the accusations of *Pharnabazus*: so he sought means to speak with him before he departed, hoping thereby to make his peace with him. When they were together, *Lysander* prayed him he would write another Letter unto the Lords of *Sparta*

a The *Scytala* was a little Parchment rolled about a stick and sent to the General, who must roll it about another stick of the same proportion he hath always before he can read it.

contrary to his first, how that he had done him no hurt at all, and that he had no cause to complain of him : but he did not remember that he was a *Cretan* (as the common proverb saith) that could deceive another *Cretan*. For *Pharnabazus* having promised him that he would perform his desire, wrote a Letter openly, purporting the effect of *Lysander's* request : but behind he had another of contrary effect, so like on the outside unto the other, that by sight no man could discern the one from the other. And when he came to put to his Seal, he changed the first with the last that was hidden, and gave it him. When *Lysander* came unto *Sparta*, he went as the manner is, straight to the Palace where the Senate is kept, and gave his Letters unto the *Ephores*, thinking that by them he should have been cleared from all danger of the greatest accusations they could have burdened him withall ; because that *Pharnabazus* was very well thought on of the Lords of *Lacedæmonia*, for that he did ever shew himself willing and ready to help them in all their Wars, more than any other of the Kings Lieutenants of *Persia*. The *Ephori* having read this Letter, they shewed it unto him. Then did *Lysander* plainly see, that the common Proverb is true :

That Ulysses was not subtle alone.

Thereupon he went home to his house marvellously troubled : but within few days after returning to the Palace again to speak with the Lords of the Council, he told them he must needs make a voyage unto the Temple of *Jupiter*

Jupiter

Jupiter Ammon, to discharge certain Sacrifices, which he had vowed and promised to him before he had won the Battles. *Lysander* having hardly obtained license, took Ship and hoisted sail : but during his absence, the Kings of *Lacedæmon* remembering that he kept all the Cities at his commandment, by means of the friends he had in every City, whom he had made chief Governours of the same, and that by their means he came in manner to be absolute Prince over all *Greece*, they took upon them to re-deliver the Government of the Towns and Cities again into the hands of the People, and also to put down his friends whom he had stablished there. And hereupon fell out great insurrection again ; for first of all, they that were banished from *Athens*, having surprized and taken the Castle of *Phyla*, upon the sudden did set upon the thirty Governors Tyrants (whom *Lysander* had placed there) and overcame them in Battle. Whereupon *Lysander* straight returned to *Sparta*, and perswaded the *Lacedæmonians* to refer the Government to the number of a few, and to punish the insolency of the People. So by his procurement, they sent first an hundred Talents unto the thirty Tyrants for an aid to maintain this War, and appointed *Lysander* himself General. But the two Kings of *Sparta* envying him, and fearing lest he should take the City of *Athens* again, they determined that one of them would go. Whereupon *Pausanias* went thither immediately, who in appearance seemed to maintain the Tyrants a-

T 3

gainst

gainst the people: but in effect, he did his endeavour to appease this War, for fear lest *Lyfander* by means of his friends & followers should once again come to have the City of *Athens* in his power, the which he might easily do. And thus having agreed the *Athenians* again one with another, and pacified all faction and commotion among them, he plucked up the root of *Lyfander's* ambition. But shortly after the *Athenians* rebelling again against the *Lacedaemonians*, *Pausanias* himself was reproved, because he yielded so much to the boldnesse and insolency of the People, which were bridled and restrained before by the authority of the small number of the Governours: and to the contrary, they gave *Lyfander* the honour to be General, who ruled not in this rebellion to please mens mindes, and to content them, neither with fond ostentation of glory, but severely, for the profit and commodity of *Sparta*. It is true, he would give great words, and was terrible to them that resisted him. As he answered the *Argives* one day, who contended for their Confinnes with the *Lacedaemonians*, and seemed to alledge the best reasons: Even they (said he) that shall prove the stronger hereby (shewing them his sword) shall be they that shall plead their cause best for their Confinnes. Another time, when a *Megarian* had told his minde boldly enough in open Councel, he answered him: Thy words (good friend) had need of a City; meaning thereby, that he was of too mean a Town to use so great words. And to the *Boeotians* also, who

were

were in doubt to professe themselves friends or enemies, he sent unto them, to know if he should passe through their Countrey with his Pikes upwards or downwards. And when the *Corinthians* also were revolted from their alliance, he brought his Army hard unto their walls: but when he saw his men were afraid, and made courtesie whether they should go to the assault or not, by chance spying a Hare coming out of the Town-ditches, he said unto them, *Are ye not ashamed to be afraid to go and assault your Enemies, that are so cowardly and fleshfull, that Hares do keep their forms at ease within the circuit of their walls?* Whereupon *Agessilaus* never gave *Lyfander* occasion to do any thing, neither did commit any matter of weight unto him, that might be honourable for him: but which is worst of all, if he perceived that he had taken any mens causes in hand, and that he did favour them, he did always send them back again into their Countrey, denying their suit, without that they could obtain any thing they sued for, lesse then the meanest persons that could have come; extinguishing *Lyfander's* credit by little and little, and taking from him all authority by this meanes. Wherefore, *Lyfander* perceiving how he was thus refused and rejected in all things, seeing that the countenance and favour which he thought to shew unto his friends, fell out hurtful unto them; left off to sollicite their matters any more, and prayed them to forbear to come unto him, or to follow him, but to go to the King, and unto

T 4

those

those that could do them better pleasure than himself, and specially those that honoured him. When they heard that, many desired to trouble him any more in matters of importance, but not to do him all the honour they could, and continued still to accompany him when he went out to walk, or otherwise to exercise himself, the which did aggravate and increase *Agefilau*s anger more against him, for the envy he bare unto his glory. And where he gave very honourable charge and commission in the Wars, oftentimes unto very mean Souldiers to execute, or Cities to govern: he appointed *Lyfander* Surveyor-general of all the ordinary Provision of Victuals, and distributor of flesh: And then mocking the *Ionians* that did honour him so much; *Let them go now*, said he, *and honour my flesh-distributor*. Wherefore *Lyfander* seeing it high time to speak, went to *Agefilau*s, and told him in few words after the *Laconian* manner; Truly *Agefilau*s, *thou hast learned well to abuse thy friends*. Indeed, said he again, *so have I, when they will be greater than my self*: and to the contrary, they that maintain and encrease my Honour and authority, it is reason that I esteem of them. Yea marry, said *Lyfander*, but perhaps I have not done as thou sayest, yet I pray thee give me such an Office, as I may be least hated, & most profitable for thee, though it be but in respect of strangers eyes that look upon us both. After this talk between them, *Agefilau*s sent him his Lieutenant into the Countrey of *Hellepont*, where *Lyfander* still kept

kept this anger secret in his heart against him; but for all that, did not leave to do all that he could for the benefit of his Masters affairs. Wherefore he returned again to *Sparta* not long after, with little honour, being marvelously grieved and offended with *Agefilau*s, & hating more than before all the State and Government of the City of *Sparta*; by reason whereof he determined to put that in practice which he had long time thought upon concerning the alteration of government, & his enterprize was this: Amongst the off-spring and Issue of *Hercules*, the greatest number and chiefest of them dwelled in the City of *Sparta*: howbeit all they that came of that race had no right of succession to the Crown, saving two Families onely, the *Eurytionides*, and the *Agiades*. The other Families, albeit they were all for nobility of blood descended out of one self-house, yet had they no more right nor interest unto the Realm, than the residue of the people: for the Dignities that were attained unto by vertue, were given unto the Inhabitants that could deserve them. *Lyfander* then being one of those that was descended of the true race of *Hercules*, who notwithstanding had no interest in the Crown: when he saw himself aloft, and called to great honour through his famous acts and merits, and that he had won many friends, and great credit and authority by dealing in matters of the State: it grieved him much, to see that they which were no nobler than himself, should be Kings in that City which he had increased by his

his vertue, and that he could not have so much power as to take from these two houses the *Eurytionides* and the *Agiades*, the Perogative that the Kings should be choien one out of one of these two Houses, and to call it upon the off-spring of *Hercules*. Whereupon he attempted first to perswade his Citizens by very good reasons; and to bring this about the better, he conned an Oracion without book, penned by *Cleon Halicarnassens*, made him for this purpose: But afterwards weighing with himself, that so great and strange a change as he would bring in, had need of some better and stronger help, he devised certain Oracles and Prophecies, thinking that all *Cleon's* Rhetorick would stand him in no stead, if first of all he did not fill the Citizens hearts with some superstition and fear of the gods, that he might bring them afterwards more easily unto reason. And *Ephorus* saith, that he proved first to corrupt the Nunne with Money, that giveth all the Oracles and Answers in the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphes*: and that afterwards he would have won the Nun also at the Temple of *Dodone* with Money, by *Phericles* practice: And that he being rejected by them both, went lastly unto the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, and that there he spake unto the Priests, and offered them great store of Money for the same purpose. But they were so offend'd with *Lysander*, that they sent men of purpose to *Sparta*, to accuse him, that he would have corrupted them with money. The Councel clearing *Lysander* of this accusation, the

the *Lybians* his accusers at their departing said, *We will one day judge more justly, then you my Lords of Lacedæmon have done now, when you shall come to dwell in our Countrey of Lybia; supposing there was an ancient Prophecy that said, The Lacedæmonians one day should come to dwell in the Countrey of Lybia.* There was in the Marches of the Realm of *Pont*, a woman that said, she was gotten with childe by *Apollo*; so that she being delivered of a goodly Son, divers Noblemen, and of great estate were careful to bring him up, and to have him taught. This childe, I know not whereupon, nor how, was named *Silenus*: and *Lysander* fetching the plot of his device from thence, added to all the rest of himself, to go on with his practice. These things prepared in this sort, there was order taken, that *Silenus* should come and ask for the secret *b* Books, as though he were the son of *Apollo*; and that the Priests which were privy to this practice, should make as though they did diligently examine him of every thing, and how he was born: And that at the length, after they had seemed to know all, they should deliver these Prophecies unto him, as if he had been indeed *Apollo's* Son: and that he should openly read them in the presence of many witnesses: And among the rest of the Prophecies, that he should read that specially, for the which this long paltry feigned drift was framed, touching the Kingdom of *Lacedæmonia*: that it was better, and meetlier for the *Spartans* they should choose them for their Kings, whom they

b The books which the Priests of *Delphos* kept, that were not to be opened but by *Apollo's* son.

a The cause of Lysander's war against Boeotia was, 1. Andreclides his embroyling of Greece upon the K. of Persia's account. 2. The Thebanes demand of the tenth of the spoyl. 3. And their decree for entertaining the fugitive Athenians against the Lacedæmonians decree for punishing them as Rebels.

they found the meetest men of all their Magistrates. But when *Silenus* was come to full age, and brought into Greece of purpose to perform this practice, all the mystery was marred by the faint heart of one of the Players and companions of *Lysander*, who hoping him to countenance this device: who when the matter should have taken effect, shrunk for fear, and let the mystery alone. This notwithstanding, nothing was betrayed in *Lysander's* life-time, till after his death: For he died before *Agessilaus* returned out of Asia, being fallen into Wars with *c* *Bæotia* before his death, or rather having himselfe made Greece to fall into Wars. Now as *Lysander* went, he took the City of the *Orechomenians*, who willingly yielded themselves to him as soon as he came thither. From thence he went to the City of *Lebadia*, which he spoiled: and from thence he wrote unto King *Pausanias*, that departing from *Platees*, he should march directly to the City of *Aliarte*, where he should not fail to meet him the next morning by break of day at the Town-walls. These Letters were intercepted by certain Scouts of the *Thebans*, who met with the Messenger that carried them. Thus the *Thebans* having intelligence of their purpose, left their City in custody unto the *Athenians* who were coming to aid them, and departed out of *Thebes* about midnight, and marched all night with so great speed, that they came to *Aliarte* in the morning a little before *Lysander*, and put half their men into the City. Now

Now for *Lysander*, he was determined at the first to keep his men upon a hill which is near to the City, and there to tarry the coming of King *Pausanias*. But afterwards when he saw that the day was far spent, and that he came not, he could tarry no longer; but arming himself, after he had made an Oration unto the Confederates which he had brought with him, he marched on with his men in Battel-ray, longer than large, by the high way that went unto the City. In the mean season, the *Thebans* that were left without the Citie, leaving *Aliarte* on the left hand, did set upon *Lysander's* Rereward of his Army against the Fountain *Cissusa*, where the Poets feigne that the Nurfes of *Bacchus* did wash him, when he came out of his Mothers womb, because the water that cometh out of it (though it be very clear and sweet to drink) hath notwithstanding (I cannot tell by what means) a colour like wine: and not far from thence there grows great plenty of *Styrax*-trees. The which the *Aliartians* do alledge, to prove that *Radamanthus* heretofore dwelt in that part, and do shew his Sepulchre there yet to this day, which they call *Alea*. And hard by that also, there is the Monument of *Alcmena*, which was buried (as they say) in that place, and was married to *Radamanthus*, after the death of *Amphytrion*. But the *Thebans* who were within the City with the *Aliartians*, stirred not untill they saw that *Lysander* with the first of his Troop was neer unto the Town-walls: and then opening the Gates on a sudden.

sudden, they made a Sally out upon *Lysander*, and slew him, with his Soothsayer and a few other, because the most part of the *Vow*ard fled into the strength of the Battel. Howbeit the *Thebans* gave them not over so, but followed them so valiantly, that they brake their order, and made them all flee through the Mountains, after they had slain three thousand of them in the Field: so were there 300 *Thebans* slain there also, who followed their Enemies so fiercely, till they recovered strait narrow wayes of great strength for them. These three hundred were in manner all those that were expected in *Thebes* to favour the *Lacedæmonians* secretly: wherefore, for the desire they had to take away this opinion from their Citizens, they hazarded themselves to no purpose, and were cast away in this chase. King *Pausanias* heard news of this overthrow going from *Platees* unto *Thespies*, and went on further, marching still in Battel-aray towards *Aliarte*, where *Thrasylbulus* also arrived at the self-same time, bringing the aid of the *Athenians* from *Thebes*. And when *Pausanias* was purposed to send to aske license of the Enemies to take away the bodies of their men which they had slain, to the intent to bury them, the old *Spartans* that were in his Army, misliking it much, at the first were angry in themselves: But afterwards they went unto the King himself, to tell him that he dishonoured *Sparta*, to offer to take up *Lysander's* body by his Enemies leave and favour; and that he should valiantly recover him by

force

force of Armes, and honourably bury him, after that he had overcome their enemies: or else if it were their fortune to be overthrown, that yet it should be more honourable for them to lie dead in the Field by their Captain, then to ask leave to take up his body. But notwithstanding all these words of the old men, King *Pausanias* seeing that it was a hard matter to overcome the *Thebanes* in Battel, now that they had gotten the victory; and furthermore, that the body of *Lysander* lay hard by the walls of *Aliarte*, and that he could not come to take it away without great danger, although they should win the battel: he sent a Herald to the Enemies; but he having made Truce for certain days, he led his Army away, and took up *Lysander's* body with him, and buried him after they were out of the confines of *Bæotia*, within the Territory of the *Panopeians*, where untill this day his Tomb remaineth upon the high-way going from *Delpbes* unto the City of *Cheronea*.

When *Lysander* was dead, his poverty appeared to the world; which made his vertue far more famous, than when he lived. For then they saw, that for all the Gold and Silver which had passed through his hands, for all his great Authority and countenance that he had carried, and for all that so many Cities and Towns did come to honour him; and briefly, for all that he had had so great and puissant a Kingdom in manner in his hands; yet he did never enrich nor encrease his house with so much as one farthing. It fortun'd

not

not long after, as *Ephorus* writeth, that the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates fell in variance together; whereupon *Lyfander's* Letters were to be seen that were in his House. King *Agefilauſ* going thither to peruse them amongst other Writings, found the Oration penned by *Cleon Halicarnaffeus*, which *Lyfander* had prepared to perswade the *Spartans* to change their Government, and to declare unto them that they should revoke the Prerogative which the *Eurytionides* and the *Agiades* had, that the Kings of *Sparta* could not be chosen but out of those two Families; and to leave the Prerogative at liberty, that the chiefest Magistrates might be lawfully chosen Kings of *Sparta*. *Agefilauſ* stood indifferent to have shewed this Oration openly to the people, that the *Spartans* might see what manner of Citizen *Lyfander* had been in his heart. But *Lacratidas*, a grave wise man, and President at that time of the Council of the *Ephor*, would not suffer him, saying, that he should not dig *Lyfander* out of his grave again, but rather bury his Oration with him, that was so passing well and eloquently penned to perswade. Yet notwithstanding they did him great honour after his death: and amongst others, condemned two Citizens in a great sum of Money, that were made sure to two of his Daughters while he lived, and refused to marry them when he was dead, seeing their Father died so poor; because they sought to match in his house, supposing he had been rich, and forsook them afterwards for their Fathers poverty.

erty: when they saw he died a good and just man. Thus we see, that at *Sparta* there was a punishment for them that did not marry, or that married too late, or that married ill: and unto this punishment were they most subject, that sought great Matches for covetousness of Goods. This is all we have to write of *Lyfander's* Life and Acts.



XXIII.

SYLLA.

Contemporary with *Tygranes King of Syria*, *C. Marius*, *Mithridates King of Pontus*, *Didymus the Scholiast upon Homer*, *Chrysippus the Philosopher*.

L Corn: *Sylla* (of a noble, but so poor an Original, that one condemned by him to the *Tarpeian* rocks, told him that they lived both in one hired house, he

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below,

An: Mundi
3860. Ant.
Christ 80.

below, and the other above; and that it was questioned how he could honestly rise to so great a fortune out of so mean beginnings) was of a red and grim countenance, of a loose and wanton temper, much taken with vain Jest, more with idle Jesters, even to his reduced age, doting on *Metrobius* the Stage-player, and *Nicopolis* the Pimp, who made him his Heir, as did his Mother-in-law, to his dying day. In his Quæstorship under *Marius* in *Affricke* against *Jugurth*, he carried it so nobly, that *Bochus* delivered *Jugurth* his Son-in-law to him, and not to *Marius*, who triumphed for it, though *Sylla* wore the Ring with this Inscription, *Bochus delivering Jugurth, and Sylla taking him*; which notwithstanding he served *Sylla* in his second Consulship against *Copillus*, and in his third against the *Marsians*, whom he reconciled to *Rome*, with that reputation that *Marius* envied him: and he is received by *Catulus* to be partner of his cares and glory in subduing the *Transalpine Barbarians*, and relieving the *Romanes*, in so much that *Marius* his envy broke out to sedition, but *Sylla* retired; and when *Pretor* restored *Ariobarzan* of *Cappadocia*, ejected *Gordius*, & gained so much repute, that *Arsacides* King of *Parthia* courted him as the Representative of *Rome*; and *Bochus* erected him a Statue, when *Marius* opposed, the sedition was improved to a Civil War: *Marius* with the wretched Tribune *Sulpitius* (while *Sylla* was engaged against *Mithridates*) raising tumults, committing outrages in *Castor's* Temple,

Temple on the Consuls themselves, enacting wicked Lawes, and destroying all *Sylla's* friends, untill *Sylla* being before-hand with the Army at *Nola*, declared with them against the proceedings, and came upon the City with Fire and Sword, overthrew *Marius*, and the Slaves he had enfranchised for his service, condemned *Marius* and his accomplices, and then transports the Army to *Greece* against *Mithridates*: and of all the Cities that sued for his protections, he besieged *Athens* now oppressed by *Aristion*, took *Pyreum*; wanting money, robbed the Temple at *Delphos* (saying to the Souldiers that were afraid to do it, because he heard a Harp playing, *The god is glad he can serve us, and therefore playeth on his Harp*) distressed the Town so, that two bushels of Wheat was sold for a thousand Drachmaes, i. e. 4 l. 3 s. 4 d. And at length making a breach in the wall between *Pyreum* and it, entred the City, and gave it to the Souldiers rapine and slaughter, which was so great, that the Suburbs ran with blood.

a Here he took so great a Tub, that the Amphythions could not draw it till it was broke.

Whence hearing of *Mithridates* his hundred thousand Foot, ten thousand Horse, and ninety horsed Chariots, and innumerable Ships under *Taxilles* and *Archilaus*, *Sylla* to avoid the Famine, withdraws to a rising ground in *Bæotia* with *Hortensius*, and 13000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, where the Enemy contemning their number, terribly assailed them, untill *Sylla* getting up a Fortresse hard by, and passing the River *Asius*, charged

ged the *Barbarians* on Mount *Ædulus* in the Rear, while the distressed *Thurians* charged upon a signal given in the Front with that terror, that they ran over hedge and ditch, and *Taxilles*, *Archelaus*, with the whole Army being drawn up to their rescue, after a fierce fight, were at first in the left wing overpowered by *Sylla*, and at last utterly overthrown, so that but ten thousand escaped, when not above twelve *Romanes* were missed.

Where *Sylla* had no sooner erected a Trophy, than *Dorilaus* with eighty thousand land-Forces, and a great Navy came to *Chalcidas*; and though advised by *Archelaus* to tyre him out with delays, would needs engage him. Whereupon waving *Flaccus* his faction, which he went to reduce in *Macedonia*, *Sylla* encamped near the *Barbarians*; who setting upon his incomplete Trenches, were beaten with that onslaught, that the Moors, the Pools and Fields were filled with Carcasses. And then his wife and friends assuring him that he and his were ruined at *Rome*, unwilling he was to leave the Warr imperfect, and willing to help his friends: a Peace he makes with *Mithridates*, upon condition that he dismissed *Asia* and *Paphlagonia*, delivered *Bithynia* to *Nicomed*, and *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzan*; paid two hundred thousand Talents, and furnished seventy great Ships for the *Romanes*; and having kissed and reconciled him to *Nicomed* and *Ariobarzan*, he with his seventy Ships, which in his long way he made 1200, went from *Dyrachium* to *Tarentum*; and thence over-

overthrowing young *Marius* twice in *Campania*, shutting up the Consul *Norbon* in *Capua*, and clearing his way, he entred the City a Conquerour, where so many thousands were slain, so many millions plundered, so much blood spilt (he sparing neither Age nor Sexe, gods nor men, in *Rome* or any other City) that his Host at *Tarentum*, (where 12000 were murdered in a herd) said, *He would not live alone, when his whole Countrey was perished.*

After these infinite cruelties, proscriptions, and slaughters, *Sylla* votes himself Dictator for twenty eight years, perswades *Pompey* to put off his own wife, that he might marry his wives daughter *Æmilia*, triumphs over *Mithridates*, declares himself the Father of his Countrey, commanded that that year should be written happy--- and secure of his fortune, put off his Authority, walked the streets as a private man, entertained the Citizens sumptuously: and spying handsome *Valeria*, *Messalaus* his daughter, first wantonly courted, and then married her; but having by company, feasting, drinking, and whoring, got a Consumption, he was weary of his life, and died at *Puteoli*: and when most refused him the honour of a burial, *Pompey* buried him nobly: his Monument in *Campus Martius* hath this inscription; *No friend ever overcame me with kindnesse, no enemy with injury.*

The Parallel.

HAVING seen *Lysander* and *Sylla's* Life, observe we their actions: both raised themselves; but the one received his authority by choice, the other usurped it by sedition. The one resigned up his power to his Citizens, who resigned it back to him again; whereas the other being once chosen General, would never part with his power, but was made himself Consul, Proconsul, and Dictator at pleasure. The first was advanced for the worthiest, the second advanced himself as the most ambitious man in his Countrey. *Lysander* attempted a moderate reformation of Government by reason (that the best man might be King in the best City) *Sylla* a violent alteration of it by the Sword. *Lysander* said, *That Vice was ill, though in a Nobleman, and Vertue honourable, though in a Peasant.* For the wrongs they did, *Lysander* did them to gratifie his friends, and *Sylla* to undo his. *Lysander* being always, *Laconian-like*, temperate in his desires and pleasure, shewed his intent to be that of a good Prince; *Sylla* never moderating his lust, neither for poverty when young, nor age when old, (being then most lustful, when he made a Law for chastity) discovers his design to be that of a Tyrant. He ever confiscated Estates, sold Freedoms, &c. yet ever wanted, lavishing the spoils upon his Flatterers for trifles: and when the Cryers offered more, being angry before

before all the people, that he could not sell his own at his own rate: but *Lysander* bestowed his spoils on *Sparta*, though to their hurt, silver and gold undoing them. *Lysander* being a good man, made a bad City; *Sylla* being a bad man, made a good one. The first mans fault was, that he was worse than his Lawes; the seconds was, that his Citizens were worse than he, being taught by him to desire those things himself despised. *Sylla* is not to be compared to *Lysander* in peace, *Lysander* to him in war. *Lysander* had but two victories over *Antiochus*, *Alcibiades* his Governour, and *Philocles* the *Athenian*, whereof the first was not good enough to be *Mithridates* his Otter, nor the second *Marius* his slave, both whom *Sylla* conquered, as he did strong *Athens* and *Pyreum*, warlike *Thebesinus* and *Lamponeus*. *Lysander* neglected the publick service to serve his friends, *Sylla* his friends to serve the publique. *Sylla* made *Athens* a free State, and *Lysander* a Tyranny ^a: More and more noble were *Sylla's* acts than *Lysander's*, who was indeed the most temperate, but the other was the most valiant.

^a By bringing the 30 Tyrants thither.



An: Mundi
3481. Ante
Chr. 80.



XXIV.

CYMON. a

a He that
brought K. O-
pheltas out of
Thessaly into
Boeotia.

b Because they
blackened their
faces, his poste-
rity was called
So.

Damon one of *Peripolitas* the Soothsayers valiant posterity at our native City of *Cheronea*, having privately murdered a *Romane* Captain that would have abused his beauty and youth, and the Commons of that City that would have revenged it, after that *Lucullus* taking cognizance of the matter, acquitted the place of its Garison and guilt, and that *Damon* that spoyled the Countrey with his b *Aspolomens*, or black faces, was murdered in his Stove-house: his testimony and letter cleared my Countrey-men, when indicted before the Governour of *Macedon* by the *Archomenians* for the same offence; for which they

they erected an exact Image in the Market-place for his person, and I an impartial portraiture in my Lives for his vertues, not c which yet he concealing his weaknesses, which are the im- passeth by out of perfectionis of vertue, rather than the ill in- reverence to the clination of vice: and comparing him with Cy- frailty of na- mon, both having gone very far in the Wars- ture, which ne- against Barbarians abroad, and as d far in the- ver shewed per- settlement of dissentions at home; both vali- fession without d None went ant and magnificent, both courteous and ob- further than- liging. *Cymon* son of *Miltiades*, kinsman to they but *Jason*, *Thucydides*, and descended of King *Olorus*, was Hercules, *Bac-* not more infamous, For, 1. his Fathers chus, *Perseus* death in prison for debt. 2. His own Beastli- against the *Ae-* thiopians. nesse (not inferiour to his Grandfathers *Coa-* c i. e. Fool, *lemuse*) 3. His untowardnesse for Liberal Sciences and Eloquence. 4. His unlawful con- versation with his own Sister *Elpenice* (of no good fame with the Commonwealths Painter *Polignatus*:) and his f Whore *Mnestra*, then fso *Stesimbrotus* the *Thra-* he was eminent for the valour and prudence- cian, and *Me-* of a Captain equall with *Themistocles*, and *lantheus* the- the plainnesse and justice of a Governor be- Poet write. yond him, being so forward in publick acts of Peace and War, that being encouraged to publick service, he was by *Aristides* his fa- vour and the peoples to counterpoize *Themistocles* whom they were weary of, advanced to his place, wherein he freed not onely his own City, but all Greece from the government of *Sparta*, indearing his own settlement by his gentlenesse, as *Pausanias* had imbittered their superintendency (as *Cymon* went to the *E-* *phori*) by his Insolences, for which he was besieged

g Particularly the Virgin he murdered in the dark, as she came to his unlawful bed, which told he must be eased of his troubles, that is, die at Sparta. h In memory of which exploit there were four square pillars called Hermites, whereon were the heads of Mercury erected, with an inscription expressing the fact and the donation; an honour Multiades had not. a He appointed sea men to judge of the Poets worth by oath. b As well as Lychas had done before him. c And opposing Themistocles for his vanity that way.

besieged by him at *Bizantium* (and haunted by their g spirits he had murdered) whence Cymon went to beleaguer some *Persians* that over-run *Greece* in *Elione*, and invade the *Thracians* that supplied them, untill they burned up the place and themselves for want of provision; and he gave the b Countrey to his *Athenians*, adding to his conquests the *Isle of Scyros* (for refusing to pay the fine the *Amphyctians* imposed upon the idle *Dolopians* for their robbery) and in obedience to an Oracle brought *Theseus* Remains thence to *Athen*, whereby he much obliged the people, as he did by his familiarity, his musick and voyce, his presence at the Theatres, and judgement upon the Poets a, and his prudence, the most eminent instance whereof is his division of the spoyle at *Sestos* and *Byzantium*; where selling the dead bodies on the one hand, and the prizes on the other very unequally, as all the confederates judged, he leaving the prizes to them, made four times more of the ransome of his *Persian* Corps, than they of their goods, which he bestowed as honourably as he gained them (getting an estate (as *Gorgias* said of him) to use, and using it for honour) in breaking up Inclosures, keeping open house, clothing & relieving the old & weak poor; in settling Husbandry and other b useful inventions: erecting an c Hospital endowed with fruitful Grounds for the needy and the traveller, and restoring the Golden World, with no designe of popularity, always checking the licentiousness of the people, with the authority of the Nobility, and

and administering Justice with that integrity, that he told a *Persian* Fugitive *Refuges*, who would have corrupted him, that his d *Daricks* might make him his hireling, but not his friend. e Money so called from *Darius*, us.

Add to this, that he inured them that compounded for their service in War, and were willing to live quietly at home, to the necessary arts of Peace; and those that went abroad, to the strict and exact discipline of War, with that success, that he awed all his neighbours to be tributary; bridled the King of *Persia* by drawing off his Cities, and continual surprizes of him more, than any before him; forced the *Phaselites*, that would not entertain their own *Grecians*, by an inroad to their very walls, to an hundred Talents fine, and constant service against the *Barbarians*, against whom (under *Ariomandes* command e, riding at Anchor before the River *Eurymedon*) Cymon (before the *Phanicians* whom they expected, joyned with them) obtained two victories in one day (the first at f Sea, and upon their retreat to their Land-forces; the other upon the Land, with great slaughter, and rich spoyle) to which he added a third against the fourscore sail of the *Phanicians*; and with the terror of them all, frighted the mighty *Persian* to those famous g Articles (in *Craterus* his acts of *Athen*) 1. That he would not sayl beyond the b *Chelidonia*: Nor 2. come within a Horse-carreer of the Sea; whence upon his re-

h Therefore when *Ephialtes* with thirty, and *Pericles* with fifty Sail went beyond the *Iles* of *Chelidonia*, not a *Barbarian* durst look them in the face. turn

e Being 600 sail, saith Ephorus, 300 saith Phano-demus.

f His victory at Sea out-did that at Land in Places: and his at Land out-did that at Sea in *Salamina*.

g Though *Callistines* writes there is no such thing, onely the *Persian* kept in for fear.

turn to *Athens* he built the Altar of Peace, filled the common Treasures, built the Castle and Pyrean wall, set up Liberal exercises in the City, with Groves and Springs, the Market place and Academy, with the *Persian* spoils. He cleared *Chersonesus* of the *Persians*, reduced the rebellious Isle of *Thasos*, and opened his way to *Macedon*; and (having with his sister *Elpenices* interest with *Pericles* (who told her she was too old to prevail with him) discharged himself from any corruption with *Alexander* (protesting he leagued not with the rich, but the most virtuous people) though he invaded not his Countrey) composed *Ephialtes* his sedition, restored the *Areopagites* authority by him prostituted to the multitude, set up Law above Faction, and Nobility called *Optimacia* above popularity; for which (together with his looseness and *k* wantonness, his great kindness to the *Lacedemonians* (which in the time of their power was honourable to him, but now invidious) by whom he always reprov'd them, saying, *I'll warrant you the Spartans do not so*: And his aid procured them against their *Ilates* or Slaves, who but for *King Archidamus* his sudden Alarm, had surprized them in a terrible Earthquake, because the *Spartans* would not trust, but sent back their Auxiliaries) he suffered the Ostracism for ten: But having in vain offered his assistance against the *Spartans*, upon his friends faithful service to their Countrey by his order, a surprise, and as it happened saved them from their

and

and the *Athenians* distressed after their overthrow at *Tanagre*, for fear of the *Peloponnesians*, he was by his very enemy *Pericles* (consulting the publick interest rather than his own inclination) called home; where composing all the *Grecian* quarrels to a general quiet, and finding the *Athenians* impatient of an idle Peace to prevent future dissensions, and inure his people to *Barbarian* services, he rigged two hundred sail for *Cyprus* and *Aegypt*; and upon his conquests in *Pamphylia* over the *Persian* and his Confederates, meditating no less an enterprize than the ruine of that mighty Empire (to which his enemy *Themistocles* had vowed his service) died (as a Bitch barking at him in a dream, the liver without a head, the blood carried by Ants to his great toe before he set out, and the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon* which he *a* consulted since, prognosticated) under the walls of *Citium* in *Cyprus*, commanding his Army 30 days after his death, whereof they took no notice till they came *b* to *Athens*, which after his death harassed with Civil Wars, and embroyled by the Orators and Demagogues, never did any thing worthy of memory, save that they erected him two Tombs called *Cymonia*; the one at *Athens*, the other at *Citium*, where, as *Nausetrates* writes, having done more than a man, he was by the Oracles direction revered as a god.

a when his Messengers consulted the Oracle, it told them Cymon was then coming to him, about which very time upon their return they found he died.
b So *Peanodemus* writes, & *Sesimbrotus*.

LUCIUS

i who fate in *Arcopagus*, or a village near *Mars hill*.

k with his sister, with whom *saith* *Æmilius Probus* in his *worthies*, if it be his, & *Plutarch* in *Themistocles*; It was lawful in *Athens* to marry, if they could not be otherwise bestowed.

l who while the *Spartans* were in an hurry, founded a Trumpet suddenly for fear of a surprise, and as it happened saved them from their



An. Mund.
3870. Ante
Chr. 60.



XXV.

LUCIUS LUCULLUS.

Contemporary with Ptolomy Auletes of Egypt,
Jamneus the Jew, Diod. Siculus, Catullus,
M. Crassus.

Lucullus (whose first appearance was in charging *Servellus* the South-slayer with the same fraud in the Questors place, that he had charged his Father with) was not more unhappy in his fathers Felony, and his mothers Leudness, then he was happy in his Grandfather and Uncles dignities; in his own studiousness, contempt, and ready eloquence (having drawn a breviary of the

^a which filled Rome with talk, the people being as much pleased to see the old Officers worried, as to see a Hare cowed.

^b Metellus. ^c They were both Consuls. ^d In a contest with Hortensius the Orator, and Siscenna the Historiographers.

Marsian

Marsian War in Greek Prose himself, and received a Commentary of the Civil War dedicated to him by *Sylla*) and his courtesie and affection for his Brother *Marcus*, whom he would always advance above himself; wherefore he was with him made *Ædile*, and for his conduct in the *Marsian* Wars, imployed by *Sylla* in all his weighty affairs, as in coynying at *Peloponnesus*, in relieving his Navy now distressed before *Athens* from *Egypt* (obliging *Crete* by the one, and freeing and settling *Cyrene*, which (as *Plato* told them when they desired him to give them Laws) received that constitution in their distress, which they would not endure in their prosperity) where having narrowly escaped the *Pirates*, he was nobly entertained by young *Ptolomy* in his own Court, minding his business as an Agent, and not a traveller; and modestly refusing the Kings favours untill they parted (when he accepted an *Emerauld* set in Gold with the Kings own picture) and he rallying together the Ships he had got in the Port-Towns, and observing the enemy in the Creeks (having given order for provision, as if he would Winter there) stole upon *Rhodes*, *Gnidus*, which with *Co*, *Chios* and other Isles he set at liberty) furnished him with Ships against *Mithridates* and the *Samians*, whom (though there by he had put a period to the War) being driven by him to Sea, and stopped there by *Fimbria*, he would not take, to honor wicked *Fimbria*, but reserved him a worthy enemy for his own and *Sylla*'s renown on the Coast of

Troade,

^e Taking the
Tyrant Epigonus prisoner.

f where he beat
his Lieutenant
Neoptolemus.

g Hoising in the
day time to the
maine Sea, and
then returning
in the night up-
on the carelesse
Mytilenians,
who were just
going to spoil
the Romane
Campe.

h which had
fallen to his Col-
league Cotta's
Lieutenant.
a That fell to
his Lot.

b where sixty
Romane ships
were lost.

Troade, and a while after at *f Tenedos*; whence he was Commissioned by *Sylla* to coyn, and leavy the twenty thousand talent fine in *Asia*, where (reducing the *Mitelenians* that favoured *Marius* by a *g* stratagem) he escaped the miseries of *Marius* and *Sylla*'s faction until *Sylla*'s death; after whose departure (being to *Pompey*'s great regret made his Sons Tutor by his Will, and Consul by the peoples) he kept ambitious *Pompey* in *Spain*, left seditious *Cetbegus* and the Orator *Lucius Quintus* should joyn, and upon *Octavius* the Governor of *Cilicia*'s death (by fair *Præci*'s means) who ruled *Cetbegus*, as he did *Rome*, and was excusable, because he improved all her Dalliances for the Commonwealths service (a way below his vertue and his place) obtained that charge, and with it (what he aimed at) the *b* management of the Pontick War, in his Colleague *Cotta*'s place, who was employed to secure *Propontide* and *Bithynia*; whither leaving *a Gaul* and the *Alps* as the best Commander (now *Metellus* was old, and *Pompey* with *Sertorius* in *Spain*) he disciplined the lose and debauched Legions, who (especially the *Fimbrian* band that killed *Flaccus*, and betrayed *Fimbria*) never knew what a resolute Captain was; and marched against *Mithridates* (who had now, 1. Sixty thousand Foot, sixteen thousand Horse, and a numerous Navy furnished, not (as in the first War) for *Pomp*, but service, and trained in the *Romane* way. 2. All *Asia* revolted to him. 3. And a compleat *b* victory over *rash*

c Cotta

c See Appian;

Cotta, who aiming at the intire honor of a Conquest, sunk under the whole shame of a defeat, and was besieged at *Chalcedon*, whither *Lucullus* (though invited to *Pontus*, that was now open and unregarded, saying, He had rather save one *Romane* then win all *Pontus*) went to his relief, and observing the number, and learning by Prisoners the posture, condition, and necessities of *Mithridates* his Army, followed it to *Cyzicus*, which (1. with his relief, 2. The encouragement of their goddess *Proserpina*, who in a Dream to Secretary *Aristagoras*, bid them be of good courage, for she had brought the Flute of *Libya* against the Trumpet of *Pontus*. And 3 the Cows Omen, that when they were at a loss for one, swam to them to be their *d* sacrifice; the wonderful South-wind that brake *Mithridates* his Engines, and the famine which *Lucullus* foresaw would be in the Camp) held out against their numberless besiegers, untill they despairing of success, having victualled in *Bithynia*, drew towards *Lucullus* Army, while he was taking an adjoining cast, and upon his unexpected return through the deep Snow, were overthrown, partly by the River *Rindacus*, partly by *Granicus*, with infinite slaughter, *e* booty, and *f* prisoners, *Mithridates* himself hardly escaping the *Romanes*, when his Admiral *Aristonicus* was betrayed to them: with this success, *Lucullus* (having had an entertainment *g* suitable to his conquest at *Cyzicus*, recruited his Navy in the *Hellepont*, and admonished by *g Venus* in a Dream of a prize) after a sharp

d on Proserpi-
naes day.

e All the wo-
men of Apollo-
nia coming out
and rising the
conquered Pon-
ticks of their
cloths and vi-
tuals.

f There died
here, they say,
three hundred
thousand men: a
flame of fire fell
down upon both
Armies, a little
before the bat-
tle.

g In whose
Temple the
Troades pre-
pared him a
lodging.

X

en-

*h Giving his
souldiers that
signal to spare
him.*

*i An Ox being
sold for one
Drachma, and a
slave for four.*

*k Occasion and
opportunity kills
and saves; for
this Prince Ol-
thacus, while
the Army was
scattered, came
to Lucullus
Tent, with whom
he was very fa-
miliar, and was
forcibly, but ve-
ry strangely kept
out by the door-
keeper of his
Tent, because
Lucullus was
asleep, and he
would not dis-
turb his Ma-
jesty's rest for the
Romane Em-
pire.*

encounter surrounded fifteen Gallies of *Mithridates* his in the Haven of *Achaia*, reserved *h* one-eyed *Marius* (whom he took there) for Justice, dispatched *Voconius* to take the King, who as narrowly escaped him, while he sacrificed in *Samothrace*, as he did the tempest in the *Euxine* Sea) and Nobly refusing any more money or Ships from *Rome*, went himself through *Rithynia* to *Pontus*; and though troubled at first with scarcity, which in the plains of *Galatia* was turned to *i* plenty, and then with a mutiny which he composed by an Oration (tending to keep in his souldiers from spoiling the Country as they passed; and from fighting, untill *Mithridates* was recruited, lest he should call in his ally *Tygranes*) leaving the City of *Amisus* to *Murena*, drew upon *Mithridates* (who worsted his Horse; and a true *Romane* called *Pomponius*, who would not to save his life be a friend to *Mithridates*, as long as he was an enemy to *Rome*) and with an old *Grecians* direction, considering the enemies horse, encamped himself where he might force them, but could not be forced himself) whence his men engaged the *Ponticks* (as their Commanders were a courting) with some loss, untill his presence turned the scale and forced the enemy to their Fortress, when having put those men that fled to the usual penance of digging in their shirts, and escaped *Oltacus* (*Mithridates* his assassines) whom he had treated civilly, and trusted with a command by *k* sleep that kills all others, he defeated *Mithridates* his Captains that assaulted his For-

rager

rager with that spoil and slaughter, as frightened *Mithridates* to a confused flight; and his Nobility to a dangerous mutiny; and had not *Mithridates* set a *a* booty in the souldiers way to divert them, he had been taken, and his *b* Secretary brought alive to *Lucullus*, who taking *Cabira* and other strong places, releasing the *Grecian* prisoners, taking *Nissa* the Kings sister, that thereby escaped the sad fate of the other *c* Court-Ladies; pursued *Mithridates* to *Taula*, whence subduing *Chaldea*, *Armenia* the less, &c. and summoning *Tygranes* to deliver up *Mithridates*, by *Appius Claudius* his brother in law, he took *Amisus* (kept as long as could be, and then fired by that expert Engineer, *Callimachus* its Governor) by amusing them with various methods of War; and gave it to the spoil, *d* lamenting that he had not that power to save *Amisus*, that *Sylla* had to preserve *Athens*; yet a seasonable rain having quenched the fire, he rebuilt and *e* enlarged the City, planted it with *Athenians* that fled from *Aristons* Tyranny, to his *f* encouragements and liberties, whence (bestowing the learned *Grammarians* *Tyrannion*, that was here taken, upon *Murena*) he visited the Cities of *Asia*, and mitigated the *Romane* Officers *g* Usury *h*; checked the Farmers, restored ancient Laws and Liberties, abolished the barbarous punishments of the Rack, Stocks, &c. in so much as *Lucullus* was as heartily wished where he had not come, as beloved where he was; and (as *Vespasian*) was the desire and delight of all Nations, and all *Asia* instituted a

X 2

Solemn

*a A Mule laden with Gold,
b was killed for the gold in his Girdle.*

c who hearing from Mithridates they must die, made away themselves; to gentle Lucullus his great grief.

*d Burning it, as Mummus did Corinth,
e One hundred and twenty furlongs into the Country.*

f He gave them two hundred Drachmaes a peice; beside Cloaths.

g To an hundred part of the principal.

h This Usury grew upon Sylla's fine upon Asia of twenty thousand talents.

solemn feast, called *Luculleia*, in his memory.

But after *Appius Claudius* had tampered with King *Tigranes* Princes, who were weary of his Tyranny, and demanded *Mithridates* with a freedom unusual in that Country of slaves; he returned to *Lucullus* with advice for War; in order to which, he put to the sword the *Cilicians* in *Sinope* that favoured *Mithridates*, sparing the City upon a Dream of *Antolycheus* its founder, whose Image he met that day; and (notwithstanding the numerousness of his enemies, the vastness of the Country, his own souldiers unwillingness and insolency, the Councillors of Rome cry that he made Wars endless to serve his ambition and continue his command, and *Pompeys* Commission to discharge him) passed over *Euphrates*, that was suddenly and wonderfully fordable; and upon the happy Omen of a white Cow, that offered her self upon *Diana Persica's* Rockes, to be a sacrifice; and a Bull dedicated to the great River by the way of *Sophene*, entred *Armenia*, where *Tigranes* drunk with power and prosperity (which are as much too strong for some weak constitutions, as Wine for some weak heads) vapored untill *Sextilius* by *Lucullus* his order cut off his familiar *Mithrobarzanes*, *Lucullus* himself, his supplies of *Arabians* and others; and *Murana* defeated the King himself in a narrow Valley, as he fled to *Taurus*, saving himself by the sorry shift of his carriages thrown in his enemies way.

i As they had upon his approach served the Citizens. k It being written in Sylla's book dedicated to him, That nothing is more to be observed when a dream. l One of the goodliest pieces of Sten's the Image-Graver.

Up

Upon which victory *Lucullus* streightned the Royal City *Tigranocerta*, as full of all manner of riches as of people, closely, that *Tigranes* might venture a battel in the relief of it, as (notwithstanding *Mithridates* his letters, and his Messenger *Taxiles* his advice) he (when all his Barbarians came about him) did with one hundred and fifty thousand Foot, thirty eight thousand Horse, seventeen thousand Cuirassiers, twenty thousand Bowmen, thirty five thousand Pioners and workmen, laughing at *Lucullus* his ten thousand Foot (drawing lots for the spoils, and saying, they were too few for an Army, and too many for Embassadors (so many, that they could not be drawn in Battalia) himself leading the body, the King of the *Adiabians* the left Wing, and the King of the *Medians* the right; but all fled without stroak one upon another, leaving behind them an infinite heap of Carcasses, with King *Tigranes* his Diadem, where there fell but five *Romanes*, to *Lucullus* his everlasting renown, who with equal honor overcame *Tigranes* by speed, and *Mithridates* by delay. Now while *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* bewailed their misfortune, and leavyed another Army, *Lucullus* taking an advantage of the *Grecians* and Barbarians mutiny at *Tigranocerta*, he took it, reserved the Kings treasure for publike service; gave the City to the spoiled, settled the neighbor-Cities with as much justice as he had overcome them with prowess, so that they honored him as their Patron; the *Sophenians* and *Gordianians*, with their Wives and

* Or Vittæ. m Antiochus the Philosopher in his Book of the gods, saith, the Sun never saw such an overthrow. Strabo saith, the *Romanes* were ashamed of their enemies: and *Livy* saith the *Romanes* never encountered so many with so few. n He would say that Prowesse was his souldiers vertue, and justice his own. o For which *Zarbienus* was cruelly murdered by *Tigranes*, but honorably buried on a rich pile of wood set on fire by *Lucullus* himself.

X 3

Chil-

That he might over-run three of the greatest Kingdoms in the world.

Or Syria, from Syrus Apollo's son.

The chief City of Armenia, built by Hannibals direction, and strongly situated, and called Artaxata, from Artaxes the then King.

Livy, three Kings were here vanquished in battle.

Tigranes his own brother.

For firing Amisus, and hindring Lucullus from shewing his good affections to the Grecians.

He was tall, well spoken, discreet in matters of peace and war. k who were like the Thynn Fish, that troubled the water, and rushed violently into it, said Athenæus l. 7. Lucius Q. the Prator, or rather Tribunes Plebis, was one;

Children followed him as their Protector, who (being diverted from his design against the *c* Parthians for their under-hand dealing with Tigranes, notwithstanding their Embassies to him; by a mutiny among his souldiers, now insolent with plenty, success and ease) over-ran *d* Armenia, cut off the Kings supplies, Alarmed and provoked his Army; and when that would not do, besieged his Wives and Children in *e* Artaxata; to whose relief when he came, Lucullus (promising himself victory from his sacrifice) passing the River *f* Arsanius with twelve Cohorts, dispersed the *g* Mordian Bowmen, and *h* Iberian Lanccers, the Kings chief strength; and as his Rear followed, the rest were overthrown with as much ease in this second battle, as they *f* in the first, where more were killed, though the more nobly here; the *i* Romanes killing and taking their enemies all night till they were tired.

From this place (the souldiers refusing to march through Ice, Woods, and Snow further into the Country) he went and took Nisibis or Antioch in Mygdonia, pardoning the Governor *g* Gauras, and *h* executing the Engineer Callimachus: Hitherto Lucullus never failed, being as prosperous as he was *i* promising and vertuous, untill *P. Clodius* (a lewd man that was naught with his own sister Lucullus his wife) and other *k* seditious Orators, ta-

king

king advantage, 1. Of his pride and haughtiness towards Gentlemen. 2. His hard usage of his souldiers (whom he kept in the field two Winters before Cyzicus and Amisus) 3. His delaying of the War, and spoiling rather than conquering his enemies. 4. The overthrow of his Lieutenants Fabius and Triarius, by Mitbridates. 5. The desperate humor of the intractable Fimbrians bands. 6. The revolt of the whole Army (notwithstanding his submission to them) and the sad case of Pontus and the *Romane* interest there (Lucullus and his souldiers being besides themselves) harangued Pompey by undue practices into his place to succeed him, not in his troubles but Triumphs, who (notwithstanding an interview, and some small favours from *m* Lucullus) vacated his power; disannulled his Ordnances, took from him his souldiers (and indeed if Lucullus had but that one vertue of a General, The love of his souldiers, added to the rest, not *Euphrates*, but the Ocean had been the limit of the *Romane* Empire.)

Whereupon returning to Rome, he and his brother were sobaited by Memmius, that he almost lost his triumph, wherein his enemies Arms, Prisoners, Engines, Plate, Coyn, and his own *n* Books of accounts (where it appeared his Wars maintained themselves) honoured him not so much as they undid Rome, by tempting poor Crassus to imagine the Barbarians were nothing else but booty. A while after feasting all the Villages, he retired from all Publike affairs (even when the Common-

X 4

wealth

l As supplying him with fresh bays. m The older man; though Pompey was great.

n wherein he shewed what money he had given Pompey, what was in the Treasury, and how he had given nine hundred and fifty Drachmaes to each souldier.

wealth thought they had a Champion against Pompey's Tyranny) and (minding *Marinus*, *Cicero*, and *Scipio's* latter misfortune, blasting their first prosperities) provided for his safety and pleasure, 1. By forsaking his wanton *Claudia* for his more wanton a *Servilia*. 2. By erecting sumptuous buildings, stately Walls and Galleries, with more stately and curious furniture. 3. By pleasant Gardens, and exquisite Lodges, built on a bank from Rome to the Sea side, and some in the Sea; and magnificent halls built on Taraffes to view the whole Country neer *Tusculum*; his beds were covered with rich Purple Carpets; his Cupboards with Silver and Gold Plate, his Halls ringing with Musick and thronged with dishes, every Hall having its certain rate and proportion, and *Apollo's* e fifty thousand pence, and all for himself; for he would tell his Guests that would not put him to any extraordinary charge, that something was provided for them, but most for *Lucullus*; and to his servants when they had but slender provisions, because there were no strangers, Did not you know *Lucullus* would be here? *Cicero* and *Pompey* one day would dine with *Lucullus*, but on condition he spake not to his servants to provide any extraordinaries; he did but tell them he would Sup in *Apollo's* Chamber, and their Treat was astonishing; but his Table was not more choice then his Library, where as many Scholars were entertained by his Histories, as Guests at his meat; Histories that it were his honor to have, but more to use

a Cato's sister.

b wherefore Turbero the St Xoi, called him exces the Gown-man or Romane.

c See what Horace writes of him in his first Epistle to Numicius.

d when Pompey was told in his sickness he could not have a Thrush but at *Lucullus* his house: Cannot I live, said he, unless *Lucullus* were luxurious? e That, is two thousand five hundred pounds

use them so, as his house was full of Greeks, and open to all Scholars: he had a kindness for all Philosophers, especially for the old *Academicks*, the master of which Sect, eloquent *Antiochus*, he would by all means have kept in his house to write against *Philo*. He waved the factions, but not the service of the State, untill being accused by some suborned persons of a design against *Pompey*, and seeing *Cato* conveyed away, and *Cicero* banished, he wrapped himself intirely in his privacy, and being b poisoned by his slave, he was bewailed by the people, and buried honorably at *Tusculum* by his brother *Marcus*, who was not much behind him in his life, and very little at his death.

f There was a new Sect set up by Carneades, whereof *Philo* was one, of which *Cicero* *Lucullus* his friend wrote in a Book of the *Academicks*, called *Lucullus*. g Particularly a *Brucian*, who said he hired him to kill *Pompey*. h *Callisthenes*

gave him a love-poyson, not with intent to kill, but to make him love him, saith *Cornelius Nepos*. *Plin.* l. 25. c. 3.

The Parallel.

Cymon and *Lucullus* differed no less in their younger years, then they agreed in their riper: *Cymon* was infamous & intemperate, *Lucullus* modest and sober; but *Cymon* exchanged his looser youth for a better course of life; and *Lucullus* his more strict for a worse. *Cymon's* wall was his monument, *Lucullus* his Fish-pond, and beds his luxury; *Cymon's* well ordered Table instructed many, *Lucullus* his luxurious one crammed onely some. It's a question whether *Cymon* indulged his elder years in more free

COR-

converse with women then became him. Both great Captains by Sea and Land, but *Cymon* one day crowning Greece with a Land and Sea Trophy, took the first to himself, allowing onely the second to his Country. *Lucullus* his authority added not a little wealth to his Companions, nor a little power to the *Romans*; *Cymon* not onely delivered his Country from the *Spartans*, but beating the *Persians* advanced it over Greece. If obedience discovereth Authority, *Cymon* excelled, being not onely obeyed by his followers, but submitted to by strangers, whereas *Lucullus* was neither feared nor loved; both set on most powerful Kings, both fell when highest, onely *Cymon* fell in his glory, and *Lucullus* in his privacy; *Cymon* was envied to an Ostracism, *Lucullus* was never banished, though often sent from home to pass over *Taurus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, to spoil and destroy *Tigranocerta*, *Cabyras*, *Synopes*, *Nisibis* before the inhabitants faces, and subdue all the Northern *Asia* to *Media*, and the Southern to the red Sea; the *Persians* never suffered so much by the *Grecians* under *Cymon*, but they did more; fourterly were *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* overthrown by *Lucullus*, that they never durst draw into the field against *Pompey*, but *Mithridates* fled before him, and *Tigranes* laid his Crown at his feet, yeilding to *Lucullus* his victories rather than his valour; *Cymon* did but finish his predecessors conquest, *Lucullus* commenced his successors, overthrowing entire and flourishing powers; a divine power

a *Viz.* *Pausanias*, *Themistocles*.

tended both, admonishing the one what he should attempt, and the other what he should observe; with the same Omen did both arise to glory, but not with the same event; the one dying a private man, the other a General.



XXVI.

NICIAS.

Contemporary with *Darius Nothus* King of *Persia*, *Cantaber* that built *Cambridge*, *Alcibiades*, *Aristophanes*, *Ezra* and *Malachi*.

Although I have reason to compare *Nicias* his actions in *Cicily*, and *Craesus* in *Parthia*, yet I would not be thought as a *Timæus* the Historiographer, to intermeddle with those subjects *Thucydides* hath dispatched, with that variety and liveliness

Anno Mun.
3579. Ant.
Christ. 424.

a who writing of *Nicias*, shewed as little wit in railing on *Philistus* his stile, then in condemning *Plato* and *Aristotles* Philosophy.

b The Tragedians acted him going sometimes with the Buskin on one leg, sometimes on another.

c whereas the strong made the players sing out of order as they landed, he built a bridge, and adorned it with pictures, over which they went orderly to Delos.

ness of narration, with that choice and excellent expression, with that solid and well-weighed judgement of *Nicias* (whose nature I collect from the great variety of his actions, whose life I gather from many Authors; observing something new of him, lest I should be thought negligent, and all things necessary, lest I be judged unfaithful) *Aristotle* saith, that *Thucydides* and *Theramenes* and he were the best Patriots and honestest men in *Athenz*; who though disrespected as a stranger, b laughed at as an irresolute man, yet was joynd Captain with *Pericles*, and after his death was the peoples darling, and the Nobilities defence against *Cleon*, whose fawning flattery took not so well with the people, as *Nicias* his modest gravity, who was fearful indeed, but successful; and thereby gained the peoples love, who commonly fear those that hate, and advance those that fear them. *Pericles* was so able a man for vertue and eloquence, that he would not wrong himself in courting; and *Nicias* so wary, that he would not wrong them in despising the people; *Cleon* took the people with childish toys, *Nicias* with magnificent Liberality. Four things are recorded of *Nicias*. 1. That the people being taken with a slave that Acted *Bacchus*, he redeemed him, saying, It was pity he was a slave that could act a God. 2. That he reduced the solemnity at *Delos* to orderly Musick, pleasant shews, and costly magnificence. 3. That he gave ten thousand Drachmaes worth of Lands, and a Copper Palm-tree to the *Delians* for praying

praying for him. 4. That he feared the gods so as to be never without his South-sayer, and his daily sacrifice. His Mines at *Lauron* were many, his slaves numberless; his wealth ready money, his rewards as well to the wicked that could do him mischief, as to the honest men that could do him service; his fear being a rent to evil men, as his generosity was a Revenue to good men; his wariness secured him with business, when a Magistrate, and with retirements, when a private man; so that he never conversed with any but by his Scholar *Hierons* means, was reputed so publike a spirited man, that he neglected himself, his friends, and ease, to serve the Commonwealth; and while others made business their pleasure, his pleasure was only business; he observing how the people (as in *Pericles* condemnation, *Damons* banishment, *Paches* and *Antiphons* affront) d Both were employed other mens parts, yet mistrusted their fidelity, either prudently avoided employments, or warily discharged them, reposing himself rather on the gods providence, then his own wisdom; so that while others were burthened with their Countries miscarriages, he was renowned for its successes, in taking *Cythera* the key to *Laconia*; *Thrace*, the Isle *Minoa*, the Haven *Nisea*; in overthrowing the *Corinthians*; and choosing rather to lose the honor of his victory, then leaving his dead unburied.

He destroyed *Laconia*, took *Thyreia* and its Governor *Aeginetes*; and when *Cleon* laid the long siege of *Spacteria* upon *Nicias*, who was willing

e Though he confessed a conquest that asked leave of the enemy to bury his dead, yet he did it.

willing to take the *Spartans* there alive, he bids him take it, to the great damage of the Commonwealth, wherein *Cleon* after that victory grew intollerably leud, wanton, and insolent (and brought in the clapping on the thigh, the flinging up and down in the Pulpit, and crying out in Orations) untill he and *Brasidas* died (whereof the one desired War to cloak his wickedness, and the other to shew his valour) and the City sensible of the calamities of War inclined to peace, which most men desired, and the *Spartans* offered for a year; during which time the pleasure of commerce & friendship, made it lasting (as much to *Nicias* his reputation, whose fame it bears as the War was to *Pericles* shame) upon condition of restitution on both sides, with an offensive & defensive league, notwithstanding the *Corinthians* & *Alcibiades* his obstructions, who equally hated the peace and the *Lacedemonians* with whom it was made; yet shortly after *Alcibiades* upon a league the *Spartans* made with the *Bæotians*, and some other displeasing Occurrences, contrives a league with the *Argives*, and when the *Spartans* sent to expostulate that affair, he estranged their Embassadors from *Nicias*, and trepanned them to deny their power from the *Ephori* to make peace, to an irreconcilable breach, if an earthquake happening in that juncture to break the assembly, *Nicias* had not with their leave gone to reconcile the *Spartans*, but in vain the *Bæotians* prevailing there as *Alcibiades* and the *Argives* did at *Athens*, for a War which begun at the Fort

Pyle

f Being called
Nicias,

Pyle, *Nicias* being cast off, and *Alcibiades* made General; between which two, there was such a feud; that had brought them both under an Ostracism, had they not joynt Tribes and banished impudent and insolent *Hyperbolus*, and with him the Ostracism, he not onely disgracing the honors, but the very punishments of his Country; so that he was the last that was so exiled, as *Hipparchus* was the first: if *Nicias* had hazzarded the Ostracisme, he had either banished his enemy, or escaped his own misfortune, for *Alcibiades* craft, and the *Leontines* arguments having made *Sicily* so sure the *Athenians* in imagination, that old and young drew a platform of it, as a passage to *Carthage*, a War against *Sicily* is voted; *Nicias* his experience and wariness is joynt to *Alcibiades* his heat, and *Lamachus* softness in the supreme command of that War: *Demostratus* the Orator pressed the prosecution of the War, and authorizing of the Captains by the people; *Alcibiades* suborned the Oracle of *Hammon* to say, That the *Athenians* should take the *Syracusans*, though none durst observe it, yet the hacking of all *Minervaes* Statues, the mans Genitures cut off as he leaped over the twelve gods Altar, the Crows pecking on *Minervaes* image in the Copper Palm-tree, the prophetic of fetching the Nun *Hesychia*, that is, peace to *Athens*; a *Meton* the Astronomers observations of the ominous Stars; the suggestions of *Socrates* his prophecy, their ominous setting out upon *Adonis* his dismal day, afrighted many, especially

a He was a
Commander, &
upon those signs
he ran mad, or
pretended so to
do.

ally *Nicias*, of whom it was as nobly done to withstand the war, while under debate, in compliance with his reason, as it was ignoble to avoid his command and service, when the War was determined, in compliance with his fear, to his Armies great discouragement and his own shame, advising only the viewing of *Syracuse*, when others counselled the Attacking of it; marching to and fro to his followers great regret, and his enemies advantage, when he should be fighting; and though *Alcibiades* proclaimed a War in the very Haven of *Syracuse*, drawing his Ships in Battalia before it, and took Tables kept at *Jupiter Olympians* temple, where all the *Syracusans* were enrolled, yet in his absence now sent for to answer for himself at *Athens*, checking *Lainachus* his activity by *b* his authority, he hovered so long to no purpose about *Sicily*, first; and upon his foolish attempt on little *Hybla*, that his enemies all despised him, untill having spent the Summer in vain, and taken onely poor *c Hyccara*, the *Syracusans* drew upon him, mocking him, and asking if he came rather to dwell with the *Cataneans*, then to restore the *Leontines*: whereupon sending a *Catanean* to tell the *Syracusans* they might surprize the *Athenians* in his City, and draw them out, he took their Haven, and so advantageous an encamping ground, that (notwithstanding their Horse saved them, and *Hermocrates* upon *Nicias* his calling off the Bridge, said, *Nicias* never fought but upon necessity) he put them to that rout and fear, that they reduced their fifteen Captains to three

b which was so great, that when the oldest man was to speak in *Athens*, he said nay, Let noble *Nicias* speak, *c* where *Lais* was born.

three; And gave them full power to manage that whole affair. It was Religion to delay the spoiling of *Jupiter Olympians* rich Temple untill the *Syracusans* secured it; it was weakness to neglect fair opportunities so long, a year, till and its provision was spent, and the *Syracusans* overcame *Catana* and burned his Camp; slow he was, but sure, and what he did he did thoroughly, for so orderly and speedily brought he his Army to *Thapsus*, and took *Epipolis*, that the *Syracusans* neither knew it nor could prevent it, he overthrowing their choice men that opposed him; and notwithstanding the stone he was troubled with, the Woods, the Sea, the Marshes, drawing a Wall about *Athens* with incredible celerity, untill *Lamachus* (in his absence, now under a fit) fell by his rashness before the counter-wall the *Syracusans* made, and had betrayed *Nicias* and the whole Camp to an utter ruine, had not *Nicias*, though bed-ridden, burned the Wood round about him; and so saved all with that reputation, that many Cities yeilded to him, more sent him supplies; and the distressed *Syracusans* themselves had come to a Parley, but that he trusting to his success, neglected *Gylippus*, whose Messengers he suffered every day, and at last himself to come to *Syracuse*, before which they both set their men in battle-array, and after some scornful overtures and refusals on both sides, *Nicias* prevails the first day, and *Gylippus* to shew his prudence and experience, with the same Army, altering onely their

a which betoken
a Spartans
Majesty.

their order, overcomes the next, pursueth the Athenians in his a Cape, and round to their Camp; built a Wall cross theirs with their own materials, and brought all Syracuse to Arms and order.

Whereupon Nicias consulting his old fears and his enemies success, craves a dismission of assistance Euthymius and Menander are voted his adjutants, by whose rashness he lost Plemmyrion that secured his Convoys, he was forced to fight to the overthrow of his left Wing, and when Demosthenes came with seventy three Gallies, five thousand Foot, and three thousand Darters, Bowmen and Hurlers, with Ensigns, Garlands, Trumpets, Howboys, and such Maritime Musick, albeit his reserved and wary advice to him to prolong the Wars, because the enemy were needy already, and would be deserted, all the Captains judging his counsel was rather his cowardliness than his prudence, being forced first on Epipolis with success, and then on the Bastians, what with their loud cries that amazed, their bright Armor that terrified, and his own mens fears and disorders that confounded; he lost two thousand men, and being much perplexed, whether (upon this overthrow, which he foresaw) he should go home, as Demosthenes advised (forsooth for the unwholesomeness of the place) to be condemned, or stay and be cut off: he had perswaded his men to the last, and Demosthenes for his late ill success, durst not contradict him, untill the news of a

new

new supply arrived at Syracuse sets them all a going, when in the mean time the Moon is Eclipsed (and that age, though it knew the interposition of the Moon was the cause of the Suns Eclips, understood not that the earth caused that of the Moon; and indeed untill Platoes time, whose vertue and piety countenanced his Philosophy, it was thought Atheism in Protagoras, Socrates and others; to assign any other reason of those things then omnipotence) they are perswaded by Nicias to keep in, not only two days, according to their custom on such occasions, but the whole moneth, untill the enemy came up to their Camp well appointed by Land, and to their Navy by Sea, and provoking Demosthenes to fight, gave him a dreadful overthrow, and hearing Nicias designed an escape while they were at Hercules his solemnity, pursued it with stones and Arms to a total rout, onely a few Athenians meditating an escape, thought it sad to leave the wounded, sadder to dye themselves, and saddest of all to leave weak Nicias to his famine and shame; and therefore for eight days together, stood out their enemies fiercest charge, untill Demosthenes being surrounded, killed himself, and Nicias drawing toward a Assina by night, was overthrown and taken, Gylippus spared him; when the rest were given to the prey, whose spoiles adorned the Trees on the River side, crowned the enemies, where they returned home in triumph, on that day that is celebrated to this time;

a A River so
called.

Y 2

Nicias

Nicias his Buckler is gilded, hung up in *Syracusa's* Temple to this day: some of the *Athenians* murdered themselves in prison, others perished in their misery, others were sent to Till the ground; some were sold, but saved for *Euripides* his sake, many were suffered to escape privately, and many to live by singing *Euripides* his Verses; sad their misery at *Syracuse*, sadder the apprehension of it at *Athens*.

M. CRASSUS.



Ant. Mundi
3890. Ant.
Christ 50.

XXVII.

M. CRASSUS.

Contemporary with Julius Cæsar, Hircanus K. of the Jews, or High Priest, Nicomedes King of Bithynia.

CRassus a Censors son, of mean estate, was not so eminent for his temperance and a chastity (save in the holy *Licinia* her case, whom yet he followed more for her delicate Garden than for her self) as he was notorious for his covetousness, whereby beginning with three hundred Talents (notwithstanding his three months dole to the Citizens, and yearly tenths to *Hercules*) at his advance for the *Persian* war, he was worth 7100. An estate he got, 1. by the sequestrations

a He married his brothers wife.

Y 3

tions in Sylla's time; which to oblige him and others to the faction, were put to sale. ² By buying houses set on fire, or in danger, to be. ³ By his Slaves of all professions (who made his well-ordered Family a well-governed City.) His sayings were, That he that built, was undone without an enemy; That he was not rich, who could not maintain an Army; and that he who could rule his house well, might manage a Kingdome. He was as hospitable as rich, (his entertainment not sumptuous but neat) as courteous and publick-spirited as both, well seen in Græcian history, in *Aristotle's* Philosophy, and *Romane* eloquence (not that pedantique way of an Oratour, but that more masculine of a Senator.)

Upon *Marius* and *Cinna's* approach to Rome, young *Crassus* (leaving his Father and Brother to the Tyrants cruelty) fled to Spain, where being entertained by the Receiver *Vibius Pitiacus* (after he had felt his pulses) in a lightsome and pleasant Cave, not onely with necessaries, but pleasures; until upon *Cinna's* death, with other exiles, sacked *Malta* (as some say) and jarring with *Metellus* in *Affrica*, devoted himself to *Sylla*, the author of his relations, murdered by *Marius*, undervying *Pompey* the name of *Imperator* given him with extraordinary respect by *Sylla*, and of *Great*, given him with unusual applause by the *Romans*, out-did his grave and majestic retirednesse (who had recompenced the wickednesse of his Fathers, by the noblenesse of

b By one of *Alexander's* directions, who taught him Philosophy, & learned patience from him; so he would lend him cloaths, and call for them again.

c Viz. two girls whereof one was seen by *Peneftella*, who heard relate the story. See *Suidas* in *Alexander Polyhistor*, who was *Crassus's* Master.

of his own acts) by his own familiarity and condescension to serve every person, which removed the *Oidium* of his two great miscarriages, the sacking of *Tuder*, and preying on confiscate goods, and never allowing his envy to break out into passion or faction, and neither being a constant friend, nor a stickling adversary: as the gravest followed *Pompey*, the youngest *Cæsar*, so *Crassus's* vertues being more wonderful than practicable, and rendering rather faithful than powerful) *Crassus* was Neuter, and feared more than beloved (*Sicinius* saying of him, O! he (as a curst Bull) carrieth hay in his horns.)

Upon the fencers of *Capua's* Rebellion (under that prudent and civill *Thracian* *g* *Spartacus*) which beginning from a mutiny at their restraint, which they broke; and with a Cooks spits and knives went up and down the City) was improved with a cartload of Arms surprized by them near *Capua*, to a war, wherein *Clodius* and his three thousand were surprized (under their Fort, all whose Avenues they had stopped up, but a dangerous Rock the mutineers came down by with Ladders unexpectedly upon the *Roman* Camp) ² *Varius* and his Assistants *Furius* and *Cossinius* were overthrown. ³ *Gellius*, *Lentulus*, and *Cassius*, two Consuls and one Prætor, were defeated, and *Crassus* by the Senate perplexed with the shame and fear, and all Italy

g About whose face a snake winding her self as he slept, signified, as a Prophetess that always followed him said, his power and successe.

d It is said he out-lawed some persons without *Sylla's* privy, and to his great discontent, to gain the estate, particularly a *Brugia*.
e For he became surety for his enemy *Cæsar*, when he was going Prætor into Spain for 830 talents; although when *Cæsar* was taken by the *Asiatick* pyrates, he said, O! what joy will this be to *Crassus*?
f Who being locked up by their cruel Mr. broke the prison; and enuring a Cooks shop, ran through the streets and carried all before them.

ruined by the desolations of this War, who (notwithstanding rash *Mummius* his defence, who should have watched rather than fought the Enemy, having decimated his Renegades) inclosed and starved *Spartacus* in an ille of the *Rhegiens* (whither he pursued him) with a Trench three hundred Furlongs long, fifteen foot broad and high, untill his provision failing, he filling up the Trench with earth, stones and boughes, escaped over it, to the Lake of a *Lucania*: beyond which, having laid an ambush behind the Slaves, he slew twelve thousand of them in their Ranks (not above two of them being wounded in the back) and pursuing them to the Mountains of *Petely* by his Lieutenants *Quintus* & *Scrofa* his treasurer, upon the rebels mutiny among themselves; whereof he had notice, before the Trench he was casting about them, and they would have prevented, slew *Spartacus* (who sold his life at a dear rate, killing two Centurians before his fall) and left the remainder of the Mutineers for *Pompey's* conquest, who was newly called out of *Spain*, and gained thereby the honour of the greater triumph, as *Crassus* despised that of the lesse, he having weakened that Rebellion, which the other pulled by the roots.

These were his warlike Feats: but having by compliance with *Pompey* got him to name him Consul with himself, he did nothing then because of their jars, but keep the Sacrifices to *Hercules*, and the feast of a thousand Tables for the *Romanes*, gave the three months

Corn

a whose water is
sometimes sweet
and sometimes
bitter.

b who killed his
horse before the
Battel, saying,
If he lived, he
should have
killed another;
if he died, he want-
ed none.

c Quatio, See
Marcellus his
life.

Corn to every Citizen: and upon *d Aurelius* ^{d who said Ju-} his dream, and the *Romanes* request, shake ^{picer had told} hands with *Pompey* at the end of the office, say- ^{him in a dream,} ing, it was not below him to seek his friendship ^{that Crassus &} who was called great, when beardlesse, and ^{Pompey should} triumphed when a Senator: no more did he ^{not be out of} when e Censor, neither mustering, reform- ^{their offices un-} ing, nor censuring, but conspiring with *Pom- ^{till reconciled.} *pey* and *Caesar* in *Luca* (as he had done before ^{See Pomp. lib.} *with Cateline* (saith *Cicero*, whom he honou- ^{e with milde} red for his eloquence, but hated for his ^{Leuctatius.} freedom with him) how laying aside *Cicero*, ^{Therefore he} *Catulus*, and *Cato* their Rivals, they might ^{seemed to mourn} engrosse the *Roman* power; to which end *Pom-* ^{at his exile.} *pey* and *Crassus* (notwithstanding *Cato's* narra- tive of their Treason, and *Domitian's* competi- tion) were by fore twice chosen Consuls, and together with *Caesar* usurped the Govern- ment, setting him over the *Gaules*, *Pompey* over *Spain*; and *Crassus* (fondly ambitious to out-do *Lucullus*, and promising himself in all company and conferences, wonders in *Parthia*; but withstood by the Tribune *At-* *teius* i and many more, who were unwill- ing so brave a person should be left among those that never provoked them) into *Syria* with some hazard by *Bundusium* and *Galatia*, where *k Decatorus* and he jested about their Afternoon-services; the one in his old age building a new City, and the other aspiring after a new Kingdom) he passed *l Euphrates*, ^{g Pompey was} ^{willing to go to} ^{Spain, because} ^{near Rome, &} ^{his beloved} ^{wife.} ^{h In his war a-} ^{gainst Tygra-} ^{nes.} ^{i who (when he} ^{saw Crassus} ^{with Pompey's} ^{assistance get-} ^{ting out of} ^{Rome) would} ^{have arrested} ^{him, but that failing, cursed him solemnly over a Chafing-dish of coals he set} ^{in his way with curses which undo, they say, both him against whom they are} ^{made, and him that makes them.} ^{k The King.} ^{l Not without some dan-} ^{ger from winter-storms.}*

took

m Publ. Crassus, who was honoured by Cæsar for his service under him against the Gauls.

n Saying to him, that if he fought by the Romans' commission, their Master Aspacus would make mortal Wars with him: If on his own score, he would consider his years, & spare his life and goods. Herodes was their proper name.
o As it was with Lucullus King in Armenia, who was weary of spoiles and conquests.
p The Eagle.

a Cassius.
b which might attend him in Boats all along the River.

took Zenodavia with other Cities, and received 1000 Arms from Cæsar (who slyly designed his ruine). by his own son.

But, 1. Abusing the Countrey, by forcing it to compound its services for money. 2. Neglecting discipline and Training. 3. And trifling his time until his enemies were ready. The Parthian Embassadors *n* mocking him (he saying no more but that they should answer it in Seleucia; and they shewing the palms of their hands, answering, that hair should grow there before he came to Seleucia: His men upon their fellows danger, and their report of the Parthians innumerable Army, their swift Darts, and impenetrable Army, were frightened (thinking afore that to conquer was but to come thither) the Soothsayers said the gods were angry; and his Counsel, that a progress would be dangerous, notwithstanding the ill Omen, 1. Of the Thunder and Tempest at his setting out. 2. His great horse running into the River and drowned. 3. His own Tent struck with a Thunder-clap. 4. His *p* first Ensigne turning of its own accord. 5. The unhappy expression, that he would cut the bridge, that none of his souldiers might escape. 6. The salt and water Lintels given as tokens of mourning to his Souldiers as soon as they were over. 7. The entrails falling out of his hands at sacrifice (which he put off, saying, His sword should not do so.) He (against his *a* Treasurers advice, to refresh himself by the way, or march by the River to Seleucia, that he might not want *b* Provision, nor be invironed by the Enemy

Enemy upon Ariamnes suggestions of the Parthians diversion to Armenia, a message he being acquainted with, the Romanes were scorned by that King to deliver wilfully, threatening a revenge on, rather than making peace with the Armenians upon their Embassadors overtures, so that he lost that King) with seven legions (whereof one was the discontented Armenians) marched against young, but prudent Syrena (the second *d* person in Parthia) of great experience, and greater reputation, (frighting his inauspicious putting on of a black coat, and his Ensigns sticking to the ground when he set out; and encamping his men wide, lest he were encompassed: when Syrena hiding half his Army, till they could make as terrible a noise behind the Romanes with their Kettle-drums, as they had done before, drawing the Romans out of order by his Parthian flight, which did terrible execution on the *f* Enemy, and dividing the sons Army from the Fathers, cajoled it into a pound, wheeling his light-Horse round them, where they miserably perished with barbed Arrows which stuck them so, that they could not flye, nor defend themselves. Publius Crassus, Censorinus, and Megaboulus (notwithstanding the men of Carres in Mesopotamia's advice to flye, judging it the worst death to forsake them that died for their *j*akes) falling on the place: Publius his Gauls dying with heat and thirst, and thrown off by their wounded horses; and the manly-hearted, though *g* effeminately-looking Syrena,

c i. e. 5000 men.

d To whose place it belonged to crown the King; who upon a progress had 200 Coaches to carry his Courtizans, 1000 men at Arms to guard his person, 1000 camels to carry his Sumpters, & 10000 horse in his train.

e Instead of a red one, which the General used always to wear. See Apian of this, and his calling himself Imperator, before he had killed 10000 men as he should.

f who stood so thick that he could not misse them.

g who painted himself, & wore not hair, as the Tartars and Parthians, unkembed, but like the Medes, sets trim.

h where his Captain saying to the Governor Copinius, that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians, and no more, was admitted.

i Syreña saying to Crassus upon his approach to him, what meaneth this? a Consul and a Lieut. General of Rome afoot? Yes, said Crassus, to treat of Peace. As for peace: (reply'd he.) Hyrodes will make that with the Romans. But let us go yonder and write our Articles; for you Romans are forgetful of your Capitulations: and then he presents a bag, and as soon as he got up, the horse was switched away, whereupon Octavius and others stopped him, but he and they were killed in the hurly-burly.

sets on the sorrowful Father; who exhorting his dismayed Legions to revenge his son, or at least the *Romane* glory (which grew up by patience and suffering as well as conquest, yet never unrevenged) fought the *Parthians* till night parted them and his own, with his whole Armies fears, forced them to *b* Carre, notwithstanding the out-cries of the wounded they left behind, whither *Syreña* (having put all those to the sword, except twenty that resolutely brake through the *Parthians* to *Carres*) came, deluding *Crassus* with a hope of a parley, till he was under the walls, and demanded him with *Cassius* bound hand and foot, together with all *Mesopotamia*: and when the poor General fled, and was led up and down the Marshes by a false Guide, he set upon him first by force; and then (when the Souldiers stuck to him, saying, Not an arrow should touch him, but through their bodies)

by fraud deluding him into a Treaty, which he assented to (by reason of his souldiers murther rather than his own inclination) where he and *Petavius* died in a *i* complement, his men were defeated and imprisoned to the number of thirty thousand, his head, and hand sent to *Hyrodes* King of *Armenia*: one *C. Pacianus* that was like him, was led in triumph in woman's apparel, with his Sergeants, his Rods and Axes before him through *Seleucia*. *Arrian* stides his Book of *Ribaldry*, called the *Mile-*

ms, and found in *Rustius* his carriage, was to the Romans disgrace laid down before the Senate of *Seleucia* (who remembered *K. Æsop's* saying, of the sack about every ones neck, In the top whereof are other mens faults, as at the bottome his own; the *Parthians* laying open the *Romanes* obscene Books, and forgetting their own effeminate Camp, whose Rear was as wanton (full of Wenches, Fiddlers, Ryots, as its Front was terrible.) *Hyrodes* and *Artabazus* make a peate, attended with a *l* solemn Marriage and Banquet, but *Crassus* was at last revenged: *Hyrodes* punishing *Syreña's* treachery with his death, and *Phraates* his second son, punishing his first with poyson; and when that would *m* not do, with strangling.

k The saying is in *Stobæus*.

l Between *Hyrodes* son *Pacorus* and the other Kings sister.

m The poyson falling into a Dropie he was troubled with, cured him. See *Dion. l. 10.*

The Parallel.

Nicias his barbarous and unwholsome *a* Mines were more honourable than *Crassus* his usury and sequestrations. *Nicias* for fear *b* bribed others, *Crassus* was bribed himself. The first Worthies expences were *c* useful, the second more lavish. The one was milde, plain, and modest; the other was fierce (as at his election to be the second time Consul; and at the Assembly for dividing the Provinces, where besides four that were slain, *Lucius Annulus* had a box on the ear from himself) deceitful and ambitious. *Nicias*

a whereby he got his estate.

b wherefore *Lycargus* said (when accused for taking off Detractors with money) he thanked the gods, That having dealt so long in State-affairs, he was found rather to give, than take.

c Devoted to publick Playes was and edifices.

d Such as Cleon and Hyperbolus that Nicias contended with Pompey and Caesar: -- but Nicias was afraid of Alcibiades in the Pulpit, of the Lacedemonians at Pyle, of Perdicas in Thracia.

was womanish and faint-hearted, Crassus man-like, and noble-minded; above all Adversaries, and not below the greatest, honoured, not envied. It was more honour for Nicias to bring Peace to Athens than if Crassus had added the World to Rome.

It was not well done of the one to yield his Authority to the unworthy and wicked Cleon, nor of the other too rashly (in the Fight against Spartacus) to snatch honour from great Pompey. One was too backward in his Countreys service, the other too forward; yet Nicias was so honest, that he attained the honour of General, which he avoided; but the other always missed (but in the Bondmens War, when all the rest were abroad) though he fought it. The Athenians led Nicias to the Warre against his will, and Crassus led the Romans against their will. NICIAS warily dissuaded the Athenians from their attempt on Sicily, Crassus nobly perswaded the Romans to theirs on Parthia. He is to be praised, not to be blamed, because he aimed at the Romane glory Eastward, as nobly as Caesar attained it Northward. His undertaking was as noble; though his success not so answerable. Nicias his wisdom assisted the ill fortune of Athens, Crassus his folly overcame the good fortune of Rome, a greater wonder than that he was overcome in Parthia. Nicias observed Omens, Crassus despised them; and it is more excusable to loose new opportunities

of successe out of fear, than to break the old rules and customs out of rashnesse. Both died miserably, but Crassus was betrayed by his Friends to his Enemies hands, and Nicias by his fears.



XXVIII.

EUMENES.

Contemporary with Agefilaus, Esdras, Sanballat, Aataxerxes, or Darius Ochus, Arsēs, Cadomannus King of Persia, Aristotle.

Eumenes being for his activity before K. Philip as he passed his time in a Cardia, (where b Buris saith Eumenes was born) or for his Host his Fathers sake, preferred by him to be his Secretary, was by his son Alexander

An. Mund.
3631. Ante
Chr. 316.

a A City of
Thrace.
b An Historio-
grapher.

c When he sh-
red the Ladies
of Persia a-
mong his Nob-
ility
d Alexander
would have
borrowed 3000
Talents of him;
he sent him one,
and said, he had
much ado to
make up that.
The King sodainly
burned his tent,
and there found
1000 talents
melted, but
was hugely for-
ry that he had
burned his Let-
ters; wherefore
he sent to the
Governours of
Provinces, and
Officers that
writ to him, to
send him the
duplicates of
his Letters.

ander made Lieutenant-General in *Perdiccas* his place, (as he was in *Haphestion's*, now dead against *India*) though *Neoptolemus* jeered him, that he had followed with his Pen and Paper, while they led with their Shield and Spear; where having escaped the Favourite's envy, married *Alexander's* Mistresse c sister, *Barsine*, weathered out *Alexander's* anger;
1. For denying him the d Gold he would have borrowed of him, as of his other Nobility)
2. For his malice to his dear *Haphestion*; and
3. His sawcy words, when a Fife-man had taken his Quarter; That it was more honourable being a common Player in *Alexander's* Camp, than a souldier: and standing Neuter in the Quarrel between the *Macedonian* Nobility and Foot-men, composed it and the mutiny among the souldiers, when the Provinces were d vided, *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* fell to his lot; and all the coast upon *Mare Ponticum* to *Trapezant*, with order to *Leonatus* and *Antigonus* to recover it now in *Ariarathes* his possession; which *Antigonus* neglected, and *Leonatus* complying with *Antipater's* design upon *Macedon*, refused: But *Perdiccas* himself upon *Eumenes* discovery of their design to him, performed, taking *Ariarathes*, and leaving *Eumenes*, 1. To watch and check *Neoptolemus* in *Armenia*. 2. To modell that Countrey. 3. (By a levy of Horse, and some indulgence to the Inhabitants) to allay the insolency of the *Macedonian* Foot: And while *Perdiccas* engaged *Ptolomy* to overthrow *Craterus*, *Antigonus*, and *Antipater's* design which

which notwithstanding, 1. *Alcetas* his revolt. 2. *Neoptolemus* his Treason. 3. *Antipater's* fair and large offers, in vain to him (who said; he would rather loose his life, than break his promise) And 4. *Craterus* his great esteem among the *Macedonians* (for befriending his own Countrey-customes in *Alexander's* lifetime, and oppling the *Persians*) he did with successe: For, 1. having good intelligence of his Enemies affairs, as they had none of his. 2. Dreaming that *Minerva* and *Alexander*, which was the Enemies Word, should be overcome in Battel by *Ceres* and *Alexander*; which was his Word, as the Ears of corn was his signe: And 3. keeping the *Macedonians* ignorant that they were to fight their beloved *Craterus*; who thinking to have drawn over the *Macedonians*, was overthrown and slain by strangers *Eumenes* had placed against him of purpose, as *Neoptolemus* was by *Eumenes* himself, who had won a Battle but ten dayes before by policy, as he had now by policy and prowesse: For which (*Perdiccas* dying two dayes before in a mutiny in *Aegypt*) he had more hatred than renown; being condemned to dye, because he being a stranger, had killed a *Macedonian* Nobleman with a *Macedonian* Army: and *Antigonus* with *Antipater* are commissioned against him, while he (taking the Kings Race-horses c feeding on *Ida*) 2. Avoiding his numerous adversaries in the great Plains of *Lydia*. 3. Composing a difference between his Commanders about leading the Army. 4. Wintering in *Celanes*

c And sending word to his Horse-keeper of it: whereat *Antipater* smiled, and said, He marvelled that *Eumenes* took care to give or receive any account of the Kings goods,

a As once after the battel he lost among the Orcinians in Cappadocia.
 b As Antigonus told the Macedonians, that it was for fear of shackles in his flight, he had spared their treasure.
 c Ptolomy, Antigonus his Nephew was their hostage.
 d who bidding him come to him as the better man, said, He knew no better man than himself, as long as he had a sword in his hand.
 e which they pulled up by Pullies in Eumenes his great Hall, & lashed to purpose their legs, and breath them, there being no room else in Town to do it.

engaging his Officers more closely, by a sale to them of his Enemies Castles and Countreys.
 5. Endearing himself to his souldiers so far, that upon a Paper found that offered great employment, with an hundred Talents to him that killed him, he had immediately a thousand Horse to his Guard. 6. Bestowing his purple Cloaks among them. 7. Bearing hardship a with as noble a minde as he managed success with. 8. Waving Antigonus his carriage, left his souldiers laden with the spoyle, should be as unable to fight, as unfit to b flie: and thereby obliging the c Macedonians (in sparing their Wives and Children now in his power) Engarisoneth himself at Nora, and (having imparled (upon c Hostages given) with d Antigonus) bore up the siege with a pleasant and debonair courage, with man-like and noble exercises for men and e horses; and a liberty for any to depart that would. Until Antigonus hearing of Antipater's death, and the faction in Macedon between Cassander and Polyperchon, & meditating an usurpation, released him upon an oath, to be true to the Blood Royal and himself: But he refusing that oath, and having the Macedonians consent, that it was fitter he should swear to be a friend in general to the Kings friends, and an enemy to the Kings enemies, upon Letters received, 1. from Olympias, to take the charge of her young son Alexander upon him, whose death was designed; and 2. from Polyperchon and King Philip to fight Antigonus, raised the siege, exchanged the Cappadocian Hostages for Beasts of War, and

and Tents: put up the five hundred Talents ordered him at f Cyndes, brought the two Officers Antigonus and g Teutamus (who disdained to come to him (being indeed fit neither to command nor obey) by a pretended dream of Alexander and his presence in Council, to meet him in Alexander's Tent, modelled the b licentious Nobility's Camp, which looked rather like a Tavern than an Army; by borrowing money of them, saved his life; (all envying him, but none daring to kill him lest he lost his debt) and upon Antigonus his approach with his gilt Army, his lowing Elephants, his purple Foot, though sick, yet (upon the Souldiers request, who would rather follow him that had fought with them, than the Nobility who had feasted and caressed them) after many disputes about the Passes upon Pasitigris, being carried in a Litter (which being carried up and down, Antigonus said, managed the battel with him) drave the Enemy to his Camp: who hearing of the Nobilities canvassing for offices, and the Souldiers insolency, would have surprized the Macedonians, but that the Fires he was forced to make upon a Tempest in the Defart, through which he stole, discovered him; and i those Eumenes-made, deluded him up and down untill he was tyred.

But Eumenes being chosen General, and the other Nobility conspiring his k death, he l made his Will, burned all his friends l letters; and doubting whether he should flye to Cappadocia, or fight, engaged Antigonus with

f Or Quinda e Castle of Silicia above Anchirala, where the Macedonians kept their treasure. Strab. 1. 24. & Demetrius his life.
 g captain of the Argyraspides or Silver-shield men.
 h who caressed the Souldiers with money and fair promises for Offices, as basely as one Citizen doth another.

i As if he had been encamped in this and that place.

k Particularly Antigonus and Teutamus.

l That none might suffer with him, or for him.

his old souldiers (who asked the enemy, whether they were come to fight with their Father?) overcame his right Wing, while cowardly Peucestas yielded himself and the Carriages to his left; whereupon Antigonus offering the restauration of his prize, upon condition EUMENES were delivered to him, the Arguraspides betray him under pretence of Guarding him; and after his speech (declaring their shame, and his freedom, though taken, and wishing to dye by their hands, rather than Antigonus (with a promise then to absolve them of their Oath to him as their General) was with the compassion of some, the curses of others (for embroyling Macedon in an endlesse War) with much ado, through the vast multitude that thronged to see him guarded by Elephants and Medes to Antigonus his Camp; who had not the heart to see him, using him first as he said like a Lyon, and then evilly, when he had felt all men's pulses, and made a judgement of all mens opinions, famished him: But to see the justice of the gods put all that betrayed Antigonus to the sword, forbidding them the favour he allowed him of being buried where he was born.

a stronger man than himself. If thou art so strong, why canst not thou bear Antigonus his pleasure?

SERTO



XX XI.

SERTORIUS.

Contemporary with M. Crassus, Julius Cæsar, Hircanus High Priest of the Jewes.

What with the variety of particulars in nature, what with the regularity of order in providence, events meet in likenesse at the greatest distance of time, to their great pleasure that observe and compare them: the two Attiæ slain by wilde Boars, the two Alcæons by Dogs: the other of Ar-one Scipio overcame Carthage, the other demolished it: Troy taken three times by a Hercules took it once for the Horses Laomedon promised him. 2. Agamemnon by the wooden-horse. 3. Charemedus by a horse that fell in the Gate, so that they could not shut it.

Z 3

horse:

An: Mundi
3877. Ant.
Christ. 70.

*e The one signi-
fying Violet, the
other Myrthe.*

*d Of the Sa-
bines.*

*e Rhea.
f For he plead-
ed Causes.*

horse: *Jos*, where it is thought *Homer* was born, and *Smyrna* where buried, called *G* from two sweet *e* Plants: four Captains with one eye, 1. *Philip*, 2. *Antigonus*, 3. *Hannibal*, 4. *Sertorius*; who as more unfortunate, so more chaste than *Philip*, more faithful than *Antigonus*, more courteous than *Hannibal*, in experience equal with *Metellus*, in prowess with *Pompey*, in fortune with *Sylla*, but in quality especially with *Eumenes*; both good Commanders, equally valiant and wise; both banished, both Captains of strangers, both betrayed to their enemies by those with whom they had overcome them. *Sertorius* of *d* *Nuria*, having honour from his Father, and education of his *e* Mother, raised himself first in the Court by his *f* eloquence, and then in the camp by his achievements, whereof his first was his swimming over *Rhone* in his Armour unhorsed, and hurt by the *Cimbres*: his second was his discovery under *Marius*, of the *Gauls* Camp in their apparel and language, as the reward of which employment he had the command of 1000 Foot under *Didius* the Praetor in *Spain*; where they of *Castulo* his Winter-quarter, with their Neighbours the *Gyrisenians* assistance, putting many debauched and insolent *Romanes* to the sword; he drawing some Troops, came in upon them the same way vvith their neighbours, and revenged them, surprizing the *Gyrisenians* likewise in their own Souldiers apparel: for which, and his other services in *Spain*, he was employed as *Questor* or Treasurer first, and then Captain in

*g Levying men,
and making ar-
mour.*

in the *Marsian War*, shewing as much *g* care in the first place, as *hard* resolution in the second, wherein he lost his eye, glorying ever after that he carried a Souldiers marke about him, and was received always with applause into the Theatre.

Being opposed by *Sylla* in his suit for the Tribuneship, he sided with *Cynna*; and being overthrown with him, recollected now their scattered Forces, and with *Marius* his assistance against *Sertorius* his will (who feared his ambition and his immoderation) sent for out of *Affrica*, took *Rome*, but detesting their cruelty, and complying with his own gentleness, he slew *Marius* his guard of Bondmen, the instruments of his out-rage, and his men of spoil: and when he and *Cinna* died, *Sylla* *b* prevailed, and their cause was betrayed. *Sertorius* despairing of doing any good, with some danger at Sea, and stop by Land (paying tribute for his passage as he said *i* to buy time) recovered *Spain* (which he designed a Sanctuary to his party) where by his complaisance with the Nobility, his indulgence in point of tax and free quarter, he allayed the odium raised by other *Romanes* insolence, shewing himself as courteous to them in matters of Peace, as he prepared himself to be dreadful in case of a War. But *Sylla* prevailing in *Rome*, and *Salinator* being slain, whom he had appointed to guard the *Pyrenean* mountains, he flies from *Spain* to *Affrica*; and (upon a defeat there by reason of his mens disorder in fetching fresh water) thence to

*h who was
drawing over
Scipio, Car-
bo, and Nor-
bannus with
some overtures
of Peace.
i when the soul-
diers urged the
dishonour of it.
See Apothri-
nes in his 4th
Book, Sect. 75.*

*a Arming all
the Romans in
Spain, & sur-
viving them
with Engines
and Gallies.*

* Vide Prologum.

b called so from the River Bætis towards the western Sea, falling to the Mare Atlanticum.

c Refreshed with a gentle dew, & cleared by small gales dispersed through the great Sea and large ayre.

d From Tinga great Antæus (60 cubits long) wise, who was buried here, whose son Sophan by Hercules built this place, whence comes Juba the Historiographer.

e Taking no more than they gave him.

f Though perfect virtue grounded on good reason, will by no misfortune be forced to work contrary to itself.

Pytiusa * in the Bætica Sea in sight of Annus: and after much tugging with wind and waves through the Straits of Gibraltar to *h* Hispania Bætica, where having a mind to see the *c* fortunate Island (where the Barbarians believe the Elizium fields lye) he was diverted by his Sicilians to fight *Ascalius*, whom (to keep his Souldiers together with hopes) he overthrew with *Sylla's* Auxiliaries, and took *d* Tingis with the whole Countrey, which he used so *e* civilly, that the *Lusitanians* courted him for their General (as a solid man neither moved with fear nor joy, but resolute in danger, and temperate in successe; prudent in his commands, quick in his executions, merciful to offenders, bountiful to the deserving (onely his *f* gentle nature was transported to an excesse of revenge upon the young Hostages) in which capacity his Name subdued the frontier Spaniards, and his policy awed the *Lusitanians*. For one Spanus having presented him with a tame milk-white Hinde, he pretending it the gift of Diana, perswaded the silly people, easily deceived by the subtlety of art, and deluded by the awfulnessse of Religion, that all his private intelligence came by that Hinde; and made them the more tractable, when they thought they were not so much out-witted by a stranger, as led by a god; which perswasion his more than humane successe confirmed: for with 2000 Africans (he called Romans) 4000 *Lusitanians*, and 700 Horse he overthrew *Cotta* at *Metoris*, *Fidius* at *Bæris*, together with *Lucius Dominus* and

and *Torannus* (at the head of 60000 Foot, 2000 Archers) and many Cities and Countreys: and having the advantage of years, a temperate and active body, light-armed men, distressed old *Metellus* with his heavy-armed Army, cutting off their Rereward, trolling up and down hills and dales, breaking their accustomed order, taking their Convoys and Water, challenging their General, and pursuing them at the very heels; until *Metellus* (having provided but five dayes Victuals at the siege of the *Lambobrites*, presuming they should be distressed for water, which *Sertorius* supplied them with by his Spaniards in Goat-skins, ordering all their uselesse people out) sent out *Aquinius* with 6000 men for Provision into *Sertorius* his ambush, and upon his overthrow with shame quitted the siege.

This exploit, together with his disciplining of those rude people, his education of their children at *Osca*, his enriching them with gilt Armour and money, so endeared him to the Spaniards, that (according to the custom they call devotion) *h* a thousand of them were ready to dye with him, as were *Perpenna's* souldiers; who mutinying with his other unruly Miscellany of Nations, and overthrown by their rashnesse, he hoping their miscarriage might reduce them, taught them by an emblem to take time, and abide its opportunities, as he did the barbarous *Choracitanians*, who laughing at him out of their *k* Caves, vain, and an old man to pull the hair of the young, one by one with successe; thereby imagining, that patient continuance could do more than present force. *k* For they have no houses.

The Souldiers crying, let Captain fight against Captain, Roman against Roman. But *Metellus* refusing it, as a wise man; for (as *Theophrastus* saith) A Capt. should die as a Capt. not like a private souldier.

h A custom for the slaves to die with their Lord; accordingly when he was in danger once, they all flocking about him, handed him from one to another, until he escaped.

See Dio. l. 55. of *Paluvius* his devotion to *Augustus*: And *Cæsar*, com. l. 3. of the *Gallii Sontiales*.

i Of two horses, the one old, the other young; commanding a young man to pluck the tail of the old horse in

until

untill he observing a dust raised by a Northwinde called *Cæcias* in the valley over against their Dens, heaped up a hillock of it one night, which the next day almost choaked them out, yielded to him within three days.

Thus successful he was against *Metellus*, nor was he lesse against *Pompey*, whom he vied in stratagens: and when he had staid the revolt of *Spain* by Burning the 1. City of *Lauron* before *Pompey's* beating him at *Suiron* & *in Tattis* through his rashnesse (where he bore up a decaying Wing by his own presence) threatening to whip him (hardly *n* escaping) to *Rome*, had not the old woman (so he called *Metellus*) come: and after this victory confirming the unconstant *Spaniards* in his service, by pretending to receive his lost Hinde again from the Gods, and contriving she should run to him unexpectedly as he sat in a full Council.

But having streitned his enemies at *Saguntum*, slain valiant *Memmius*, and hurt *Metellus* himself; The *Romanes* heated with their shame, dispersed his men, and forced him to a Garison from which yet he forced *Pompey* to Winter in the *Vacceians* Territories, and *Metellus*; while his *Africans* escaped, and the neighbour Cities were furnished, while *Rome* trembled lest he should be there before *Pompey*. *Metellus* buyeth his death by treason, whom he could not overcome by force. *Mithridates* courteth him (his flatterers perswading him that he was *Pyrrhus*, and *Sertorius Hannibal*) and requesting the restitution of *Asia* (notwithstanding the Council would have

he accepted his reall money, and promised him his imaginary request) was answered, he might have *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, to which the *Romanes* had no right, and that *Sertorius* would enlarge the *Romane* Empire by his conquests, but not impair it: A valiant man, said he, aims at conquest with honour, but will not accept life with dishonour.

Mithridates admiring what he would do if a Senator, who talked thus when an Exile, closed with him, accepting those Countreys, and paying three thousand Talents, with forty Ships of War: whereupon *Asia* hoped for liberty; but the exiled Senators seeing the Coast cleared, especially *Perpenna*, envied *Sertorius* his authority over them, repined at their subjection to him, practiced by their extream cruelty, and unreasonable impositions, to debauch the Cities to a revolt, and the Army to a mutiny, provoked *Sertorius* good man to murder the Noblemens children at *Osca*: and when they had made him odious enough, contrived upon a false Letter sent of a counterfeited Victory, to invite him to supper, and there use such light and vile discourses as a *Sertorius* endured not, untill in heat and contention upon a cups fall he should be stabbed, as he was by *Antonius*, who yet with *Perpenna* and the other Conspirators fell into *Pompey's* hands; and cowardly offering him the Letters from *Rome* to *Sertorius* to discover their friends, he nobly for fear of change and innovation, if the Nobility had been made desperate (though a young man

a who would have his Table always adorned with grave and solemn conference.

man) burned the Letters, and put the Conspirators he took to death, the rest falling by the hands of the Barbarians, save mean *Anfidius*, who lived miserably, and died hated of the World, while *Sertorius* was celebrated for an even spirit, neither elated with success, nor sunk with misfortune; that in his worse condition was above Fear, and in his best not above Peace, which he offered upon condition of being restored by Edict. 1. For his love to his Mother, whose death damped all his glory and success in Spain, and almost brought him to his Grave. 2. His respect for his Countrey, of which he said, *That he had rather be the meanest Citizen in Rome, than elsewhere Emperor of the World.*

The Parallel.

Both were banished out of their own Countrey, and both commanded strangers. The one obtained his authority by his merit, the other by his power. The one was obeyed by those that saw he was able to command, and the other by those that saw themselves unable. *Eumenes* began with little estate and esteem, and much opposition; *Sertorius* with a Senators honour and universal applause: His greatest danger was from his Enemies force, the

*b Eumenes being a Chæro-
nesian, govern-
ed the Macedo-
nians: and
Sertorius being
a Roman, the
Spaniards.*

the others was from his friends envy. *Eumenes* refused Peace, and would die in War; *Sertorius* avoided War, and would die in Peace. *Sertorius* would have been contented to live a private man, but *Eumenes* must needs be chief Magistrate. One made wars to overtop others, the other onely to save himself. *Sertorius* being so noble, that he mistrusted none, was betrayed by his friends; the other being so faint-hearted, that he was jealous of all, was slain by his enemies. *Sertorius* body was in his enemies power, but not his heart, as *Eumenes* his: His life was renowned, and his death honourable, and the one no disparagement to the other.

AGESILAUS



An: Mundi
3554. Ante
Christ. 372.



XXX.

AGESILAUS.

Contemporary with Esdras, Sanballat.

^a So Simonides
calls it.

^b The Law of
Sparta dispen-
seth with the
heirs apparent
of the Crown,
from streight
subjection and
an hard life.

^c He was lame,
but bore off that
blemish by his
debonairnesse
and valour.

Agesilaus the Son of Archidamus was brought up at ^{(a Dama Simbroto, i.e.} making men civil) to the industry and temperance of a subject, as his brother Agis was to the Majesty ^b and Liberty of a Prince, and prepared ^c by the Methods of obedience for those of Government; wherein he helped the Majesty he was born to, with the familiarity he was bred to. *Lysander* loved him for his modesty, and all men for his resolution, which no difficulty ever overcame, as no force ever compelled. So mild he was, that a word went further with him then the highest correction;

tion; so ingenious, that a reproof was
no pain to him; so good natured,
that he hid his deformities, by a confessing of
them; so valiant he was, that he refused no
undertaking; so modest, that he would never
be portrayed; and so witty, that the ingenui-
ty of his soul recompensed that deformity of
his body; which was not so contemptible to
the eye, as the other was amiable to the mind:
Although *Archidamus* was fined by the *Epho-
ri* for marrying a little woman, saying, That he
would beget them Demi-kings, no Kings in-
deed. His brother *Leotycheides* being thought
by many, and confessed by his mother *Alcibia-
des* a Bastard, *Lysander* crowns *Agesilaus*; and to
the Oracle that warned *Sparta* against the
Halter, he replies, no halting to Bastardy, ad-
ding that *Neptune* attested it in driving King
Agis by an Earthquake from his wife *Timea*
twelve moneths before *Leotycheides* was born.
Agesilaus obliged his friends, by bestowing on
them the moiety of their estate; & his Country,
by yeilding them as much of his power; others
checked the *Ephori*; he by letting them do what
they pleased, did what he would: by attending
the *Ephori* upon summons, rising to them from
his Chair of State at Audiences, and presenting
each new Senator a Gown and Ox, he gained
more power to himself and his Country, then
he gave them honor. He never wronged an
enemy, though he sometimes indulged a
friend; being readier to honor the one when
he did well, then to rebuke the other when
ill; so tender was he of an adversary, that he
had

^a *Agesilaus*
was lame, but
put off that de-
formity by mer-
rily playing up-
on it.

had none : but as strife in nature, so faction in Commonwealth being necessary, the Ephors looked upon his comprehensive obligingness as dangerous to the Commonwealth, the divisions of Noblemen being the interest of free Estates. But he thought not himself more behold- ing to *Lysander's* authority, for making him King of *Sparta*, then to his interest for making him General of all *Greece*; a charge he accepted as cheerfully as *Lysander* did his Lieutenantcy. The Army is drawn up at *Gereftus*, *Lysander* made a Commissioner, *Agessilaus* dreams he must sacrifice his daughter; which he would have excused with a Hind, but that the *Bæotians* hindered it, as much to his regret, as they honored *Lysander*, whom being courted by the Country, as carrying the severe and rigid Majesty of a General, when *Agessilaus* had only the shew of it: what with the *Spartans* suggestions, who were angry (that they were rather *Lysander's* servants than the Kings Counsellors) what with his own noble ambition rather than low envy) he first crossed in all his own and his followers undertakings, then made him distributor of his victuals, saying, *Now let them go and honor my flesh-distributor*; which *Lysander*, though reserved, took notice of at last, saying to the King, *You know how to oppress your friends*; and he saying, *Yes, and to keep under my rivals*; *Lysander* replied, *Sir, Let me serve you without offence.*

Yet notwithstanding his service in taking *Mithridates*, when sent into *Hellepont* with two hundred Horse and a great sum of money,

Agessilaus

Agessilaus designing a check to the two privileged houses of the Nobility, could as little bear with his ambition, that is always more harmful then beneficial to the Commonwealth, as he could submit to his power: *Tissaphernes* violating his league; and *Agessilaus* General of *Sparta* being ambitious to perform as much against the *Persians*, as *Xenophon* the Captain of *Greece*, under presence of invading *Caria*, whither he drew the enemies forces: he surprized and spoiled *Phrygia*, teaching his followers that perjury and breaking leagues was sacrilege, and stratagems just; having raised a body of Horse upon the rich mens charge, who compounded their services for money (as *Agamemnon* would always take a Mare for a Coward) and rendered his enemies as contemptible by stripping them, as he did their spoils desirable by selling them, he invaded *Lydia*; and when *Tissaphernes* who was deceived before in believing him, and now for not believing him, came too late to the Rescue of *Sardis*, he overthrew him before his foot and Horse joyned, over-ran the Country, & saw his head off, & *Tithraustes* who succeeded him, offering him peace & money to gratifie, whom for his revenge upon the common enemy (though he said the *Lacedæmonians* made peace, not he; and that he took no gifts of the enemy, but spoils) for thirty Talents he retired to *Phrygia*, here receiving a Commission for the Sea as well as Land, trusted to none but him whose vertue was equal to his authority, and substituting his brother Lieutenant, as it became him, more

a who led the
ten thousand
Grecians in a
brave retreat
through Asia to
Europe.

a Vid. Theophrastus

for his relation then experience; he furnished himself with money and provision in *Pharnabazus* his Country; he made a league between *Cotys* of *Paphlagonia* and *Sparta*, and a marriage between him and *Mithridates* daughter; he obliged all men by his virtues, and pursued *Pharnabazus* flying up and down by his power to an overthrow, untill *Euripides* his Barbarousness lost him *Mithridates*, whose service and souldiers he valued much; and his fair Boy, of whom he was so enamoured, that he kissed him openly, though yet so well inclined, that he said he had rather overcome his lust towards that Boy, then a Kingdom; at a conference with *Pharnabazus*, his humility was observable in lying on the ground, his reason more, (relying upon *Pharnabazus*, who had unanswerably enlarged on his kindness to the *Spartans*, and their injuries to him) that while a friend to them he might expect civility, while a slave to their enemy, Justice, and (upon the others answer that while trusted he must be faithful to his Master, if discharged he would serve the *Spartans*) saying, seeing he was so noble, he wished him rather *his friend then his enemy*; there some kindnesses passed between him and *Pharnabazus* his child, that lasted between them while they lived: just he was, but indulgent, more tender of his friend then careful of his Commonwealth; whereupon he would say, *O how hard is it to love and to be wise! if Nicias b hath not offended, let him go; if not, pardon him for my sake, was his weakness.*

b Vid. Hier. Philosophum;

Having

Having now in his two years expedition in much reputation by his honesty and courage in his carriage; his patience and temperance in lying and working hard; his integrity in living always with the gods, in whose temple he lodged; and the reverence the vanity and luxury of *Persia* did to his *Lacedaemonian* Garbe and expressions; all *Asia* submitted to his peaceable establishments, and he had removed the war from *Greece*, unmolested by the *Persians* Gold, while their King sat still in his enemies Country, had not he who preferred rather the duties of obedience, then the pursuit of his fortune (which *b Hannibal* and *Alexander* refused) upon the *Ephorics* summons and *Spartans* divisions, that turned Foreign wars by envy and ambition, to home-bred contentions, left his friends, spoils, and victory upon a Scroll of Parchment received from his Superiors (of whom he was no less observant, then he was civil to his friends) saying, ten thousand Archers (that is, ten thousand Talents coined in *Persia*, with that stamp the Orators had given, to make a division between *Athens* and *Sparta*) drive him home, whither asking all along whether he should pass as a friend or an enemy, when the *Throcalians* demanded money, he bid them come with an Army to fetch it, and overthrew them; and when the King of *Macedon* would consider whether he should pass, he said, *Let us go on the while, laying waste Thessaly*, now in league with his enemies: he rather compounded with, then besieged *Larissus*,

b They both refused to return home when sent for, Alexander saying, that home sights were but as those of Rats to the Foreign undertakings.

A 2 2

which

which had imprisoned his Embassadors, saying he would not loose one of his men to gain the whole Country; as he sighed upon the battle at *Corinth*, that so many *Gracians* were slain that might do excellent service against the Barbarians, having triumphed at *Naxos* for breaking the flower of *Pharsalia* that troubled his Rear with a few Horsemen he immediately upon the *Ephorics* order passing through *Thermopyle* and *Phocye*, sent on *Boeotia*, and encampeth by *Charonea*, where a dissembling his private and the public loss of *Pysander* at *Gnidus*, and not regarding the Suns Eclipse, lest his Army should be discouraged, he charged the *Thebans* on the right Wing with as good success, as his *Orcomeniens* did the left with ill; and scorning to fight his enemy in the Rear, which had been his policy, he fought them now rallied in the Voward, with much danger to his person, notwithstanding his fifty strong Guards, untill he opened his Army and let them pass thorough them in such disorder, that he cut off their Flank, brought off his own dead, and took the Temple of *Minerva Itonian*, and some thousands in it, whom he overcame not with so much prowess, as he discharged them with civility; And after triumph over and truce with his enemy, he had a solemn procession and common sacrifice of the tenth part of his spoils, that is, a hundred Talents at *Apollo Pythias* his Games at *Delphos*, whence he returned home much honored for his valour, and more for his behaviour.

a With crowning himself and sacrificing for a victory, & sending part of the sacrifice to his friends.

that was never debauched with Foreign customs, out of his native modesty and temperance: his and his families merit was above the common people; his diet, apparel, his daughters *b Canathram* or *Charior*, was equal with them. He perswaded his sister *Gynisea* to send her Coach and Horse to the Olympick Games, to let those who were proud of their Stable and Horses, see that to run for prices was no act of vertue but of lema procession. He advised *Xenophon* the Philosopher, who was always about him, to send his Sons to *Sparta*, where they should learn the best Arts, viz. That of commanding, and that of obeying; when he found a seditious Oration made by *Cleon Halicarnacem* to be pronounced by *Lysander*, he was perswaded to bury it in *Lysanders* grave, and so suppress the faction by silence, and removed the Ring-leaders of it by Foreign commands and employments, so cunningly at once discovering their faults as if he had no friend, and interposing for their pardon, that he had no enemy. *Agesipodis* was partner with him in the Majesty of a King, but not in the power, striving only with him about some childrens love (every *Spartan* loved his Boy, not to satisfy his lust, but to frame them to vertue.) His brother *Teleatias* by Sea, and he by Land, besieged *Corinth* in the time of the *Isthmian* Games, jeering the *Argais* that they could play for their gods but could not fight. Moderate he was, therefore present at most solemn Games; curious he was not, and there-

b *Canathram* is a Coach after the likeness of a Griffin, Hart or Goat, whereon young wenches went in solemn procession.

fore not pleased with them. When Calippides the Stage-player thrust himself to his company, and being not countenanced, said, *Agessilaus, do you not know me? What,* said he *Art not thou Calippides the Stage-player?* To one that counterfeited the Nightingals voice he said, *I have heard the Nightingal her self.* To Menecrates writing, Menecrates a Jupiter to King Agessilaus greeting; he returned, *Agessilaus unto Menecrates b health.* When he took Juno's Temple and spoiled Corinth, he would not hear the Theban Embassadors, though his hands called the mothers were cut off by Iphicrates, they would not hear him, but asked leave to go to Corinth, which he granted on condition they saw his conquest, destroying that Country to the very Walls, and retiring home so privately, that he never encamped till night, and always removed before day, lest the Arcadians should see his loss.

To gratifie the Athenians, he overcame the Acarnanians, and when some advised him to hinder them from Sowing, *Nay,* saith he, *let them Sow, and they will fear a war;* and accordingly they sued for peace. The Sea being possessed, and the Walls of Athens erected by Pharnabazus, and Talsidas makes a shameful peace with Persia, against whom Agessilaus made a noble War, which peace he complied with upon a design against the Thebans, who were thereby weakened, as obliged to part with Boetia. Although he said Justice was the greatest vertue, all others ceasing if all men

a That Menecrates having cured a strange disease, arrogated to himself the name of Jupiter.

b Meaning, that he might be well in his wits.

were just; yet when Phabidas in time of Peace took the Thebans Cadmea, he said *We must not look how just the act is in it self, but how expedient to the Commonwealth.* It was his saying, *That Justice made Majesty rather than power.* He refused the King of Persia any private friendship, but upon the common account. Phabidas his act he justified, and the Castle he kept, untill the Thebans recovered it, and he made war upon them for it, as much to his shame for vindicating a Tyrant, as a former war was to his honour for defending their liberty. Sphodrias attempting Pyraea at Athens as unworthily, though not as successfully, his delay and his mens fear of the fire rising from the Eleasin Temple, making it day before they came to the place, as Phabidas did Cadmia, was saved by Agessilaus from his charge of high Treason, for his child's sake, with whom Agessilaus his Son was in love; he saying, *That the action was base, but the man serviceable.* Indulgent he was to his children, praying others to say nothing of it, *till they had children themselves.* When in compliance to his own private affection to Sphodrias, he brought upon his Country a publike war from the Athenians, he goes without Commission against the Boetians, of whose successes one said, *They might thank Agessilaus, who by constant engagements with them contrary to Lycurgus his a Rhetra, taught them conquest and victory.* The Spartans murmured that they must maintain common quarrels to satisfie a private humor. Agessilaus

a That is one of his laws, where in he provided that the Lacedemonians should not make war too long together upon one Nation, lest by constant exercise it became expert.

b And almost dead with the blood he lost, when his Physician of Syracuse opened a vein under his Arteries to cure his Crampe.

laws to shew the weakness of his Allies, bid all Mechanics stand up; whereupon there remained no souldiers but the Spartans, among whom there are no Tradesmen, who were almost undone at *Lentres*, while he was sick of the *b* Crampe. When all Greece were concluding of Peace as prejudicial to the warlike constitution of *Sparta*, as it was expedient for the traffick of the rest of Greece, what for learned *Epaminondas* neglected, and *Thebes* hated of *Agesilau*, he stood up and asked, Whether *Thebes* could set *Boeotia* at liberty, as *Epaminond* replied, Whether they would set *Laconia* at liberty: an answer that so nettled *Agesilau*, that immediately he proclaimed war against the *Thebans*, and dismissed the other Commissioners to end their controversies amongst themselves, whether they would with reason or with a sword.

King *Cleombratus* is commanded, their confederates are summoned against the *Thebans*; and notwithstanding the ill Omens and *Prothous* his advice, *Agesilau* pursued this war with so much the more eagerness, as he was glad to embroyl *Thebes* when all Greece was at peace; but with ill success, having lost within twenty days of the Treaty, valiant *Cleombratus*, goodly and resolved a *Cleonimus*, with a thousand more brave *Spartans*; a great overthrow to *Sparta*, and as great a victory to *Thebes*. As *Xenophon* says, that in good mens Table-talk there is something notable, so in great mens countenances and speeches under change of fortune there is much observable; for

a who being beaten twice at the Kings foot, three times got up again, yet fell mortally at last.

for this fatal news being brought to *Sparta* upon their publike Feast-day, the Theatre never moved for it, their friends that were slain rejoiced publikely, and theirs that survived retired gladly, even the very women rejoicing over those that were dead for their Country, and mourning for those that were alive upon its overthrow: although the fear of *Epaminondas* invasion, and their consciousness of the old Oracle against lame *Agesilau* had some influence upon them, yet such veneration had they of his authority, such apprehension of his valour, that as he was their Leader in war, so he was their Arbitrator in peace, upon whose advice they spared those that fled (for fear of a Tumult) the penalties of Cowards. (1. Bearing no Office. 2. No Alliance. 3. To be stricken by any man, and not speak a word. 4. To wear tattered cloths, and their Beards half shaven) *Agesilau* saying, the Law should stand still for that day, whereupon the Youths chearfully recover their credits in taking *Mantineia*, and foraging *Arcadia*, which somewhat relieved *Sparta*. But *Epaminond* coming against *Laconia* with three-score thousands, further then any enemy durst for six hundred years, even as far as *Eurotas*, *Agesilau* fortifieth *Sparta*, and endures the threats and provocation of *Thebes*; the out-cries of old men and women in the City, the sad thoughts that he received his Kingdom flourishing, and must leave it decaying (contrary to his boast, that the *Lacedaemonian* women had never seen the smoak of an

a As Antacides said to the Athenian (that boasted how often his Countrymen had driven the Lacedaemonians from the River Cephissus,) True, but we did never drive you over

enc-

enemies Camp) Now setting his men in Battail-array in the middest of the City, and looking on *Epaminond* bravely leading his men over the rough and cold *Eurotas*, he said onely, O what a brave man is this! and would not hazard a Battail; but when *Epaminond* retired, some conspirators having taken a strong Fort, he would not force, but perswaded them, saying in his poor gown, this is not the place I appointed you to assemble in; whereupon they thinking their conspiracy was not discovered, came out, yeilded the *b* Fort, and were put to death as other conspirators were a while after, by this resolute man, while others thought fit to neglect them, which had been dangerous, and were afraid to punish them, which was then hard. To keep the City in heart, he hid their Arms that fled, and encouraged them that stayed. The *Thebans*, whether tired with their marches, or afraid of the Winter, or paid by *Agessilaus*, as *Theopompus* writes, withdrew, he saving the City by a patience, that allayed not onely his own, but all the *Spartans* passion; saved it, I say, but could never recover it;

b Ifforia, or the Temple of Diana.

a Their founder *Lycurgus* enjoined them to be content with their own estate; which as long as they observed, they flourished, but when they neglected, they decayed.

a Surfeit being not more dangerous to a moderate constitution, then enlargement of Territories and conquest to this a strict Commonwealth. But he now growing old, his son recompensed his unhappiness by a tearless victory, cheered up the *Spartan* spirit (the men of late not daring to look the women in the face) *Messina* is restored, the best part of *Sparta*, for which *Agessilaus* made war with *Phes*

bes

he, because he would not relinquish that word which the enemies kept in deed. While *Agessilaus* aided the *Mantineans*, *Epaminond* had surprized *Sparta* the second time, had not the old mans good intelligence discovered it, and his resolution in a desperate case, to which he was never brought before, prevented it; for which his triumph was solemn, his incongruement to all his valiant souldiers considerable, especially brave *Archimedes* and comely *Isadas*, who did wonders in the face of the enemy and the sight of their friends, whereof the last was crowned for his valour in fighting, and fined for his rashness in doing of it without armor. *Epaminond* being killed at the Battel of *Manfinea* by *Amicrates Macharian* or the sword-man with a Bow-spear; *Agessilaus* would exclude the *Messenians* from the general peace, pretending that they need not swear because they were no City. His warlike disposition and craft discredited him much, the great charge and loss he put his Country to, more: His Mercenary undertakings under *Tachas* the *Egyptian* most of all: ambition in an old man was unreasonable, all noble acts having their mean and time; but Mercenarinefs in an old King under a young Traytor, was unpardonable. Nobly he was entertained by the Governors of *Egypt*; much he was derided by the people who expected a King and General, saw onely one old simple man, who refused all dainty presents of Confections, Perfumes, &c. and accepted onely the meer a Grass,

a *Theophrastus* writes that he marvelously delighted in the *Rush Papyrus*, and carryed home some Garlands made of it.

as

as Mules, Calves, Geese. With the *Egyptians* he sailed against the *Phenicians*, onely as Coroneel of the strangers, not as General, to his great grief, untill he had an opportunity of revenge, by joyning with *Tachas* his Nephew *Nestanebas*, who rebelled against him; and having a Commission to do what he thought best for the Commonwealth of *Sparta*, it being their maxime, that *that was most just which was most advantageous*: He draws off his Mercenary souldiers. *Tachas* fled, a *Mendesian* King raiseth an hundred thousand Barbarians, of whom *Agessilams* said, *I fear their unskilfulness more then their number*; stratagems that prevailed with men of fear and forecast, doing no more upon a rash and rude multitude, then a Wrestlers skill can do upon a body he cannot stir. The *Meadician* courted him, *Nestanebas* mistrusted him, especially when he advised a battle, when there was no danger, and refused it when there was most; yet he said nothing, having a design in his head, which was this, To suffer their barbarous multitude to draw a Trench about the City, untill it was almost finished, and then set upon them in the Gap when the multitude could not surround them because of the Wall, nor engage them in any great number because of the narrowness of the Gap. Whereby he overthrew the enemy, as he did afterwards by flying to and fro, and trappanning them into a strait Sluce walled about with broad Ditches, so that when they were even in the midst of it, he suddainly stopped their their

their passage with the Front of the Battels, which he cast to the bredth of the Sluce; and thus made the multitude of fighting men equal with the number of his enemies, which would never compass him behind, nor flank him on the sides. The *Egyptian* King would have entertained *Agessilams* all that Winter, because he had recovered his Kingdom, but *Sparta* sent for him that he might save their Commonwealth; nobly was he dismissed by *Nestanebas* (with two hundred and thirty Silver Talents, i. e. thirty six thousand four hundred pound, twelve shillings and eight pence.) Unhappily died he in his return home in the Desert of *Libya*, the fourscore and fourth year of his Age, and the fourtieth year of his Reign, thirty whereof, untill the Battle of *Leuctria*, he was reputed the best man and greatest Captain of *Greece*. Other *Spartans* were buried where they died; he being a King, was anointed abroad (with Wax for want of Honey) but interred at home, leaving behind him a succession of Kings, that lasted as long as the Government of *Sparta*; *Agessilams* his family, and *Lycurgus* his institutions in *Licuidas* his time perishing together, and falling a sacrifice to the publike good.

POMPEY.

Anno M^{un}.
3870. Ant.
Christ. 70.



XXXIII.

POMPEY.

Contemporary with Julius Cæsar, Aristobulus
of Judæa, Hircanus High Priest of the Jews,
Diod. Siculus, and Salust.

Pompeys a father was not so much hated^a for his covetousness, as he himself was beloved for his temperance, his eloquence, his faithfulness, his valour and his courtesie; his majestick gate, his equally sweet and grave countenance, the soft cast and moving of his eye like ^b Alexander; his temperance & contentedness (as he said) with ^c common meats, was in such esteem, that as no man granted requests more favourably than Pompeys favor, said it was no marvel if he being Philip loved Alexander. ^c He refused a Thrush that was to be had onely at Lucullus his Table, saying, Must not I live if Lucullus were not luxurious?

he,

so none were granted more unanimously than his.

For having escaped Terentius his Treason (whom yet upon design he was merry with that night) he onely by lying along in the Camps door, and bidding his souldiers that were leaving the colours pass over him, stopped the Revolt; and being accused for the treasure at Rome, the books and Arming-Cords at *Asculum* embezled by his Father, was by his own prudence and brave spirit that won him the Prætor *Antistius* and his daughter, acquitted with a general applause, all the people crying *d Talassio, Talassio*, who loved him so well, that *e Cinna* was slain upon suspicion of his murder; and he upon his death followed by some thousands voluntiers *f* into *Sylla's* Camp (whither all fled as fugitives, he as an assistant) and having drawn off *Carboes* souldiers, & Cities, as he marched leasurely, overthrown *Corinna, Cælius*, and *Brutus* severally and apart, reduced their holds, received *Scipio's* souldiers (who came in to him at the instant they should fight with him) was received by him as soon as he saw his men in battle-array, with the respect of his care, and the title of Imperator, which he himself contended for with *Scipio* and *Marius*; with which honour above his years and expectation, refusing to displace the old souldier *Metellus* in *Gaul*, he went to assist him, whence (being by the looseness of those times directed from *Antistia*, and allied to *Sylla* by an unworthy marriage with *Æmilia*, when she was with child by another hus-

^d which was used at marriage for young *Talassius* sake in the Sabine womens time. See *Romulus* his life.

^e See *Liv. 83.* and *Appian.* ^f Of *Picenia* his inheritance, the inhabitants whereof were angry with *Vindius*, for saying Pompey, who came from *School* the last day, must now be Captain; his voluntiers were three Legions.

husband (more agreeably to *Sylla's* times, than *Pompey's* inclination) he was sent against *Peripenna* into *Sicily*, where he freed all the Cities but *Messina* that unseasonably urged their privileges against his jurisdiction (who said, *Tush, what prattle ye of Law to them, who have swords in their hands?*) put to death as many of *Sylla's* *g* enemies as came into his hands, though he winked at them who could steal away (sealing his souldiers swords to stop their outrages, and pardoning the *Himmerians* for *Sthenis* sake, who offered himself as Governor to suffer for the whole City, which had done nothing but by his order.)

But being remanded from *Sicily* (where he left his brother in Law *Memmius*) against *Domitian*, (who overthrew the *Romane* interest in *Affrica*) and having met a treasure in his way, as he failed part of his Army for *Utica*, and part for *Carthage*; he set on *Domition* in some disorder on a rainy morning with some success, and (refusing the salutation of Imperator, untill his Campe was taken) demolished his Fort, slew him; took in the adjoining Cities and his ally King *Carbas*, made the *Romane* power dreadful in that vast continent, hunted their wild beasts; and in a word, subdued and settled those Kings and Kingdoms in twenty four days, when he was but twenty four years old; wherefore *Sylla* himself (though he had in vain attempted to draw his Army from him (whom they would not leave upon his own perswasion, tears, and threatening to kill himself if they obeyed not *Sylla*))

g Particularly *Carbo*, who being Consul then the third time, had been better dispatched privately, then condemned solemnly; and *Q. Valerius* a learned man, from whom *Pompey* got what he could by a private conference, and then put him to death. *Oppius*, who took *Marcius* his part, but had a greater Army.

Sylla) met him with the whole City, and bestowed on him the name of *i* Great (with universal consent) but would have refused him *i* Triumph, as he had done *Scipio*, being neither Consul nor Prætor; untill *Pompey* telling him plainly, That the people worshipped the rising, not the setting Sun; and in despite of him and some Mutineers (when he nobly resolved, rather not to Triumph then to flatter them) entered most solemnly, and condescending afterwards to be among the Knights, made his very enemies confess that he deserved that honor; and therefore on his motion in spite of *Sylla*, he advanced *Lepidus* to the Consulship, though (as *n* *Sylla*, who now died and left *Pompey* out of his Will prophesied) to his own danger; for he is no sooner Consul, but stirring up *Marius* his faction, he raised a war, which *Pompey* only had skill and experience to allay, who overcame *Brutus* (that yeilded himself, or was betrayed to him; reduced *Gaul*, forced *Lepidus* to *Sardinia* (where his Wives wantonness broke his heart) and notwithstanding *Catulus* ordered him to disband, upon *L. Philippus* motion he was sent *p* Proconsul into *Spain*, where though *Sertorius* an abler man then *Lepidus*, threatened to whip the young Boy home, yet he alarmed him to a greater circumspection, as he did *q* *Metellus* to a greater strictness and sobriety then *n* *Lepidus* was Consul. *o* *Catulus* being a magistrate rather then a good souldier. *p* *Luc. Philippus* was not onely proconsul, but proconsulibus into *Spain*, being then unserviceable. *q* A dissolute man.

i A name bestowed by the Romanes as well upon deserving senators as souldiers; *Valerius* being called so for making peace between the people and Senate; and *Fabius* for turning the Bondmen out of the Senate whom their riches had brought in. *k* i.e. Himself not old *Sylla*. *l* With his Chariots drawn by Elephants, if the Gates had bin big enough. *m* The first time was bestowed on one that was no Senator, which *Pompey* refused to be untill he had triumphed. *n* who bid him an honest Magistrate, he sent both the Consuls ordi-

r As Julius
Cæsar did his
letters, least new
discoveries
should raise new
commotions.

f who dreamed
that Jupiter
told him they
should not be
discharged their
office until they
were reconciled.

t Saying it was
not below him to
sue his friend-
ship, whom the
Senate had sur-
named Great.

u In Neptunes
Temple at Na-
mos, the twins
at Choros, the
Earths at Her-
mion, Æscula-
pius at Epidau-
rum, Apollo's
at Actium, and
Juno's in Sa-
mos.

w That called
Mithres, to the
Sun.

x Sentilius and
Prellinus Præ-
tors, with their
Robes and En-
signs.

y Antones
daughter as she
was walking in
the fields.

ordinary; and when *Laurea* was lost, over-
came *Herennius* and *Perpenna* at *Valentia*;
and before *Metellus* could come to him (being
as desirous to engage alone as his enemy could
with him) defeated *Sertorius* at the River *Su-
cron*, had him betrayed to him by *Perpenna*,
together with his letters, which he as nobly
burnt as he put the Traytor to death, whence
having received money (by *Lucullus* his
means, who had rather furnish him in *Spain*,
then let him return as he desired, to prevent
his design against *Mithridates*) and settled un-
der *Spartacus* by the *Roots* (as he writ to the
Senate) and triumph the second time; when
having removed the peoples jealousy by dis-
banding his Army, and obliged their favour
by erecting the Tribuneship, he did *Crassus*
the kindness upon his request, to make him his
fellow-Consul; and having with great ap-
plause among other Captains, before *Gellius*
and *Lentulus*, the two *Censors*, craved a dis-
mission after so long service in the wars, and
upon *Aurelius* his dream, being reconciled
to *Crassus* t who first sued the friendship) re-
tired to more State and Honor; observing
that the renowned in war are otherwise despi-
cable in matters of peace, untill the despised
Pyrrates (by the advantages of the *Pontick*,
wherein they were entertained by *Mithrida-
tes*, and the civil War, became so formidable
for their *Arsenals*, Havens, and Fleet of a
thousand Ships) u their sacrilege, their new
w sacrifices, their Inrodes, and surprizals of
some x Senators and y Ladies; their haunts
and

z jess upon the word *Romane*; and com-
mended over all the *Mediterranean*, that the
people voted (notwithstanding the Consul,
Antius and *Roscus*, &c. withstood so ample
an authority) Pompey a plenipotentiary Com-
mission to *Hercules Pillars*, i. e. As far as their
Empire extended, to levy what men and mo-
ney he pleased, with twenty four Lieutenants,
all Senators, to assist him; with which power
(conferred on him, when to avoid envy he
was purposely absent) after his devotion, and
the good Omen of the sunk rate of Corn,
which so pleased the people, that they cried,
Pompeys name would end the War: He scour-
ed the *Thuscan Sea*, the Coasts of *Libya*,
Sardinia, *Sicily* and *Corfica*; and having saved
his enemy *Piso* the Consul from the depriva-
tion of his Consulship for discharging the
Oare-men, passed *Athens* with great applause,
and brought over most Pyrrates by indul-
gence, forced the obstinate with their families
to Mount *Taurus*, or beat them at *Coracesium*,
and put an end to that war in three moneths,
bringing eighty Gallies armed with Copper
Spurs to *Rome*, disposing twenty thousand
Pyrrates to an innocent way of life (to avoid the
savageness of a Massacre, in the desolate Cities
Dema, *Solia*, and others in *Achaia* and *Cili-
cia*) and (which he was derided and checked
for granting) protection against *Metellus* his
cruelty to the Thieves of *Crete*.

As the reward of which success he had (in
spight of *Catulus* and others invectives, who
sared a Tyranny) as large a Commission to
succeed

z When a man
said he was a
Romane, they
would ask him
forgiveness for-
sooth, and cloa-
thing him in
that habit turn
him over board.

a upon one
Manlius his
motion.

where it was said, that Pompey his rods being withered, Lucullus his men passing through a wood as he had done through a plain, bestowed on him green ones. -- At parting they fell at words; Lucullus upbraiding Pompey's ambition, & he his avarice.

c Therefore as Pompey said, Lucullus had fought with the shadows of two Kings: so he said Pompey pursued the shadow of war, & stole his triumphs over the Barbarians, as he had done Crassus his over the slaves.

d That he found them in, always

excepting what Lucullus had taken from them: e He was angry at the hard conditions put on his Father, or at the Peace.

succeed Lucullus in Bithynia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Galatia, and Armenia, &c. By vertue whereof, having counterfeited his grief, that he should never see an end of his troubles, and upon a meeting with him, with little satisfaction on either side, having discharged Lucullus, and repealed all his orders, he summoned before him all the Kings and Countreies; and entering on Lucullus his Triumphs rather than Wars, garisoned all the Sea-coast from Phœnicia to Bosphorus; and taking a Mountain which Mithridates had forsaken for want of water (which Pompey by the verdure of the Plants and Trees discovered there) enclosed him in the Valley; and upon his escape, according to the Pontick Kings dream of floating on the waters, overthrew him before he passed Euphrates by Moon-light (though he was willing to have secured him till next morning) the Bithynians having spent their arrows on the long shadows of the Romanes, could not endure their onset, kessen thousand upon the place, their King with the man-like woman Hysicrates, and two more, to fly to Inira; Tigranes and his to Pompey's mercy, whom upon their submission of their Diadem at his feet, and a fine of six thousand Talents, he restored their ancient Rights. -- Whence having taken Tigranes his son prisoner again for his sawcinesse, in refusing his treat, and saying, (Any Romane could do as much for him)

answered Phraates King of Parthia, who handed young Tigranes as his Son-in-Law, limited Pompey's conquests to Euphrates, that he would be responsible to the Prisoner for his Father, and that he would limit his conquests by justice, he left Afranius in Armenia: and though he run to some inconveniences, and let slip many advantages by his acquaintance with the Countrey, overthrew the Albanians twice, the Iberians once that were never to any subject; and not daring to approach Hircania for Serpents, sent Afranius against the King of Parthia, who had invaded Gardinea, received presents from the Medes, took Stratonices Castle, returned Mithridates his Concubines and Goods, learned by his Letters he took, his natural disposition and design; and laid up the Iberian his Bed-sted, Stool and Chair in the publick Treasure.

And now having disposed of those Provinces a little sooner than he ought (Mithridates being alive and powerful) as he had extended the Romane Empire in Libya to the great Sea, in Spain to the Atlantick, and in Albania to the Hircanian Sea; He, though he thought to enlarge it to the great Ocean, and therefore leaving Famine (now all supplies were cut off) to overcome Mithridates, he subdued and settled Syria's Government and Liberty, composed the difference between the Parthians and Armenians: And Mithridates being weary of his home-bred Wars (as Pompey foresaw) having killed himself, he took

some of Mithridates his Concubines, whom he took in for her voyce, and made her poor father a Nobleman that night, who cried as he went along in his robes, All this is mine: and bid those that laughed at him, wonder he did not throw stones at them for joy.

*g*The one worth 400 Talents, the other worth 200. *h* According to which, Demetrius built him a Theatre called by his name at Rome. *i* Possidonius and Hermagoras (whom Tully often mentioneth) have writ their disputations before him. *k* See Cicero's Epistle to Celer and Suetonius Caesar's life, who lay with her. *l* He first triumphed over Afric, 2. over Europ, 3. over Asia. *m* Velleius faith, he was as at that time: equal to Alexander was he in his first conquests, though unequal in his after-fortune. *n* Viz. Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colches, Iberia, Albania, Syria, Cilicia, Melopotamia, Phoenicia, Palestine, Arabia. *b* Upon whose account Castror said once at Rome, Alas! poor City.

Petra and Arabia that had as yet known no Conquerour, settled Pontus, gave Mithridates rich *g* Scabbaard and Hat to his Commanders, and returned with glory and victory to Rome (1. Seeing his own Acts on the *b* Theatre at Mytelene. 2. Hearing the *i* disputations at Rhodes and Athens in his way. 3. Divorcing his *k* Wife. 4. And upon some envious surmises of his attempt upon the Empire, disbanding his Army) in the Suburbs whereof he was received with his small Train by all Italy, until he made what none made before him, his third triumph over the third part *l* of the World before he was *m* forty; where the first shew was, the Tables wherein were the *a* fourteen Countreys he had subdued, the thousand Castles and eight hundred Ships he had taken, the thirty nine desolate Cities he had replenished, the eighty five thousand Myriades he had added to the Roman Revenue, and the two thousand talents to the Treasury, together with each Souldiers five hundred Drachmaes. The second was his noble Prisoners, viz. the Hostages, the Pyrates, Captains, Tigranes Son and Wife, Mithridates Sister, her five Sons, some Scythian Ladies, and Aristobulus of Judæa. The glory of which triumph he sullied by his protection of loose persons, such as *b* Demetrius, whom he would neither keep innocent, nor see punished when guilty; by siding with Clodius and o-

der factious persons; forsaking his good friend Cicero upon their request: seconding Caesar in the passing of the *c* Agrarian Law *c* For dividing to please the people; and abusing Cato and Bibulus publicly by force, to secure themselves, first with his voyce, and then (as he said he would to the offence of all men) with his sword: and indeed, now he was married to Caesar's Daughter, now Lucullus gave himself to ease and pleasure, now Cicero was called home to ballance Clodius his insolence, who undermined *d* Pompey's honour and his life by Cicero and Spinter's interests, he had another large commission over all the Empire, to bring in Corn to Rome, which by his Lieutenants and himselfe (who being in danger in his way to Sicily, said, *It was necessary he should go thither, but so that he should live*) was furnished to a plenty that flowed in upon its self and Neighbours: And since Caesar's conquest, spoyle, interest and Army had made him dreadful, Pompey and Crassus having consulted him at Luca (whither all the City went to see him) forced their own Election to the next Consulship, suppressed Cato and Domitian, suborned the Assemblies, and frightened them with pretended Signes and Omens; made Prætors and Ædiles of their own, and at last by Trebonius the Tribune's assistance, divided the Empire among themselves, Syria and Parthia falling to Crassus his share, Affrick and Spain to Pompey's, and Gaule to Caesar's; with whom, upon his beloved Julia's death, Crassus his overthrow, Pompey brake: and judging

For dividing Land.

d He would aske, who is he that scratcheth his head with his finger? and all the Vagabonds and factious persons would say, Pompey.

*e His enemy Bi-
bulus being
forced to say,
That by choo-
sing him, the
Common-
wealth should
either be rid
of its pre-ent
troubles, or be
in bondage to
an honest
man; And Ca-
to to add, The
worst officer is
better than
none.
f Discharging
Curio & others
of their debts.
g Marcellus
proposed, that
they should both
either dishand,
or keep their
Army, that
their equality
might reconcile,
or at least re-
strain them.
h saying, "Ave-
re, the
dye is cast.
i who would
not hear Orai-
ons when Legi-
ons were at
hand."*

ing the Empire too narrow for them both, aimed by cajoling the people, and ingrossing the State-offices at a single Sovereignty. In order to which, he embroyled the State to a necessity of making him single Consul, with a power to name his fellow-Consul, as he did his Father-in-Law *Scipio*: but having incurred some displeasure, 1. By indulging his pleasure with his fair, modest, learned, but young Wife *Cornelia* (in the common calamity, for which he was advanced) 2. By protecting his Father-in-law and other offenders, he retrieved it by his Laws against Bribery, his settlement of Justice in a grave, quiet, and safe way. 3. His pretended kindnesse for *Cæsar*, for whose second Consulship he moved in his absence. And 4. his care of his Provinces, whither having received his two Legions from *Cæsar*, and recovered to the joy of all the Countrey at *Naples*, he went: and pushed up with the peoples applausse, thronged to see him as he passed; and *Appian* his flattering Invektive against *Cæsar*, he was so secure, that he said, *If he stamped but in Italy, he would raise men enough against Cæsar*; who by bribes working off the Senate, and by an Army awing the Assembly (to whom one of his Captains said, *If they would not continue his Government, his sword on which he laid his hands should*) g. kept up his Army; upon consideration passed the *Rubicon*, amazed Rome and Italy, forced Pompey (notwithstanding *Marcellus* and *Cato*'s encouragement, *Tullus* and *Phaonius* his jests, and his own

own vaunts, with his followers, that loved him rather than their own Liberty, to *Brundum*: Took *Rome*, deposed *Marcellus*, (saying, *he could as easily do it, as say it*;) and had taken Pompey at *Brundisium*, had not Pompey trapped him to the one side of the City, while he went out at the other: And (though it was an oversight to leave *Italy*) amassed innumerable Forces whom he trained at *Berna*, whither to see his activity, and joyn with him, came *Labienus*, *Cicero*, *Brutus* and *Sex-tius*; by whose advice having (to endear themselves to the people) ordered that no *Romane* City should be sacked, or Citizen killed in cold blood, and taking all the Sea-coasts, he distressed *Cæsar* (after some overtures or treppans for reconciliation) to an encounter and an overthrow; which if Pompey had pursued (as *Cæsar* said, *he had had the day, if he knew but how to conquer*) pell-mell, as he did at some distance upon his Souldiers importunity to *Thessaly*, where both Commanders being equally afraid of each other, Pompey was by his followers instigation, rather than his owne prudent inclination, to remove the jealousies and jests that were raised of him, forced to leave *Italy* to the Enemy, and encamp * at *Pbarsalia*, where after an oath taken by the Officers, *To die or conquer*; and some Omens of a flame that flew over *Cæsar*'s Camp to Pompey, the fearful noise in Pompey's Camp, and the dream of *Venus* Temple being enriched with spoils. As *Cæsar* was drawing towards *Scotaza*, Pompey's Army was embattelled, the right Wing being led by Pompey against *Antony*

a who could draw out and put in his sword when his horse was in full career.

* *Asinius Pollo who was in this battel, describes it.
b which denoted Pompeys overthrow, Cæsar's family being descended of Venus.*

Antony; the main Battle by *Scipio*, against *Domitius Calvinus*; and the left Wing with the men of Arms, by *Domitius Aenobarbus*, against *Cæsar* and his famous tenth Legion; who when he had strengthened his Wing with a secret Reserve of six Ensignes, and given order to charge *Pompey's* young Gentlemen, (who as he said could not endure the marring of their countenances in their faces, as *Pompey* had ordered his to receive them, until they came to pell-mell) encompassed *Pompey's* horse between his unexpected Reserve and his tenth Legion, and forced them on his Foot, who both fled, as *Pompey* himself did in an amazement (saying no more when the Enemy came to his Camp, but, *What? to our Tents also?*) partly afoot, partly in a little Boat to *Lesbos*, having left six thousand men in the Field, discharged all his followers, killed onely *Craſſinus* (who told *Cæsar* he should commend him either alive or dead) lost all those brave men who contested for Offices at *Rome* before the Battel, as if it had been no more to conquer *Cæsar*, that had slain and taken two millions of men, subdued three hundred Nations, and won a thousand Towns, and was never overcome, than to invade *Tigranes* or *Mithridates*: Whence having discoursed with *Cratippus* about Divine Providence, comforted *Cornelia*, (who bewailed more his misfortune than her own) with the vicissitudes of humane affairs, ballancing her present sorrows with future hopes, and advised the *Mytelenians* to the Conquerours justice and courtesie, he

retired

retired by *Attalia*, while his Sea and Land-Forces were rallying (and there he observed his error in fighting so far from his Sea-Forces in *Pharsalia*) into *Ægypt* (where a few Eunuchs that governed the King, debated whether *Pompey* the Great should be entertained) and finding it unsafe to displease *Cæsar*, or neglect *Pompey*, upon *Theodatus* of *Cbio* the Kings Schoolmaster for Rhetorick his advice, resolved to dispatch him, saying, *The dead bite not*: as they did, when they had parted him from his Wife and Friends, who looked wisely what became of him, under the semblance of complement and treatment, whose death (when his friends had escaped, and *Lentulus* was slain) *Cæsar* (who taking his seal-Ring, turned away his head and wept) revenged upon *Ptolomy* by an overthrow, upon *Achilles* and *Pothinus* by their deaths, as *Brutus* did on *Theodatus* by all the variety of torment.

The Parallel.

Agesilaus usurped his greatnesse against the right of men and the Oracles of the gods, *Pompey* won his in compliance with both. *Pompey* was grateful to *Sylla* and his Posterity that advanced him, *Agessilaus* ungrateful to *Lysander* that Crowned him. *Pompey* was too respectful to *Scipio* and *Cæsar*, his Fathers in Law, and *Agessilaus* too indulgent to his a son. *Pompey* was unfortunate to the

Com-

^a For whose sake he saved *Sphodrias*, and *Phæbidas*.

b Or scrawl of
Parchment they
used to send
their Generals.
c See Xeno-
phon of him.

Commonwealth, *Agésilas* self-willed. *Pompey* dispensed with his friends against his own Law, and *Agésilas* in the Cowards case that fled at *Leuctres*, advised that the Law should sleep for that day. *Pompey* resigned the greatest power but that of *Alexander's* for the Commonwealths sake, and *Agésilas* the greatest but *Pompey's* upon the *Ephori's* b *Scythia*: the first overcame many, but destroyed no Nation; the second destroyed many, but c overcame few: The one peopled, the other depopulated Cities. This ruined enemies, he obliged them. *Pompey* weakly left *Rome* for fear of few: *Agésilas* nobly kept *Lacedæmon* in spite of all. The last could secure himself when weakest from fight, and draw out his enemy when strongest, *Pompey* knew neither. *Agésilas* stuck to his own judgement, *Pompey* yielded to others. *Pompey* hazarded his ruine to avoid scoffs and reproaches, *Agésilas* would not endanger him, notwithstanding a mutiny. *Pompey* was a superficial, *Agésilas* a deep-sighted man. One was a staid, the other an unsettled man. He saved his friends against their will; This destroyed his with theirs. *Pompey* was forced to *Ægypt*, *Agésilas* was hired thither. The one was betrayed by those he trusted, as the other betrayed them that trusted him.

ALEXANDER



XXXIV.

ALEXANDER.

Contemporary with *Iddo* High Priest of the
Jews, *Fergus* King of Scotland, *Ari-*
stotle.

Alexander, whose Life rather than
History I intend to write, whose face
rather than Portraiture I intend to
draw, descended from *Hercules* by his Father
Philip and *Æalus* by his Mother *Olympias*,
was foretold by his Mothers dream of Light-
ning filling her womb, and his Fathers of a
Ring with the Lyons a head; wherewith he
sealed it, ennobled by his Mothers familia-
rity with b *Jupiter Hammon*, and born the
same his son.

An: Mundt
3611. Ant.
Christ. 337.

a The women
were then in
Thrace,
(whence comes
Θεσσαλία,
and Macedon
inspired by
Bacchus, and
called Mimal-
lones, & Cle-
odones.
b Of whom his
Mother bid him
do nothing un-
worthy being
his son.

c. i.e. 6 of June or Hecatom-
bryon, or Lous,
Diana being
present at his
birth, whose cry
(saith Hegesi-
as) was enough
to have quenched
the fire.
d Drawn by Ly-
sippus onely to
the life.
e Though Ap-
pelles painted
him with his
Lightning,
f swarthy.
g Aristoxenus
saith, his skin
would perfume
his cloaths, so
dry was his con-
dution; The
hottest Countreys
yield Spices.
i He would not
run at Olym-
pus but with
Kings; & when
he discoursed
with the Persi-
an Embassadors
he asked them
not trifling que-
stions, but of the
situation of their
Country, the power and disposition of their King. h In a house built there of
purpose. i Some high and Metaphysick speculations, of which Aristotle (as
his excuse for publishing them) saith, that they were published, and not
published, - and only understood by his own Scholars. k His letter is
in Aul. Gell. l. 20. c. 4. He sent to Harpalus for Æchines, Sophocles, Æs-
chylus, Telestus, and Philocenus together with Philistus history. l As Xe-
nocratus, Dandanus, & Calanus, on whom he bestowed 50 talents. in-

c same day that Diana's Temple was burned;
when Philip at once heard that Parmenio had
defeated the Illyrians, that his Horse had
won the prize at Olympus, and that an invin-
cible son was born to him.

His stature was tall, his d gate majestic,
his complexion cleer and e ruddy, his confi-
dution dry and temperate, his f skin periur-
med, his recreations high and g becoming
him. His ambition extraordinary; for one
day, when he heard of his Fathers conquests,
he said to his Play-fellows, My Father will
have all, I and You shall have nothing to con-
quer. His Governour was Leonidas, and his
chief Schoolmaster Aristotle, under whom he
studied at h Mieza, not onely Moral Philo-
sophy, but the i Acronmaticals, aspiring ra-
ther to a Majestie in excellency of knowledge
(as he k writ to Aristotle) than in greatness
of power, wherein he advanced so far as to
prescribe rules of Physick to himself and o-
thers, to which he added those Iliads of Ho-
mer, corrected by Aristotle, and called τὰ
ἐκείνου which with his Dagger (saith one
Sicrates) lay under his head, as the exactest
rule of Martial Discipline reverencing Aristo-
tle from whom he had his education, above
l Philip from whom he had his life, and ma-
king much of other learned men; by whose

struction, his own brave spirit and birth, ha-
ving 1. Subdued the m Medarians at 16. as
his Fathers Lieutenant in Macedon. 2. De-
feated the holy band of Thebes at n Cheronia.
3. Rebuilt o Stagyra. 4. Weathered out
the dissention in his p Fathers Court, 1. Be-
tween him and Attalus, that in his drink
wished another Heir of Macedon, as if he
were not legitimate. 2. Between him and his
Father, of whom he said when he fell in his
drink, This is he that would go from Europe
to Asia, and yet cannot go from one bed to ano-
ther (whereupon he went to Illyrium) 3. Be-
tween him and his Mother about Pausania's
and Cleopatra's death. And 5. prevented his
natural q brothers potent alliance with the
Princess of Caria. He commenced his Reign
at twenty years of Age, and what ever com-
pliance he was advised to with unsettled
Greece) resolving that to yield in the least,
was to give away all, reduced the Triballians
neer the Danube, sate down before Thebes,
demanding Phania and Prothytes, the authors
of the Rebellion, environed, sacked, and ra-
zed their Town under pretence of doing the
Phocians justice, spoyled and r sold all the
Inhabitants except the Religious, his Lords,
friends, Pindarus the Poets relations, who
had dissuaded the revolt) and brave f Timoc-
lea; which dreadful president brought not
onely Athens to submit to him, but all Greece
to choose him General against Persia (now he
whom Demosthenes had called childe, had
shewed himself a man) whether after he had
1. treated

m Or Medical-
ling their City
Alexandropo-
lis. See Liv. l.
20.

n A place called
Alexander's
Oak to this day.
o For his Master
Aristotles sake.
p Of which De-
mocrates said,
when Philip
asked how the
Grecians a-
greed; That
doth not con-
cern thee so
much as the
dissentions in
thine own
Court.

q Aridæus.
r To the number
of 30000 by
them of Cad-
mia.

s That being as-
ked for her gold,
said, it was in
well; where
when the Soul-
dier looked, she
threw him in,
and told Alex-
ander she was
Theaganes his
sister that fought
King Philip at
Chæronia.

1. treated the Governours, and Philosophers and among the rest *Diogenes*, who came to at him; and sunning himself, said, *He wanted nothing, but that Alexander should stand out of his sun.* Of whom he said again, *That if he were not Alexander, he would be Diogenes.*

2. Assured himself by the Oracle that he was Invincible. 3. Seen the good Omen of *Orpheus* swearing, which signified the Poets labour in singing his triumph. 4. Obligated all his followers so far with rewards, that when

Perdiccas asked him what he reserved for himself, he answered *a Hope.* 5. Sacrificed to *Achilles*, and the Demi-gods of *Ilium*, pronouncing him happy who had a faithful friend while he lived, and a good Poet when dead:) with not above *b* thirty thousand men, and as little Provision, and forced his passage over *Granicus* the pass into *Asia*, notwithstanding it was *c* *June* (always fatal

to *Macedon*) and his enemies were in Battell-array on the other side, and slew twenty thousand Persians and *Gracians* (killing *Sphoithides* with his own hand; nor *d* without imminent danger) with the losse of *34* of his

own men, whose Statues *Lysippus* cut in brals. Which victory (when he had sent his spoils to *Greece* with this *Inscription*, Alexander could tame by the son of *Philip*, and the *Gracians* accepting turning him to the *Lacedæmonians*, have won the spoyl from the Sun, being the barbarous *Asians*; and the plate and silks to his mother) brought *Sardis* the chief City of the Plain and others to a submission, forced

Halicarnassus and *Mileum*: and (upon the

encou-

encouragement of the Copper-plate cast up by the spring of *Lydia* with this inscription, *Gracians shall overcome Persia*) cleared the Sea-coasts as far as *Phanicia* and *Pamphylia*, danced before his fellow-pupil *Theodectes* his image in *Phaselis*; subdued *Pisidia* (where he cut the *Gordian knot* that was to be unloosed only by the Master of the World) overcame

Cappadocia; and upon news of *Mnemon's* death the Champion of *Persia*, marched up to *Asia*; where being recovered of his surfeit by *Philip* the *Acaranian*, when all gave him over, whose phylick he took cheerfully, when he gave him a Letter that discovered him a

Traytor; and (shewing himself to the perplexed *Macedonians* according to *Darius* his Dream*) meeting him with his six hundred thousand men in the Streights of *Cilicia* (notwithstanding *Amyntas* his advice to *Darius* to keep the place because of his vast Army) he (drawing his battle to a length) overthrew him, to the losse of *110000* men (receiving a wound (as he writes to *Antipater* concerning this Battle) in his own thigh) his own

Chariot and rich Tent, with an infinite spoyle; where having bathed himself (to wash the sweat of the battle in *Darius* his Tent, said he; nay in *Alexander's* (said a Souldier) and admired the glorious furniture of it, He promised the *Persian Ladies* (*Darius* his Mother, Wife, and Daughters) as much civility as they could expect from *Darius*: and accordingly (being more sorry for their misfortune, than joyful for his own success) he allowed leave, &c

In the City of *Gordias*, the knot of the bark of a Cornel-tree was about a Chariot. *Aristobulus* saith, he undid it by taking out the Axle-tree.

a whereupon *Perdiccas* refused his gifts, & would have part in that Hope.

b *Aristobulus* onely for 30 days, saith *Durii*.

c when one told him it was *June*, call it *May* then and you will.

d Had not *Cliotus* killed *Rocelus*; or as *Quintus Rosacer*, he had cleft *Alexanders* head in two: - his horse likewise, not *Bucephalus*; which he onely could tame by the son of *Philip*, and the *Gracians* accepting turning him to the *Lacedæmonians*, have won the spoyle from the Sun, being before afraid of his shadow, was killed under him.

* wherein he dreamed that *Darius* waited on him in capacity of *Asgandes*, i.e. *Chamberlain*, as he did on his brother, whom he supplanted and succeeded.

He never touched any but his wife, except Barfine, Mneumon's wife, who being a Lady of good conduct, and some skill in the Greek tongue, was commended to him by Parmenio; he reproved Philoxenus, & punished Ag for offering him some fair boyes, wondering what they saw in him to tempt him. He put two souldiers for a Rape to death. g Catching Birds, or Foxes, or wild Beasts, as he saith in his Diary which he kept. a His greatest infirmity was his delight in flattery, which undid many an honest man that could not flatter him, and durst not speak the truth of him.

a part of the spoyle to bury the *Persian* Lords, and maintain their own honour, which he preserved inviolated, notwithstanding their passing beauty, that (as he said) made sore eyes (thinking it more Kingly to overcome himself, than to subdue Kingdomes) and saying he knew himself mortall onely by two things, *Sleep* and *Lust*; being very sober in his drink, sitting long rather to talk than drink; Temperate in his dyet (saying to his adopted Mother *Abia*, when she sent him Tarts and Pattry-Cooks, that *Leonidas* his Master had given him two excellent Cooks, one for Dinner, *Early rising* and *Diligence*, the other for Supper, *a small Dinner*) and indeed a very severe man; for in the Morning he sacrificed, and then if his business (from which nothing diverted him) allowed, he exercised and recreated himself; then he washed, and next that he dined moderately, sending his choicest Dishes or Presents to his Captains with whom he discoursed very pleasantly at a Meals, and washed afterwards (encreasing his State as he enlarged his conquest, until he came to ten thousand Drachmaes a day, beyond which he neither gave nor took any entertainment) retiring sometimes a whole day always till noon to sleep.

But having fleshed his *Macedonians* with the spoyle at *Issus*, and received the submission of all *Phœnicia* save *Tyre*; he besieged that City close, and (having made an excursion into *Arabia*, where courteously retreating for his Master *Lyfimachus* behind his Army

any, as they got up the Mountains, and killing two *Barbarians* with his own hands by their fire-side near their whole Camp, he was in some danger) and according to the dreams of *Hercules*, and the *c Satyres*, and the Soothsayers *d Prognostication*, took it that day he foretold; and after it *Gaza*, whence he sent many Presents to his Mother and his Friends, particularly to *Leonides*, 500 talent weight of Frankincense, and an hundred Talents of Myrrhe (who had chid him, when a boy, for offering too much Frankincense) writing to him that he should be never niggard to the gods: and having layd up *Homer* (after a debate what was fittest to be put into it) in *Darius* his rich Cabinet, He went to *Ægypt*, and according to *Homer's* direction, who was an exact Architect, built *Alexandria* in *Pharos*, (drawing the platform with Meal for want of Chalk; which a flock of Birds in token of future plenty eat up) in the shape of two *Macedonian* cloaks.

And escaping the drought by wonderful showers, and the South-wind dust (which had overwhelmed whole Armies) with much difficulty, by some Crowes directions, the resolved man whom his successe made as obstinate as his valour made him invincible, went to *Jupiter Hammon* with his sacrifice and presents to the god and Priests, who declared him a Son of God, a title he owed the *Barbarians* with, though he confessed 1. to *f Psammon*, That God was Father of all, but chose the best for himself. 2. To the *Athenians*, that *Samos* the Philosopher.

C c 2

b He dreamed that Hercules the god of Tyre (as the Tyrian did that Apollo) called him by name, and came out to him; whereupon they chained their fugitive gods, and called them Alexandrians. c He dreamed a Satyre fell to his hands, which the Soothsayer interpreted of Tyre is thine. d Who said Tyre should be taken the latter end of the moneth: but it being the last day, Alexander bid them call it the 27th. Tet he took the City that day by an horrid alarm with trumpets that drew up the whole camp. e Some say the Prophet saluting him in the Greek Tongue, said unawares πατήρ for πατήρ, i. e. Son of Jupiter, for my child,

was given them by his Father Philip : And
3. to his Souldiers, when he was wounded,
that that blood which is spilt is mans blood ;
and to Anaxagoras (asking him whether he
could thunder) that he would not fright his
friends.

Hence he went to *Aegypt*, and set out most
solemn Sacrifices, Playes and Shews (where
Kings were ambitious to assist him) and be-
stowing incomparable rewards on the Play-
ers, where *Darius* his Embassador offering
ten thousand Talents and his daughter for his
Kingdome and his Ladies : (of which over-
ture *Parmenio* said, If I were Alexander I
would accept it ; and Alexander replied, and
I, if I were *Parmenio*) was sent back to *Dari-
us* with a choice submission, or a War : in which
interim *Darius* his Wife dieth in child-bed,
and her Eunuch *Tircus* flying to *Darius*, and
swearing by the Sun and the Kings right hand,
that her imprisonment was the most she suffer-
ed from Alexander, who was as chaste towards
the Ladies, as he was valiant against their Hus-
bands : Thereupon *Darius* prayed, That ei-
ther he might conquer to return Alexander his
noble favours; or if he must be conquered, it might
be by him.

Asia on this side *Euphrates* being subdued,
(Alexander having seen the mock-fight of his
slaves under two mock-Captains, the one *Dari-
us*, and the other Alexander, who over-
came, and had twelve Villages for his pains)
drew towards *Darius* and his 100000
men for a real one ; against whom being set in
Battel.

g He said he
would have gi-
ven half his
Kingdome his
Player *Thessa-
lus* had prevail-
led. And when
Athenodorus
who beat him,
petitioned Alex-
ander to take
off his fine at
Athens for be-
ing absent at a
show-day ; he
would not take
it off, but paid
it. -- *Lycon* a
Player joisted in
a verse, to beg
ten Talents ;
which Alexan-
der smiled at,
and granted
him.

Battel-array, he would not (as he said) steal a
victory by h night, lest *Darius* might impute
his overbrow to the time, as he had done to the
place, and (as he might) flatter him to endlesse
engagement : But he sleeping as soundly as e-
ver he did in his life, and (then sacrificing)
with that present resolution that is the issue of
a deep consideration, in his rich and strong
i Armour, after a speech, his prayer, and the
omen of the Eagles flying over his head, for-
ced the *Persians* on the main Battel, and pur-
sued them to the Kings own Guard, who were
all cut off, the King himself hardly escaping ;
and bidding *Parmenio*, who was fearful of the
Carriages on the left Wing, fight valiantly ;
(for all was their own, if they conquered (said
he) and if they were conquered, let them die
honourably) overthrew the whole Army ;
whereupon he bestowed Sacrifices on the
gods, Presents on his Friends, Liberty on
a Greece, and took in all *Babylon* (where he
saw the b *Naptha* (or the oyle Chalk that
takes fire, and belcheth out flames day and
night) of that hot Countrey, where men slee-
ping upon Leather budgets of water, and
there groweth no Ivy) and among other pla-
ces *Susa*, with an inestimable treasure, par-
ticularly five thousand talents of *Hermonia-
Purple* that was c kept almost 200 years.

From *Susa*, as the Nun of *Pythia* had fore-
told, he was led, notwithstanding the hard
passage and strong Guard, by a *Lycian* into
Persia, where his severity was remarkable, his
spoils d rich, his consideration upon the vow

h As *Parmenio*
advised, that his
souldiers might
not see the num-
ber of their ene-
mies.

i Made by *The-
ophilus* and
Hellcon his
Armourers.

a Particularly
he built *Plateia*
and sent some
of the spoils to
Crotonca, in
memory of thir
Citizen *Phayl-
lus*, who in his
own ship assert-
ed the liberty of
Greece, when
all the other
Grecians re-
volved.

b This it was
wherewith *Mc-
dea* made *Lawn*
cast out fire.

c Being dyed
first in *Honey*,
and washed
with *Danow*
water ; which
with *Nilus* by
the *Persian*
Kings is kept to
show themselves
Masters of the
world.

d They load d
10000 *Moyles*,
and 5000 *Ca-
mel*s.

Whether he should destroy it because he was an enemy; or advance it, because he was noble. & called Perropolis.

of e Xerxes his Image, serious; old Demaratus joy to see him in the Persian chair of State, hearty; Thais her motion at a banquet for burning the Persians f Castle, as they had done Athens, plausible, but waved on second thoughts; a quart of Wine, Cup and all, bestowed on the Pæonian for an enemies head; the weary Moyletter that was tyred with a burden of Gold, bid carry it to his own Tent: Proteus as an assurance of his pardon, receives fifty Talents of his young boy Serapion; who because the King gave him nothing till he asked, refused him the ball at Tennis till he asked for it, was nobly rewarded; and none loved but they that had been gratified; nor any hated, but they that rejected favours: Mazæus son, one of Darius his Lieutenants, had two Provinces, Parmenio had Bagoa's house and a thousand Talents, Antipater had a Guard, and his Mother rich Presents (with a caution not to repine at his Liberality, whose Letters he kept secret, sealing Hephestion's mouth with a Ring when he saw, and saying to Antipater when he accused her, That a Mothers tears would wipe off all this.) So careful was he of his people, that when their spoils had made them idle and g dissolute, he expostulated with them, and became their example in man-like exercises and noble pleasures, as Hunting, &c. When they spake ill of him, as now rich, and weary of the Wars, he said no more, but that it was a Royall thing to do h well, and hear ill. When they were sick or hurt, he visited them, he employed

g One nayles his cork-shoes with silver; others used extraordinary perfumes at bathing and soft beds. h When Harpalus was falsely accused for sleeping, he punished his accusers.

played and thanked their Physicians. When i when Eutylomus had the least i occasion to use him, he chus pretended to condescended to them; when any Cause himself one of came before him, he stopped an Ear for each we impotent, party, untill at last multitude of businesse altered, that he might go and evil words against himself, who home with his valued his name above his Kingdom, rendered Sweet-heart him implacable. Telephus, Alexander hearing sh^e was a free woman, gave him gifts to win her, seeing it was not fit to force her. k As may be seen by his Letters upon small occasions, of slaves running away, &c.

Thence following Darius 3300 furlongs in eleven dayes with incredible patience; (for when a Macedonian offered him a Goat-skin of water, saying, he would preserve his grace rather than his children, because he could get more children; he refused, lest his followers should faint, who thereupon though very thirsty, cried, they were not mortall as long as Alexander led them) untill he took his rich first Camp (which he regarded not) and then himself now l dead whom he pittied, covered with his own Mantle, revenged upon Bessus, embalmed, and delivered to his own Mother, receiving his Brother Exatbres to his friendship.

His next attempt was upon Hircania, where (having redeemed his horse, and revenged it on some Barbarian Cities and Forts, as afterwards he overthrew the Scythians, pursuing them an hundred Furlongs (though he had a Loosnesse, and received the m Amazon) with few words he brought the mucinous Macedonians to follow him whither he would all over the World, and by an interchange of customs

For having received a little water at Pystratus his hands, he said, it grieved him he could not reward him: but Alexander reward thee, as the gods did Alexander, for his courtesie to me and mine. m Clitarchus, Policitus, Antigones Hister, write so: but Chaus, Prolo-

my, Anticlidus, Philon, Philip, Hecææus & Daris contradiest it; and when Onesicritus read in his 4th book of History to Lyfimachus, he asked him, and where was I then?

inured himself and his followers to the more decent Persian way, and the Persians to the Macedonian; that agreement of habits, together with the education of their Children, which he took care of, might reconcile those Barbarians to the Grecian government.

Alexander's virtues were so many, and his wounds, that they compounded for his vices, and excused his delicate habit and dyec more moderate than the Persians, and more costly than the Medes; to which Hephæstion that loved Alexander, conformed, and therefore he dealt with the Persians by him; and Craterus who loved the King, refused, wherefore he used his interest with the Macedonians.

These things being passed, Alexander 1. reconciled the Rivals, Craterus, and Hephæstion his other self. 2. By Antigona his Curtizan, he discovered Philotas, and circumvented him in all his bold speeches of the young man (so he called the King) by his Minion Nicomachus b, he understood Limnus Parmenio and his sons Treason, whom he executed, admiring that such faint-hearted c persons should attempt so great matters.

His old servant Parmenio (that had lost two sons in the conquest of Asia which he advised) dying now with d the third, frightened Antipater to Ætolia, which e feared Alexander as much as himself, and was seconded by Clitus whom Alexander killed in his wine (upon some sawcy words about the Poet Prænichian his

a Bidding her still make much of him.
b Whom Philotas kept a while from him.
c As they shew-ed themselves at death.

d Philotas.
e For the Benignity's sake, whom Alexander would revenge.

his abusive f Verses, and Alexander's birth and pride (which he said he spoke like a free-man, and not a barbarous slave, that honoured his Persian Girdle, and white Raiment) but so repented of it upon an allay of his wine and passion, that none could relieve his excessive sorrow for a day and a night, but the Sooth-sayer Aristander, who referred that Act to destiny; by recollecting his g dream, and free Anaxarchus who chid him out of it, and said, That he should not fear the Law and reproach, who carried right and wrong h by his side; which flattering expression so endeared Anaxarchus to the King, and so altered his temper, that he was weary of Calisthenes, whom others envied for his i good life and exact eloquence, and his own l carelessness rendred so odious, that when others applauded his excellent Oration, and cast Flowers upon him, Alexander said, he might well be eloquent on so good a subject: And when he made a better against them, he said, That was his malice, rather than his m eloquence.

But having (1. observed Callisthenes n his ill will towards him in Hermolaus his Treason, though the Conspirators confessed nothing. 2. Discharged him and Aristotle, married Roxana to the great content of Persia. 3. Shewed himself to old Demoratus, who pittied the ancient Greeks that had not seen him, and o honourably buried him) he burned his heavy Carriages: And 4. In hopes of new spoils with his Army after his Omens of the p Lamb

upon the Macedonian Captains, which Alexander laughed at, but Clitus could not endure.

g He dreamed that Clitus appeared as to him in Philotas his weeds. He was the more troubled because Clitus saved him from Spithridates his sword.

h Jupiter had Themis on either hand.
i For which the old,
k For which the young followed him.

l For being invited, he would not sometimes come to the K, or if he came, he would not speak a word.
m Aristotle his Cousin said, he was eloquent, but not wise.

n And refused to kiss him as he did the rest, after the grace-

cup to the gods. o The Souldiers casting up a Mount of Earth 80 cubits high as his Tomb. p With a Kings red Hat, or Tiara, with two stones on his; which the King feared

and

q Oyl found by and q Oyl, marched for India; where being Proxenus a severe against r Revolters and Cowards, and Maccdonian, overcoming by virtue and force the difficulties of famine and fortune, he promised himself the strong hold, though invincible, because the Governour was a Coward; and the next, because the Assailant was called Alexander, whom he charged to fight like a man for his Names sake; and gained a third by but shewing himself naked, and ready to swim to it, making the oldest man King, who (when Alexander demanded twenty of the best Citizens for Hostages) said, Nay take the worse, or I cannot rule. When he met King Tanites, and aimed at his large and fruitful Countrey, he told him he would fight with him for water, which was necessary, but not for riches; which were so indifferent, that he gave them as freely to Alexander if he wanted, as he would receive them thankfully from him if he needed. This melted Alexander to a resolution to contest with that wise King only in kindnesses.

His greatest blemish is his massacre of the Mercenaries after a Peace made with them, and his greatest impediment was the Philosophers discourses of liberty and tyranny. Notwithstanding which, stealing and wading over lightning Hydaspes by Moon-light (in spite of King Porus his guard of Elephants, the slipperiness of the banks to which the River inclined it self, and a tempest of Lightning, he overthrew Porus his Light-horse first, and then his whole Army (whom he charged not in the

Front but Flank) taking that t Gyant Pot (and his loving u Elephant) whom he asked he would be used? he answered Princely. Again, What else? he answered, All was comprehended in that; whereupon he enlarged his Dominions, and made him his Tributary.

Having 1. made his friend Philip Governor of the 15 several Nations he had conquered, and the 1000 Cities he had reduced. 2. Built two Cities in memory of his Dog Peritas, and horse a Bucephalus. 3. Made his Armour, cloaths, &c. twice bigger than the ordinary proportion, to perswade the Barbarians he was a god. 4. Sayled up and down the Oceanum, and subdued Nations by way of pleasure. 5. Recovered the dangerous wounds in his breast and neck he received by scaling b Mallins, and venturing himself with two more among his thickest enemies) to the recovery of the Macedonian spirit, and dismissed the troublesome c Gymnosophists with rewards (when 1. one had answered that the living were more than the dead, because they are no men. 2. The second, "That the Earth brings forth more creatures than the Sea, because it is part of it. 3. The third, That that is the subtlest beast which man hitherto never knew. The 4. That he had made Sabbas rebell, because he might live honourably, or dye vilely. The 5. That the day was before the night by a day: (a strange answer said Alexander, to a strange question.) The 6. That a man might be beloved if he were a "good

t who was four cubits and a shaft length high. u who repulled his enemies while his Mr. was strong; and then pulling the darts out of his body, carried him away.

a called Bucephalia, as Sotition writeth.

b where he was the first that went up the ladder, & wounded so, that he swounded once or twice, and with much care and good diet recovered, and shewed himself in a night-gown to the despairing Maccdonians. c Because they go naked.

"good man, and not terrible. The 7. That
 "a man might be a god in doing a thing
 "possible for a man. The 8. That life is thro
 "ger than death, because it suffereth man
 "troubles. The 9. That a man should live
 "until he think it better to dye than to live
 "and all to satisfie so many questions of Alex
 "ander) as he had done two other reche
 "ses, d Calanus & Dandanis; whereof the o
 "would not speak to him, unlesse he were naked
 "the other by an Embleme of a Leather seare
 "piece, that rises on the one side, as he trod it on
 "the other, advised him to keep the middle of
 "his Kingdom: having, I say, in seven months
 "dispatched these things, and ordered Nea
 "chus to fetch a compass by Sea, he marched
 "with much losse, by ill diet, ryot and disor
 "der through the Orites Countrey, *Armania*
 "Godrosia, with his gold and silver bowls, his
 "Wine and Minstrels, instead of Armour, Blood
 "and Trumpets, by land, and through the
 "streights of Hercules his pillars, compassing
 "Arabia and Affrica to the Mediterranean by
 "Sea (while in the mean time *Olympius* thinking
 "he should never return, usurped *Epirus*, and
 "*Cleopatra* did *Macedon*, oppressed by *Antipater*,
 "*Alexander* saying, *Olympius* was the
 "wiser, who knew that *Macedon* would ne
 "ver be ruled by a woman:) as he came along he
 "slew the Rebel *Oxiathres* with his own hand
 "imprisoned *Abulites*, because he brought him
 "money instead of provision, bidding him put
 "it before his horse to see if he would eat it
 "revenged the *Macedonian* that had rised *Cyrus*

d called so from
 his salutation,
 salve, God save
 you.

who said So
 crates, Pytha
 goras and Dio
 genes were
 wise, but they
 revered the
 Law too much;
 & asked Alex
 ander why he
 had taken so
 painful a jour
 ney in hand:
 who answered,
 He did it not
 onely for
 praise.

his Tomb, and writ the pathetick Inscription
 on his Grave in Greek, viz. "O man! whatsoe
 "ver thou art, whencesoever thou comest, for I
 "know thou shalt come; I am *Cyrus*, that con
 "quered the Empire of Persia; I pray thee envy
 "me not for a little earth that covereth my body.
 "He saw *Calanus* sacrifice himself alive; he
 "gave every woman of Persia a Crown, accor
 "ding to the custome upon the Kings return,
 "and cups of Gold to nine thousand Captains
 "for sacrifice. He discharged the *Macedonians*
 "debts, married them and f himself: and at
 "the Feast bestowed a Talent upon the strongest
 "drinker, and killed 41 persons with drink
 "ing. He discharged his old *Lacedemonians* for
 "their impotency with rewards from his Camp,
 "and the young ones for their insolence and
 "mutiny from his Guard, providing upon their
 "submission, that they should have the chief
 "places at Games, and their children their pay
 "after their decease.

When his 30000 young Persians were
 brought up, he marched with them first to *Ec
 batan*; and after he had settled his affairs there,
 and taken his pleasure, (notwithstanding *Ne
 archus* his caution, The liver without the head,
 the tame Asses killing of the dead Lyon, and
 the dumb man set in his chair with a Crown on
 his head, while he was at Tennis, and other ill
 Omens) from thence he went to *Babylon*, and
 there mistrusting the gods, and his friends
 (particularly *Antipater* and his sons *Iolas* and
Cassander) who with much freedom (true
Grecians) laughed at his Deity, and excu
 sed

f To Statyra K.
 Darius his fair
 daughter.
 g who drank
 four gallons of
 wine.
 h who died of
 extream colds,
 as Chores wi
 telh.

i To which pur
 pose he had
 3000 Masters
 of sports and
 pastimes attend
 ing him.

When Alexander told Cassander that his fathers accusers would not have come so far to bely him: nay, saith he, They came so far, that they might not be disproved. Alexander replying, These are Aristotles necessities, pro & con. a Glaucus. b who killed himself by eating a Capon & drinking a bottle of wine in his Physicians absence, having as a young man no command of himself.

c In 12 dayes removing from place to place; from the Bath to bed, from bed to the Temple. * Statiscrate made this Image, or Dinocrates, as Vitruvius hath it.

sed their k Father) was thronged with Soothsayers and Priests, who satisfied his superstitious and fearful minde, and expiated the contempts of the gods that caused it.

But to conclude this great Tragedy; when he had shaved all his Beasts, razed Cities, hung up a Physicians, slain the Cassians, man, woman and child, for Hephestion's death of a Fever, b when he had bestowed 10000 Talents on his Obsequies, and made him a Demi-god with an Image like Mount * Athos, with a City and 10000 men in his left hand, and a great River running in his right: he followed himself, dying either of a c Fever, caught by excessive drinking in Hercules his cup; or by poyson given him by Antipater, Aristotle, and Iolas (whose ashes Olympias scattered in the wind some six years after, when there was some discovery made of the poyson, as she executed other Traytors) leaving Roxane big with child, and Perdiccas his Successor.

JULIUS



XXXV.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

Contemporary with Herod, Antipater, Salust, Virgil, Tigranes King of Assyria, Mithridates King of Pontus.

Sylla first courted Caesar; and when that prevailed not (he being Marius his Cousin) he opposed his advancement to the Priesthood, he sought and designed his death, a Making speeches to them, & beating them, saying, There were many Marius's in that boy he bides. Among the Sabines buyeth himself off for not understanding; they onely laughing from Sylla's souldiers: and the Sicilian Thieves, out-doing their demands with these words; That they understood not their prize, at his youthful and using that a freedome of speech and action frolicks.

as

Ani. Mundi
3901. Ante
Christ. 47.

as became a Prince rather than a prisoner. Upon his ransom, manning some Ships at *Miletum*, he takes his money; and consulting the Governour of *Asia* (as he told them in jest) crucified the Pyrates, he being called to *Rome* in the decay of *Sylla's* power; he exercised himself at *Rhodes* under *Apollonius* to eloquence, for which his parts and study made him the second; and to Arms, for which he was the first at *Rome*, where he grew popular for his accusation against *Anthony* and *Dolabella* for male-administration, his Orations for the *Græcians* against them, his Courtship and civility to the people, his liberality and hospitality at home. The enemies connive at his excesses so long, that he might fall of himself, untill he was so great that they could not pull him down. *There is no danger so little that time makes not dreadfull, and contempt insuperable.* Cicero dreaded a tempest in a calme, and saw a design in his familiarity, though he said, *A wicked head should not lye under that smooth hair.* His first instance of his interest at *Rome* was his *c* Tribuneship carried from *C. Pompeii*. The next was his applause at his Wives and Mothers *d* Funeral-Orations, where at once he braved *Sylla*, and pleased the multitude with the sight of *Marius* his Image. The third was his Treasurership under the Prætor *Vorn*, whose Family he ever honoured: he assured *Pompey* to himself by his Daughter *Cornelia*, and the People by his own magnificence on the *Appian* way, and the shew of 220 couple of *d* Sword-players. His setting up of *Marius* his

In his book against Cicero's praise; he requests the Reader not to compare his stile who was bred a Souldier; with Cicero's, who was bred an Orator.

c Of Souldiers or Col: of 1000 Foot.

Then he shewed Marius his image, to the peoples great satisfaction. d when *Adile*; and it was thought he was much in debt for popular ayr.

his Statues at the publick Assembly, an action acused so well *Caecilius Lucilius* his surmizes of his ambition in the Senate, that it was venerated by the people: so noble he was, that he out-bid the *e* richest; so popular, that he prevailed against the *f* mightiest for the chief Pontifex place after *Metellus*; and so resolute, that he told his Mother the morning of the election, that before night he would be either Pontifex, or banished. Suspected he was by all of *Catelines* conspiracy, accused by *Cato* and *Catulus*, examined by the Senate, and set upon by *Cicero* the Consuls guard; but rescued by the People, and secured by *Cicero's* base fear, who heard *Caesar's* small Oration for sparing *Cethegus* till *Cateline* was overthrown, but durst not answer him; observed his popularity, yet could not break it, but by a dole of Corn his fear, rather than his Liberality: so much was he the Peoples, that though he put away his Wife *Pompeia*, saying, *She should not be suspected to satisfy the justice of the Nobility*: Yet did he acquit *Clodius* (who would have been nought with her in a womans habit on the *g* good goddesse her night, when the Husbands were to leave the houses to their Wives) to please the humour of the people: so wise, that as *Crassus* made use of his interest against *Pompey*, so he of his riches for his Creditors, upon whose word he

Ship in Tabernacles of Twigs: Clodius was discovered, her Mother Aurelia made; whereupon there was an out cry; and he was turned out of doors, and the women told it their Husbands at night; and they charge him next morning: but he being an eloquent, rich, and impudent man, escaped, notwithstanding his wrong to the Ladies and the gods.

c when *Catulus* sent him a sum of money to cease his suit; he said he had a greater sum to pursue it.
f *Viz.* *Isauricus* and *Catulus*.

g whom they honoured with those secrets the *Græcians* honoured *Gynæcia* with, a nymph of the woods whom they wor-

D d

went

went 830 Talents in debt to *Spain*, saying in his way as he passed the Alps to one that asked him, *Whether there were any strife in those little Cities, That he had rather be first there, than second at Rome.* And fighting over *Alexander's History*, that he had not won a City in that time the other had won the world: and in a compliance with his ambition, over-running the *Callefians* and *Lusitanians* to the great Sea; concluding the War, establishing the *Roman* government, composing factions and Law-suits, ordering two parts of the Debtors estate to pay Creditors, and the third for his own maintenance: He enriched his Army, and himself, and gained the good reputation of a Patriot, and the great name of Imperator.

In his return, when he could not sue for triumph but without the City, nor for Consulship but without it, and both his suits happening together; *Cato* refusing a dispensation, and delaying the vote by his Oration, *Cæsar* waves the first; and with *Pompey* and *Crassus* (whom he had *a* reconciled to each other, and obliged to himself) on both sides him, appears in the Senate for the second, wherein he immediately under pretence of moderating the Senates austerly, preferred popular Laws; and demanding *Crassus* and *Pompey's* assistance, he promoted in a petulant way, more becoming the sedition of Tribunes than the reverence of that Senate, or the majesty of his place. His alliance *b* with *Piso* added to that of *Pompey*, put *Cato* to his declamations against Tyranny, and forced *Bibulus* to his retirement.

a This reconciliation was a trick none discovered but Cato.

b whose daughter Calphurn he married.

ment. *Pompey's* Souldiers made good his laws at *ROME*, enlarged his power in *Gaul*, imprisoned *Cato* and all the Commonwealths-men; amazed the people (whom *Cæsar* in vain courts with *Cato's* liberty) frightened away all the Consuls but *Confidius*, who said, *He was too old to fear*; Chose that wretched *Clodius* Tribune; embroyled all, until *Gaul* called for that prowess that out-did all his Predecessors in patience and hardship, in success and conquests, in courtesie and liberality, in the number and nature of the Enemies he subdued. Eight hundred Towns he reduced, two millions of men he slew and took, and all in ten years. More terrible he was not to his enemies, than beloved of his Souldiers, who could be *Romanes* in his case, when but men in their own. He performed miracles, and his Souldiers wonders (one, winning a ship before *Marseilles* when his arms were cut off. 2. Another, killing two when he had forty darts in his Shield and Body. 3. Saving an enemy with his single valour, and weeping before *Cæsar*, because he had left behind him his Target; and a 4th, saying, *He would not owe his life to enemies, but they should owe theirs to him*.) A resolution he wrought in them; First, by his liberality, his prizes and spoils, not enriching himself, but encouraging his followers, to whom the more he gave, the richer he thought himself: and then by his example, whose spirit never imagined that enterprize his body endured not: his complexion was white and soft, his consti-

c which he hath for five years with 4 legions,

d who would be Tribune only to cut off Cicero.
1. *Acilius.*
2. *Scævian.*
3. *At Brillant.*
4. *Petronius.*

a Which took him first at Cordoua.

b He was the first that invented Cyphering.
c Three at a time.

d who invaded the Rom: Gaul as the Cimbri and Teutons did before them.

tution subject to the Head-ach, and a Falling-sicknesse, until he hardned it by his sober diet, his hard watches and service: His Coach was his bed, at one end whereof a Souldier carried his sword; at the other, his Secretary his pen. His exercise was Horseman-ship (wherein he excelled, marching from Rome to Rhone in six dayes time) his divertisements were b cyphering with friends, and inditing to c Secretaries. His dyet plain and simple, saying to him that discerned the oyl of perfume put in his Sperage instead of Sallet-oyl, which he observed not, *Could you not have abstained, and said nothing to shame your friend?* His carriage so familiar, that sick Oppius had a Chamber, when he stood in the Rain. In Gaul he first subdued the d Tygrians (who were ninety thousand strong) by Labienus, and then the Helvetians (who were as many) himself breaking their strong Camp, gathering their scattered multitude, to keep that Countrey from the Germans; and refusing a horse, saying, *I'll not up my horse, till I overcome and chase them.*

The next check he gave was to the growing power of Germany, whose King Ariovistus after so effectual an Oration, wherein he said to their content, he could overcome Guise with the tenth Legion, that the soldiers would follow him without their faint-hearted Commanders, (who shrunk when they saw their expedition was a war, and not a pleasure) what with his own, and the Romanes name and fight; what with some old womens Prophe-

cies,

as, he first amazed, then skirmished, and at last pursued with an infinite slaughter, even to the Rhine, wintering his Army among the Sequanes, and minding his Province near Rubicon, the bound of Gaul and Rubicon, where (what Pompey observed not) he conquered Gaul with f the Romanes Army, and the Romanes with their money. Thence he undertakes the g Belge, that laid all Gaul waste: and upon their b dreadful overthrow marcheth against the i Nervians, who had by surprize from their great Woods, cut off the Romanes, had not Cæsar himself run among them to save his Army, and the tenth Legion excited with his example, cut them off from sixty thousand to five hundred to save him: so great a victory for danger and successe, that it had its solemnities at Rome, where all things went to Cæsar's minde, who lay by Poe, to over-rule the City, between which and his Camp, the wayes were full of k Grandees, with whom he resolved that Pompey and Crassus should be Consuls, his Government should be continued, and his Arrears payd. Cato being by a designe removed to Cyprus, and Faonius his second in vain stamping in the Senate, where all either favoured Cæsar, or feared Pompey. And now Cæsar returning to Gaul, and being twice mocked by the Tenterides Ambassadors, and once surprized by their men of War, overthrew four hundred thousand of them, and pursued the remainder over the Rhine (where he built a bridge, damming up the violent stream, and the trees

e i. e. 37 miles and an halfe, 80000 men being slain, & the fields filled with bodies and spoyles.

f Nobly entertaining and rewarding all that sued to him 300 furlongs.

g A stout people that inhabited the third part of Gaul.

h They passed over lakes and rivers over dead bodies.

i The stoutest of the Belge.

k Pompey, Crassus, 200 Senators, 120 Sergeants with rods and axes.

a A people that sought out new habitations.
b who all fled to the woods, as Canutius writeth.

it bore down with it, in ten dayes): laying waste the a Tenterides, Sicambrians, Iper, b Swerians and other Germanes Countreys, and giving them to the Romanes, in 18 dayes. The Senate voted that he should triumph for his victories: Cato urged he should be delivered to the Barbarians for his breach of trust with them.

He was the first that passed the large Rhine to Germany, and the Western Ocean to Britain (hitherto thought a fable) with more prowess than successe, gaining nothing but bare victory among those poor men, of whose King he took pledges and tribute, *Enlarging the Romane Empire beyond the habitable World.* The alliance between him and Pompey which supported Rome, breaks upon c Julia's death; that between him and Gaul, upon his return to Italy. All his Forts are distressed by Ambiorix, most of his men cut off that acted not more than men: but his name raised the sieges, as his pretended flights did their spirits to a disorderly assault. So that he overthrew them once before Marseilles, and upon their second and most dangerous rebellion, and his recruit of three Legions, (notwithstanding their strong holds, their rich and numerous Armies, their inaccessible Woods and Marthes (now all flote in the depth of winter) Versingentorix his general confederacy, and two Armies of the Arvernians and Carnates) with as much speed as courage, with as much courage as skill, and with all skill as to every opportunity and advantage, destroyed their

a who was by the people in spight of the Tribunes buried in Mats hill, with an Oration; which all Marvons had for their gold given to deliver Rome from the Gauls. Liv. 1. 5.

their Countrey before they thought he covred it: and upon the Hedais revolt, went through the Lingens coast to the Burgonians; where being invironed by the barbarous multitudes, and at the first defeat, he brake through them, and pursued their King to Alexia; which impregnable place he took, defeating those 300000 men that would have relieved it on the one side of him (before ever the beleiged knew of them) and seventy thousand that kept it on the other. Infinite were the spoils that lay at Cæsar's feet, infinite the multitude that lay at his mercy, particularly Versingentorix, who rid excellently well armed on horse-back round about his Chair of State, falling before him, saying not a word; now the object of his pity, as afterwards of his triumph. But Crassus is dead, and nothing hinders Pompey from the Empire, but Cæsar whom he flighted before, and now feared; nothing Cæsar, but Pompey, equal to whom his own successe abroad made him, as the distemper of the time set him above him; a distemper so great upon all publique debates, managed rather with swords than votes, nothing could compose but an absolute Monarchy, nothing could quell but a Veterane Army. Pompey's interest was fair for the first; Cæsar's wars (desig'd for that purpose) fitted him with a second. Pompey had cunningly gained the government by refusing it, had not Cato's foresight promoted him to that just power of Consulship, that he might not aym at that unjust one of Dictatorship,

d The Arvernians hung up a sword of Cæsar's in their Temples, as if they had overcome him, which Cæsar seeing, laughed at, but would not suffer it to be taken down as an holy thing.

^a Where he spent
1000 Talents
a year of the
common treas-
ury upon his sol-
diers.

^b Paul with his
money builds
that noble Stru-
cture called
Paul's Basilisk,
in the place of
Fulvius his
Basilisk.

^c Being second-
ed with clap-
ping of hands,
and casting
Rose-gayes up-
on the Speaker.

^a Lying between
the Alps and I-
taly, & Illyria.

and continuing his power over the two ^a Pro-
vinces of *Spain* and *Affrica*, that he might
not usurp that over the whole Empire. *Cæsar*
sueth for the Consulship, *Marcellus* opposeth
him, to preserve the liberty of *Rome*; and de-
nies the freedome of those *Gallick Cities* he
indenized, to affront him; but *Cæsar* divides
his infinite treasure among the Magistrates,
sets *Curio* and ^b *Paul* out of debt. He sends
back (to avoid suspition) and rewards *Pom-
pey's* two Legions with two hundred and fifty
silver Drachma's (*i. e.*) twelve pounds a man.
Some contemptible words spread of him of
purpose, made *Pompey* secure; those resolute
ones of the Souldier that clapped his hands
upon his sword, saying, *If they will not conti-
nue Cæsar's government, this shall, made the*
Senate fearful; where *Cæsar's* proposal for
disbanding his and *Pompey's* Army together,
that neither might be a Tyrant, neither a slave,
was rational, and *Curius* his speech to second
it was ^c plausible. Most were for discharging
Cæsar's Army, some for dismissing *Pompey's*, all
with *Anthony* for disbanding both. *Scipio* and
^e *Marcellus* threatening force, put the City to
sedition and mourning. *Cæsar* desires but
two ^a Provinces, and as many Legions; *Pompey*
onely his Army. *Cicero* accommodates the dif-
ference, but *Lentulus* encreased it, and by
forcing *Anthony* and *Curio* out of *Rome*, gave
Cæsar a pretence to come in as he did, rather
surprizing them with a part of his Army, than
giving them leasure to strengthen themselves
against the whole, ordering his Lieutenants

to take ^b *Arminium* without blood-shed, ^b *Upon the Con-
and Hortensius* to lead his Army without noise. fines of Gaul,
He shewed himself at the Sword-playes and
elsewhere, as merry as any in the day, but
carried on his design closely in the night: when
he came to *Rubicon*, he stuck at his enterprize
and its consequences, which he debated long
with his ^c friends, longer with himself, un-
till at last he resolved to passe the River, and
^d said, *A man can be undone but once; come on.*
Arminium is taken, all *Italy* is alarm'd, the
Government and Law cease, *Rome* is throng-
ed, the Neighbour-hood desolate, the tu-
mults and seditions high, fears and amaze-
ment higher: Some blame *Pompey* for suffer-
ing *Cæsar's* power, others for refusing his
^e Proposals. *Phaonius* bids stamp on the
ground, and see whether (as he said former-
ly) he could fill all *Italy* with Souldiers. *Pompey*
wanted not souldiers, but a resolution; for
want of which, he yielding to others fears
and fury, with the Consuls and Senators that
loved Liberty more than Tyranny, fled the
City, even before that sacrifice, as the custom
was upon such occasions. Thus *Cæsar's* ene-
mies fled, his friends were at a losse, and the
whole City a ship without a Pilot; All *Romans*,
so far they loved *Pompey*, looking upon it as no
other than *Cæsar's* Camp, and esteeming their
banishment their home. *Labienus* his Lieute-
nant in all his Wars, *Domitius* (who had a poy-
soned himself, had not his Sergeant deceived
him; and undone, had not *Cæsar's* clemency
spared him, when he and his City *Corfinium*
were

^e Among whom
was *Acimas*
Pollu. That
night he dream-
ed he carnally
knew his Bro-
ther.

^c *Jacta est Aca-*
is the Græcian
Proverb.

^e which *Lentu-*
lus rashly per-
suaded him to
refuse.

^a Fearing *Cæ-*
sar's power, he
would have
poisoned him-
self; hearing of
his mercy, he re-
pent-ed it, and
was glad his
servant had gi-
ven him some-
thing to sleep,
and not to dye.

were

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were taken) and every true *Romane* fled to Pompey, who fled from Cæsar's growing power, first to *Brundisium*, and then to *Dyrachium*. Willingly would Cæsar have followed Pompey with War, as willingly would he have taken Rome without it, as he did; entering it peaceably; entertaining the remaining Senators civilly, proposing Pompey's termes reasonably; which yet none durst accept of, either for fear of Pompey whom they had forsaken, or of Cæsar whom they understood not.

When Metellus the Tribune forbade him the common Treasure in Saturn's Temple, *Tullus*, said he, *Law and Armes are two things*. And upon his freedome of speech, he added, *Thy boldnesse becoms not War, when I can as easily kill as threaten thee*.

Being Lord of all without blood-shed, with much danger he reduced Petreius and Varro, Pompey's Spanish Lieutenants, their Provinces and Armies: and being upon his return Dictator for eleven days, and afterwards Consul, he restored the banished, and by moderating Usuries relieved the oppressed. After this, in January, he takes *Orcum* and *Apollonia* in *Epirus*, transports his mutinous, tyred, and discontented Army to *Brundisium* by small journeys: When they heard Cæsar was passed the Sea, as willingly would they have been with him as he with them.

Now surrounded by his numerous enemies, to Sea he goes in a small Pinnace through the thickest of Pompey's ships; a Tempest endangers Boat and all; He cries, *Fear not friends,*

seeing

b By ambushes and lack of vigils.

c with Servilius Isauricus.

d Called by the Athenians, Possidian.

e Why doth Cæsar hale us mortal men thorough out the world, in tempest by Sea, in blood by Land?

f They were brought so low, that they eat the root Chara, as Plinie calls it, 1.9.c.8. or colwort with milk.

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seeing ye carry Cæsar and his fortunes. Antioch and the Army arrives; Cæsar considering the plenty in Pompey's Camp, and the scarcity in his own, offers him Battel, skirmisheth him often with successe, except once that Pompey's whole Battel hazarded Cæsar and his Camp so far, that he confessed the victory that day had been the Enemies, if they had had but a Captain that could have conquered. Troubled he was, that he should furnish his souldiers by the Sea where his enemies were strongest, rather than not lead them to the open Countrey where they were weakest, where he should either overcome *Scipio* alone, or draw Pompey from his Maritime strength and provision: but Pompey considering his own plenty, his enemies age and weariness (in one battel none more valiant, of long services none more impatient) their diseases and want of money would by no means fight, Cato wept to think how many Romans must then fall: but all the rest egged on Pompey to Battel, saying, *He delayed it onely because he loved to see Captains about him, and aspired to reign alone*. Cæsar is despised and distressed for his late overthrow, until he takes *Gemobed* in *Thessaly*, and there relieves his Famine with bread, and drives away the Pestilence with a drink. To *Thessaly* both Armies came; Pompey's is greater, and upon his dream and their imaginations, more sprightful than Cæsar's; yet he asking his

a Dancing the Baccarians way, & drinking themselves drunk, they overcame the disease, & made their bodies new again.

b Pompeys was 44000 to Cæsar's 22000.

The *Romane* Knights on his side being 7000. on Cæsar's but one. c Pompey dreamed of Applause at Rome, and his followers thereupon imagined all was their own, hired Consuls houses, contested for Cæsar's Posses place.

Soul-

Souldiers whether they would stay for the other Legions, They cryed *Fight, Fight*. Caesar consults the Soothsayer about the successe; he bids him consult his own Fortune: a Fire-brand is seen at the Midnight-watch flying over Caesar's Camp to Pompey's, whose Camp is filled with panick fear at the morning-watch. News is brought that Pompey's men are in Battel-arry, whereupon Caesar leads the right Wing, and the tenth Legion, Anthony the left, and Domitius Calvinus the main Body, laying some Ambushes for the enemies dreadful Horse. Pompey leads the right Wing, Domitius the left, and his Father-in law Scipio the middle Battel. The Roman Knights charging Caesar's own Wing, the Trumpets sound, Pompey bids his Foot receive the Enemies on-set, and Caesar his to give it; standing still deading, but a furious assault heating a Souldiers valour. Crassinius (who told Caesar he should praise him that night either alive or dead) led the Forlorn: fiercely came the Foot to the Sword, and as fiercely the Horse. Caesar's ambush breaks out, and by his order shoot neither far nor wide, but in the spruce Gallants faces; whereupon they immediately fled, left their Foot to the slaughter, and their Pompey (now no longer great) amazed, saying not a word, but when his Camp was scaled, *What? even in our camp?* And stealing from an honourable death in the Field, to one more a miserable in Egypt. The dead Caesar wept over, saying, *It was their own doing, Caesar durst not have forsok his Army.* The

^a See his Life.

Slaves

Slaves he massacred, the Romans he entertained in his Legions, and Brutus himself he was tender of, and pardoned. A victory this was wonderfully fore-signified by the Palm spring from Caesar's Image in the Temple of Victory at Tralles, by the Sooth-sayer of Padua; who so many miles off at the very instant of the victory ^b cryed, *O Caesar! it is thine.* A victory this was nobly managed, to the freedom of ^c Thessaly, Asia, and Alexandria; the good usage of Pompey's body and his friends, Caesar ^d weeping, when he saw his head, and took his Ring, saying, *That all the pleasure of his victory was to save his countrey.* His War in Alexandria was ignoble, if onely for the love of Cleopatra; noble, if to revenge on ^e Potbi-nus Pompey's death, Cleopatra's banishment, his Treason against him, his seditious stirs of his souldiers to discontent by ill usage, and worse language, as that they lived on other mens costs, &c. and his contemptuous wish, *That Caesar would look to his important affairs, and demand his debt when his Master was at him* 1750 Myriades, whereof he forgave his children 750000. onely he then asked a million to pay his Souldiers. ^g She was brought in to Caesar in a Maress bound up, that she might not be known.

^b So Livius writes.

^c From tribute, as he did Guadian's for

Theopompus sake.

^d Yea, and de-testing Theodorus that

brought it him.

^e Kings Euanuch.

^f The K. owed

him 1750 Myriades, whereof

he forgave his children

750000. onely

he then asked a million to pay

his Souldiers.

^g She was brought in to

Caesar in a Maress bound

up, that she might not be known.

to come to his Army, Secured him from *Porthenus* and *Achillas* his Treason better than his Guard: the Hall is watched, the Eunuch is executed; and *Achillas* raising a difficult way puts *Cæsar* to it, 1. By cutting off his pipes and water. 2. By burning his Arsenal and the Library at *Alexandria*. 3. By forcing him to swim at the Battel of *Phar* for his life with his books in his hands: but was overthrown with his Master, so that he left *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, and Mother of *Cæsar*. Thence hearing of *Domitius* his defeat, and *Pharnabazus* his aym at *Armenia*, he went by *Syria* to *Asia*, and vanquished him before *Zel*, with that expedition, that he writ the whole affair to his friend *Anitius* in these three words, *b Veni, vidi, vici*. At his return to *Rome*, his honour improved (being the third time Consul; and what was unusual, the second time Dictator) as did his envy for *Dolabella's* extravagance, his Souldiers mutinies (whom he punished with a thousand Drachmaes a man, and some Lands, calling them Citizens now, whom hitherto he called Soldiers) *Anitius* his coverousnesse, *Anthony* and *Carnificus* his drunkenesse; the enlarging of *Pompey's* house, as too little for *Cæsar*; which he excused, as not his inclination, but the times *c* necessity.

To avoid this clamour, he goeth against King *Juba*, now joyning a puissant Army with *Cato* and *Scipio* that escaped the *Pharalian* Battle: Fearful were his Souldiers, 1. of a long War there, and therefore he always led himself, for dispatch. 2. Of an Oracle that

a Mithridates his son, whom with 3 Legions he drove out of Pontus.

b Three words that have a grace in the Latin Tongue, not expressible in any other.

c To use such instruments.

Scipio should overcome *Affrick*; therefore gave poor *Scipio Salutius* the command of his Army. 3. Of scarcity in Provision and Forrage, the nimble *Numidian's* Light-men ever and anon surprizing them, (not without danger to the whole Army) there-fore he skirmished the Enemy; and upon a little advantage he gave them (when he took his flying Ensigne by the collar, saying, Turn thy face, there is thy enemy) encouraged them to Battle; which *Cæsar* passing through a woody country with inexpressible speed, beguon *Affranus* his Camp on the right hand, with that resolution, that King *Juba's* on the left, and *Scipio's*, notwithstanding it was well fortified at *Thapsacus*, fled: three Camps and eighty thousand men became *Cæsars* in one day, with the losse onely of fifty, all the *Romane* Officers falling either by their own, or *Cæsar's* hand, that would spare none but *Cato*, whose death he envied, he said, because *Cato* envied his life; Although few believed he would prevent his death while living, whose praise he envied when dead. In his Anthatons against *Cicero's* *Cato*, an eloquent Book, excellent in its subject, admirable in its style, that was at once a Panegyrick for *Cato*, and a *f* Satyr against *Cæsar*: Having now added (as he said) two hundred thousand bushels of wheat, 2900000 pound weight of Oyle yearly, as he said in a speech, to the *Romane* Revenue, he triumphs, 1. For *Affrick*. 2. For *Pont*. 3. For *Egypt*, leading young *Juba* (then a barbarous Prince, but by his happy imprisonment and educa-

d They being forced to mingle Sea-weeds washed with Dogs tooth, for their horses.

e Not in person, they say, for he had the falling-sicknesse at that time; or he went to *Utica* to save *Cato*.

f By whose means he died.

a He feasted
22000 Tables,
e showed them
Sword-playes,
and Sea-battles
in memory of
Julia.

b The feast of
Bachanalians.

c The sons of
Pomp. whereof
the one was be-
headed, and the
other fled; for
which Acts he
had nothing to
plead before the
gods and men,
but Necessity.

education, afterwards a famous Historiographer) in triumph, caressing the Souldiers with Gifts, the People with a Feasts, common sports and musters, the joy whereof abated with the number of the Citizens, shrunk by the Civill Wars, from 320000 to 150000.

But Cæsar being now the fourth time Consul, is called to a most dangerous War against Pompeys young, but knowing and valiant sons in Spain, who put him to it especially at Munda, (where crying, *Will you yield your selves to these Boyes?* He said, *He fought elsewhere for victory, but here for life.*) This battel was ominous for b the day; and invidious for the Enemy, the day whereon Pompey char time four year left Rome; the enemy (as the Romanes said when they grudged his triumph for the calamity of his Countrey) the noble c Natives of Rome, whose overthrow he was ashamed to own by publique Letters, as the custome is; and therefore said they, *He might be ashamed to triumph for it.*

But his prosperity awing, and the distempers of the Common-wealth inclining all to a Monarchy; In order to which, his friends to advance, and his enemies to ruine him, made him perpetual Dictator; an honour, said Cicero, that became not a Man.-- In which place he behaved himself so honourably, in preferring Brutus and Cassius, setting up Pompey's Images (whereby, said Cicero, his own stood firer) pardoning all, refusing a Guard, saying to his Souldiers, *It was better dye once, then always fear death*) and making a stronger one of love purcha-

erchased by feasts and distribution made to the People, d Cities bestowed on Souldiers, Honours promised the Nobility, and so great an exactnesse in government, that a Consul dying but one day before his time, he made e another for that day (that vigilant one that never slept in his office) this great mans ambition enlarging its self with his successes; which he (of an humour to overcome all difficulties as well as enemies) would rather improve than enjoy) meditates the conquest of Persia, the invasion of Scythia by Pontus; the over-running of Germany, the cutting of the Bar in the Peloponnesian streight, the bringing of Amiens and Tyber in a navigable and strong Channel for Merchants use from Rome streight to Circæes, and the Sea at Terracina; the draining of the Marshes between Nomentum and Seim; the clearing of the Havens of all impediments to shipping, and erecting a high bank upon the shore; the reformation of the f Kalendar (with the wisest Mathematicians advice) and the Festival courses, the last whereof onely was effected. So absolute was his power; 1. That his g enemies said, *The Sun rose onely when Cæsar pleased.* 2. That his friends saluted him h King; which as too palpable an instance of Usurpation, the people were amazed at; the faction aggravated, and hereof refused, saying, *He was not King, but Cæsar.* His next Honours he refused, saying, *They had need rather be lessened, than enlarged.* And neglecting the Officers that brought them to him in his chair of State at the Pulpit for

E e

Oration,

d Particularly
Corinth and
Carthage.

e Maximus
Caninius
Ribellius, of
whom said Ci-
cero, when they
went to salute
him, Let us
hasten, lest he
be out of his
office before
we come.

f which was
uncertain, that
no body under-
stood it but the
Priests, who in-
serted with N.
Pompil. leave
their Mercedon
or leap-month
at pleasure.

g Cicero said
so of the Star
Lyra, and his
calculation.

h Saying, there
was a Prophe-
cy that promi-
sed the Rom.
victory over the
Parthians, if
they were led
by a King,

Oration; some say in a fit of the Falling-sick-
ness, others upon *Cornel. Balbus* his advice,
who bid him remember he was *Cæsar*. This
neglect seconded with the Tribunes *Flavius*
and *Marcellus* degradation for pulling down
his crowned Diadems, and imprisoning those
that saluted him King, (although he refused
those Diadems twice with great applause,
which *Anthony* and other *a Luperalian* run-
ners twice offered him with little or none) with
his fear of *b Brutus* and *Cumans* brutes and
fools upon the people, put them upon consult-
ing with *Brutus*, and *Brutus* (notwithstanding
he was saved at *Pharsalia*, promoted to the
Prætorship, and the fourth years Consulship
by *Cæsar*, who said, (*Cassius* his competitor
had shewed most reason, but he must not go be-
fore *Brutus* :) and trusted so far, that *Cæsar*
would not believe his confederacy, saying, *He*
will stay for my skin, i.e. the succession) egged on
by *Libels* cast to his Seat, telling him *he was a*
sleep; upon conspiring with *Cassius* (whom he
knew disobliged by *Cæsar*, yet doubted his
faithfulness to him:) *Cæsar* liked not at last their
pale looks, answering those that accused *Anthony*
and *Dolabella*; *That he feared not those fat and*
c smooth-haired men, but those pale men, Cassi-
us and Brutus.

Yet as fate may be foreseen, but not avoid-
ed, notwithstanding the fires that shined,
men dancing in them; the spirits that walked,
the beast that had no heart; the flame flying
from the slaves hand, yet safe and untoucht;
the Soothsayers warning of the Ides, i. e. the

a Luperæalia, a feast of Shep-herds, like that of the Lycæi-ans in Arcadia, where Magi-strates and their children ran naked, and serv-ants the Ladies as they passed; who imagined themselves thereby both happily concei-ved, and speedily delivered. b When the peo-ple called the two Prætors Brats, from him that first expelled Kings. c Cicero said of Cæsar, that because he scratched his smooth hair with one finger onely, he fear-ed him not. Lucian makes that a sign of an effeminate man.

1,th

1,th of March; and telling *Cæsar* that morn-
ing he died, that though he said merrily they
were come, yet they were not past; *Cæsar's* re-
solution the night before at d supper, was, *That*
death unlooked for was best: His chamber doors
and windowes flye open at mid-night; his
Wife *Calpurnias* *e* dreams (who otherwise
was no fondling) and entreats him to adjourn
the Session, as he would have done by *Antbo-*
ny, but that *Brutus Albinus* his Confident,
and designed Heir, but of the conspiracy (in-
sinuating the fondness of adjourning the Se-
nate on dreams and tyranny of dismissing them
at pleasure, especially when they were ready
to make him King of the whole Empire *f* but
of Italy) perswaded him at least to dismis-
se the Assembly in person, and took him by the
hand (fearing delay) notwithstanding the
g bond-man's beck, *Artemidorus* the Rhetor-
ician's letter (with his intimation of the im-
port of it) wch *Cæsar* could never read for the
presse: the Senate and *Pompey's* image looked
as the Scene of a Tragedy; *Decius Brutus* takes
Anthony aside: *Brutus* though an Epicure-
an prays to *Pompey's* Image for assistance, and
is transported: The Senate doth *Cæsar* obey-
fance; the Traytors sit about his Chair: *Me-*
tellus breaks the Ice with a Petition for his
banished Brother's restoration, which *Cæsar*
doth not more earnestly deny, than they im-
portunately presse, until *Metellus* pulled his
Gown over his ears; *Casca* wounds him, the
horror of the fact not allowing him strength
tough to kill him; he cryeth *Cæsar*, Tray-

d At Marcus Lepidus his house.

*e Of his murder see Livy, who saith, she dream-
ed the pinnacle the Senate set
up on his house, was pulled
down.*

*f Out of which place he might
wear his Dia-
dem.*

*g who would
have discover-
ed the plot.*

h In the 56th
year of his age.

tors, and they Brothers: the unconcerned Senators could neither stay nor go; the rest on all hands mangle him like a Beast, rather than kill him like a man; 23 wounds he had, each conspirator being sworn to a stroke to strengthen the confederacy: He resisted till he saw *Brutus*, and then he fell down *b* on the base of *Pompey's* Image: The Senate (though *Brutus* would have made a speech) fled; the City is desolate, and onely filled with fear and tumult; the houses are shut up, *Anthony* and *Lepidus* hide; the Conspirators in a body count the Nobility and the Commonalty to Liberty; the people thronged to them, and contest for the honour of the murder, some dying afterwards in *Augustus* his time for their boast of his murder, that were not guilty of it. They lamented *Cæsar*, but revered *Brutus*: an Amnesty is passed upon the Conspirators Declaration; the Confederates are allotted the Provinces, and *Cæsar* is ordered to be buried as a god; and all is quiet, until *Cæsar's* gifts to the people in his Will, the wounds in his body shewed openly by *Anthony* (in so lively a representation, that *Cæsar* was not then thought murdered, but a murdering) enraged the people to stools and forms, and afterwards to Fire-brands, to kill the murderers, and burn their houses. *Cinna* is murdered by the Rabble for his Name sake, that was a Confederate; *Brutus* and *Cassius* retyre, *Cæsar* enjoys the fruit of his Travails, his glory, from 1. the large Comet that shined in the Ayre. 2. From the revenge that pursued

perished his Enemies all over the Earth, the a Particularity
Ammunity that honoured his Funeral, and the *Brutus*.
name that shall æternize his name.

The Parallel.

Alexander the Great, and *Julius Cæsar* have great resemblance together, being the bravest Chieftains of War, paralleling one another in vertues: both of them were nobly born, learned were they and eloquent, liberal and moderate, very loving to their friends and servants, and wonderfully made much of and obeyed of Captains and Souldiers of their Armies, and merciful even to their enemies. From their youth they made good proof of the future greatnesse of their courages. Two miracles were they for Military discipline, both in respect of the shortnesse of the time of their Wars, and the Enemies Towns and Provinces they conquered; their wisdom, valour, and happinesse never receiving repulse, but always carrying the victory. In marvelous danger were they of their persons, the one in the City of *Millain*, the other in *Spain* against *Pompey's* son. Both of them bare love and respect to Soothsayers, who expressly told them of their deaths, both of them in the mean space (as it were blind fold) throwing themselves into danger, from which men would have withdrawn them. Vertuous were they

they beyond comprehension, yea, and so equal herein, as we cannot tell which to prefer: but *Alexander* excelled in beauty and sweetness of body, but especially in continency & moderation of mind, while *Cæsar's* youthful frailty was in both excessful. *Alexander* became great nobly, the other meanly; He by lawful ambition, this by a base Evasion and Infimulation. *Alexander* from his infancy loved Learning, respecting the Learned of what quality soever; the other altogether for his own interest. In Council they were both wise, & both valourous in fight. *Alexander* durst in his mind think of the conquest of the whole world in the midst of his a poverty, but furnished with magnanimity, wisdom and valour; whereas *Cæsar* on the contrary had made his preparations long before: The one helped by *Aristotle's* advice and instructions, the other by *Crassus* his wealth and riches. *Alexander* in this altogether surpasseth *Cæsar*, because his prowess was accompanied with great justice, a sweet temperance, an excellent bounty (mingling together all virtues) with a good order and exquisite wisdom, directing all things by good discretion and ripe judgement. Thus was he pricked to War for the settlement of a peaceable & happy government in the world, but *Cæsar* by his cruelty and desires of the violation of his *Rome's* liberty. His wars made the *Greeks* shed no tears; with which, and with Fire, *Cæsar* filled all his Country. *Alexander* kept his Souldiers in awe and order, but he filled all *Rome* with the infinite confusions and insolency

a He had but 30000 Footmen, and 5000 Horse; or (as others think) 35000 Footmen, and 5500 Horse, when he began his Exploits; and had to entertain his War in ready money but 42000 Crowns; or (as *Duris* writes) provision of Victuals and money but for 30 dayes.

insolency of his Souldiers. *Alexander* bare a noble and a Kingly minde, full of mercy towards his enemies; indeed *Cæsar* did not punish the murtherers before he discovered that they conspired against him. *Alexander* was accused of choler and drunkenness, and condemned for his bad usage of the *Indian* Souldiers, and for utterly destroying the *Cossians* for the sacrifice of the Funerals of *Hephestion*. But these faults, tempered with his goodness, must be distinguished from *Cæsar's* cruel hatred hid in his heart, against all those that hindered his doings, without regard to any man; and where he pardoned some before and after victory, it was not out of good will, but for his advancement. *Alexander* beloved of all, brought about his affairs with credit, and died in glory, to the griefs and sadness of all his Friends and Army, to the lamentation of all *Greece* and *Europe*: But *Cæsar*, by many obscure oblique wayes attaining to the height of a shameful glory, dyed to the joy of all that loved good Lawes, and the good of the State, the which he left turmoyle with Civil Wars; but *Alexander* left it in division to four simple Captains, whose Issue after them have continued many years in possession of their parts. Albeit *Alexander* had but a small means, yet he was Lord of a great Kingdome, he had men and credit: But *Cæsar* without patrimony of much worth, without money, and with few men, performed the greatest things as may be thought of. a *Alexander* had to do with women and children, if

a wherein *Cæsar* seemed to exceed *Alexander*,

compared to those whom *Cæsar* overthrew in more than fifty Battels, very well ordered, where he was ever the weaker in number of men, but the greater in valour. He was more tyred in his Enterprizes than *Alexander*, rashly thrusting himself headlong to danger, which *Cæsar* never did but in case of necessity. The dangers *Alexander* passed through were great, but *Cæsar's* greater. *Alexander* was miserably wounded, but *Cæsar* happily freed himself from all. Though *Alexander* was so commendable for all virtues, yet *Cæsar* notable for magnanimity, and so excelled in gentleness, that this is said to be the cause of his death. *Cæsar's* ambition indeed was extream, but he covered it in another manner of sort then *Alexander* did. He was never weary of any travell more then *Alexander*, and gave not himself to so much ease, though he was elder, slenderer, thinner of body, and subject to the Falling-sickness; but he hardened himself against it by continual exercise of his body and minde, accompanied with an incredible quickness and diligence. Therefore whosoever rightly weighs the Travels, Fights, Conquests, and Expeditions of *Alexander*, he will say *Cæsar* carried it by much. If a man observe the directions of *Alexander* in his exploits, what is that in respect of the wisdom of *Cæsar*? being wont to say, *He loved victory gotten by counsel, more than by force.*

PHOCION.



XX XVI.

PHOCION.

Contemporary with Alexand. Fergusius the first Son of Jerquard King of Ireland, Papyrius Ourfor, Jaddus High Priest of the Jews.

Athens was so low at this time, that *Demades* the insolent and proud Orator, the Orator (who as *Antipater* said, was like a sacrificed beast, nothing but tongue and belly) said he governed the Shipwracks of his Countrey, and that *Phocion's* vertue was lost in its calamity, and with its misfortune: The wantonness of flourishing Cities, being no less dangerous to the eminent members thereof, then the sower discontent and churlish frowardness of the de-

Anno Mundi
3622. Ante
Christ. 326.

* Vid. Diod.
Sic. lib. 16.
Init.

^a Therefore Homer calls pleasant things
^{pleuxin}
Vide Sophoclem in Antigonia.

^a L. 2. Ep. 41.
So Cicero said of Cato, he was put by his Consulship, because he lived not as in Facc Romuli.
^b As a man likes the sight of rash fruit, but not the taste.

decayed. Adversity in publique, as well as in private capacities, being hasty and choleric, looks * on correction as an upbraiding of Fortunes, and on reproofs as contempts. Honey though sweet to others, yet smarteth the wounded and plain-dealing; though profitable, if not discreetly ^a tempered, angereth the unfortunate. Sore eyes is for a dark, rather than a bright colour, and an unhappy Commonwealth is for its own folly and danger, rather than for others plain dealing and advice; ruined they are if they have not counsel, ruined is the man that gives it. As the Sun tempereth his heat by an oblique circle and motion, not altogether complying with, nor altogether contrariant to the course of the highest Heaven: so discreet Governours moderate their administration, not strictly eyed to the exactest justice, which may enrage the Multitude; nor loosely indulging it, which may debauch them: a mean (hardly obtained) made up of Lenity and Authority, is the Master-piece, gently allowing what pleaseth, and prudently gaining what profiteth; and ruling as God doth, not forcibly but freely. Cato in Rome now decaying, and Phocion in Athens already ruined, were severe at a rate rather becoming the Commonwealth of Plato, than the a dregs of Man-kinde; who ^b liked indeed the speculation of ancient simplicity, but as little endured their unseasonable virtues, as they did their vices: both withstood the fortune and fate of their Countreys, and both unhappy Pilots, are overthrown by it.

Equal

Equal these two seem to be at first blush in the just mixture of courtesie and severity, manhood and wisdom; of present mind in themselves, of publick care for others; their avernesse to filthinesse and corruption, and their inclination to constancy and honesty: Yet upon a more discerning view, they differ as Alcibiades his man-hood, from that of Epaminondas, Aristides his wisdom from that of Themistocles, Numa's justice from that of Agesilaus. That Phocion was not, as Idomenus saith, a Spoon-makers son; Glaucippus silence in his Invektive against him; his ingenuous education under Plato and Xenocrates; his noble manner testified, (never (as Duris writes) laughing or weeping, never bathing in a common place, never riding, or wearing a ^c Gown but in very cold weather: so grim was his countenance, that every body was afraid to speak with him; so gentle his nature, that none spoke with him once, but would do it twice.) When the Athenians ^d laughed at his bent brows (My brows never did you hurt, said he, Your laughing may make you weep.) His speech was ^e weighty and profitable, short and comprehensive. Demosthenes his excellency, who called Phocion the cutter of his words, lay in speaking little in much. ^f Phocions (whose very becks and nods were Orations) in speaking much in little: His nimbleness and spirit quickened Chabrias his slownesse, who first brought him to the Wars, and his wariness and conduct cooled his heat; by whose means (as a requital) he had the hardest service in, and

^c And when he wore it, never putting his hands out at the sleeves.

^d Upon Chares the Orator's jest of him.

^e And as Zeno, would have them tempered with wit and reason before he uttered them.

^f One asked him what he mus'd? he said, To see if I can speak to the people more briefly.

g On the 16 of Bomcerion, or August, the Feast of the Myseries; in memory whereof, as the first victory Athens got with its own men since it was taken, Chabrias made them drink yearly.

and the greatest honour after the Battel of *Axos*. When *Phocion* was sent with twenty sayl to take the Confederates Islands, Tribute and Ships, he told *Chabrias* he had too few ships to fight as a Souldier, and too many to treat as an Embassador, and with one ship obliged all his Allies, and returned home furnished with ships and money, where (making much of *Chabrias* his posterity; and particularly reforming his wilde son *Clesippus*, upon whose troublesome impertinency he would say, *Now Chabrias I pay for thy love*;) and observing that some, as *Demosthenes*, &c. intended the Arts of Peace as Eloquence, &c. And others, as *Leosthenes*, &c. those of war, he with *Solon* and *Aristides* aimed at a temperament of both (valour and prudence the endowments of their Protectoresse *Pallas Politica*, and *Polemica*.) He never sued for command: so inclinable he was to Peace: he never refused it (when forty five times put upon him in his absence) so ready he was for War. Its flattering Orators *Athens* used as Kings do their Jesters, for pleasure: Auliere *Phocion* they respected as they do their Counsellours, for service: though so singular he was, that (as the Oracle said, and he confessed) he would never be of their minds: and when they agreed, he asked, *What evil had he done, that they approved it?* So obstinate, that he would not contribute to the solemn sacrifice, because he was in debt; and they importuning of him, he told them the tale of the man that put off his harnesse upon the Ravens *b* croak-

h As he was going to the War.

ing, saying, *You shall croak as long as you will before you have my carcase*. When they called him Coward, *You can no more make me a Coward* (said he) *than I can make you valiant; and we know one another*. When the people were enraged against him, he said no more, but *Save your selves*. Another time the *Athenians* grew insolent at a sodain prosperity; *It's well*, said he, *you have a Captain that knoweth you*: *Quarrel* (said he again) *with the Boeotians in words, wherein you are strongest, and not with weapons, wherein you are weakest*. *You may* (said he once, when they would not hear him) *compel me to do what is not to be done, but not to speak what is not to be spoken*. *The people will kill thee* (said *Demosthenes*) *if it takes them in the head; and thee* (said *Phocion*) *if they be wise*. *You would do well* (said he another time, of a fat Oratour that perswaded them to War with *Philip*) *to make a war upon this mans motion who is out of breath in the Pulpit, what will he be in the Field?* When *Lycurgus* the Oratour taxed him for advising the delivery of the ten Cities demanded by *Alexander*, he answered, *I have often counselled them for the best, but they would not follow me*. When *Archibiades* that counterfeited the Spartan gravity flattered the People upon *Phocion's* appeal to him, he said, *Cut thy long beard if thou must needs flatter*. *Aristogiton* always perswaded a War, but at the Muster, *a* *As Hyperides* said, *Observe my sharpness, and the profit of* *Write down* (saith he) *Aristogiton* *lame, and impudent*. *Phocion* was sharp and severe, not in private concerns, but a publick matters, it.

matters, and therefore was called good: none more reserved in publick, none more familiar in private, helping offenders, and saying, *Others needed it not; visiting the b condemned, and saying, Where would he see them but in prison? If any other was Captain, the Confederates fortified themselves as against enemies; if Phocion, they met him with publique joy as friends. When he was commanded out upon Plutarch Eretrian's request against Philip, who had bribed the Eubœans to a Revolt, he fortified his little Army in a fastnesse, cashiered the mutinous as persons that might hinder others service, and perform none themselves: and (when Plutarch impatient of the delay he made, either out of Religion or Policy in sacrificing had lost his Brigade) received his secure and triumphing enemies with that resolution, that he pursued them to their Trenches, and rallying there, overthrew them so, that he displaced Plutarch, took that c commodious Fort Zaretra, d released all Gracians, and upon his return to Athens, left a greater renown behind him of his courtesie and justice, of his skill and experience, than either indiscreet e Molossus, or suspected f Chores: being (upon his Oration, that the Athenians should rather cashier their Captains that deserved to be mistrusted, then abandon their Confederates that mistrusted them, though they could not subsist without them) chosen Captain for Byzantium; which upon his own repute, and his friend Cleon's interest was opened to him and his Athenians, who now*

tru-

trated were so civil, that not a Byzantine complaineth of them; and so valiant and successful, that Philip hitherto invincible, gives way to them; loosing his expedition in doing nothing, and his Ships and castles in doing nothing to the purpose: Phocion invades his Borders, takes in Megara with privacy and dispatch; fortified the Haven Nissa, secured the Sea, and brought Philip to overtures of Peace; which he perswaded, saying to a busie Orator, I know I shall command thee in War, yet I had rather thou shouldst command me in Peace: And to Demosthenes that advised a War, and that far from home; Let us not dispute how we shall fight, but how we shall overcome.

When disasters had forced the *Areopagites* and all the City to put affairs in Phocion's hand, a private Treaty of Peace he entertained with K. Philip because of his strength, but a common Treaty with all Greece he refused, for fear of his demands until he declared them; which when all Greece a groaned under, This (said he) I foresaw: but seeing it is so, be not dismayd; your Ancestors knew how to obey as well as command, and in both fortunes saved themselves and all Greece. Upon Philips death he forbids their joy as ignoble, seeing he was dead, & indiscreet, seeing his b Army was alive. 2. Demosthenes his c ill speeches of Alexander, whose Sword he said was sharper than his Tongue; adding, That his city should not cast itself away as long as he was Governour of it. When Thebes was razed, and Alexander demanded the O-

rators

c That in a neck of Land commanded two Seas.

d Lest the Orators might enrage the people to execute them.

e who was taken prisoner.

f who being sent to aid the Peloponnesians against Philip, was not received by any City.

a He demanded a great number of ships.

b That overcame him at Cheronea.

c And saying to Demosthenes, Here is a fire, wilt thou cast the City into it?

rators of Athens, Phocion said, One city had better mourn than two; and that he had rather, though he delivered up his choicest friend for the common safety, (pointing at Nicocles) treat for both with that great King, than fight for either. Other Embassadors were dismissed by Alexander without Audience, but Phocion was heard, yea, and upon the account King Philip's servants gave of a him, advised with, who fitted Alexanders humour so well with that saying; *If you love content, leave war; If fame, conquer Barbarians*, that he wished the Athenians to minde their businesse, because if he died, he knew no people fitter to command than they. So much was he in Alexander's favour, that he writ to him *Charin*, (viz. Joy and Health) which he did not in his greatnesse to any d other: so obstinately honest he was, that when Alexander sent him a greater Present than all Athens besides, because he seemed a just man, he said, *Nay, let me be what I seem*: so noble, that he refused the Present: And though the Embassadors urged him with his plain e House-wife, &c. as below Alexander's friends; *Nay*, said he, *I am richer, whose content needs not this gold, than be which sent it me*: *If I employ not this Gold, it is all one as if I had it not*: *If I do, the country will talke of me, and the King*: and in short, requested his friends liberty at f Sardis as a greater boon than his Majesties Treasure or Cities offered him.

His house at Melita was plain and mean, his Wife as honest and thrifty, as he was wise and just,

a And his interest in Philip.

d But Antipater.

e who baked her self.

f Echecratides the Rhetorician, Athenodorus, Demoratus, & Spartus.

and just: *Seest thou not* (saith the Stage-player to him, who would have rich cloaths to act the Queen) *Phocion's plain wife*? *Seest thou not* (said she to one that boasted of her Jewels) *mine, i.e. my Husband, who hath been twenty years together General of Athens*? He permitted his son Phocus, the f man-like exercises Panathanaea, to allay his Luxury: but when his friend (in whose house his Feast of Victory was kept) had prepared a Bath of wine and other chargeable superfluities, he said, *Son, our friend disgraceth thy victory with excesses*: he sent that Son for education at Sparta, to his Countreys dishonour; and told Demades that was for Laconian customs, he was a fit man to bring in Lacedemonian strictnesse, who was so perfumed. When Alexander demanded their ships, Phocion's maxime was, *We must be either the strongest, or friends to the strongest*. Harpalus among other Orators he bought off with money, sent Phocion seven hundred Talents, who defied him with this, *You shall repent for thus corrupting the Athenians*: although the honest man stuck to him, when his fee'd Orators left him.-- When Chariles was questioned for the money he had of Harpalus to build the Curtizan Pythonices Tomb (which he began with as much shame, as he finished it with disgrace) Phocion would not stand by him, saying, *He took him for his Son-in-Law onely for honest causes*.

Athens was over-joyed at the news of Alexander's death; and Phocion said, *If his death*

f Leaping in and and out of the Chariot.

F f

death be true to day, it will be so to morrow: thinke of it, and settle your selves. This service he said he did his Countrey, that his Countrey-men were buried at home. Then he told

a whose speech a Hyperides, He would make War when young he said was like men kept their ranks, rich men were liberal, a Cypress-tree, and Orators honest. Reflecting on Lycosthenes high, but barren.

Army, and Athens incapacity to support it; he said, it was a good Army to support: It is a goodly Army (quoth he) for a farlong. Upon Lycosthenes his successe he said, He wished he had done so, but not that he had given advice to have done so. Against the War with the Bortians, so resolute he was, that he had rather dye for dissuading it, than deerve to dye for perswading it: And when nothing else would do, he commandeth every man from fourteen to sixty to follow him now, as he said 80, with five dayes Provision; and so quieted them at that time. Drawing up against the Macedonians that invaded the Borders, every body presumed to advise: O Hercules (said Phocion) how many Captains! how few Soldiers! When a Soldier went out of his Rank to engage his Enemy, and fled back, Couldst thou said he, neither keep the place thy Capt. set thee in, nor that thou settest thy self in? He was the onely person that overthrew Mycion: He was the fittest man to b treat with Antipater, who (though his late conquests promised him Attica; and he might enrich himself by his Enemies, while he eat up his Friends) told Craterus he must do Phocion's pleasure; bid him send him a Blank (as he did the Athenians at Lamia)

b when he was chosen Embassador, he said, If you had hearkned to me, this had not troubled you.

Lamia) to write his own terms. Xenocrates who could loose others to good nature, would be heard by Antipater, who grants Peace upon condition Demosthenes and Hyperides were delivered to him; That they payd a ranfome and a contribution, and received a Garrison to Munychia; too good termes for Slaves (said Xenocrates) and too hard for Free-men: onely if Phocion c would passe his word for Athens, he would have excused the Garrison, which yet he put in there, d 12 of Badromion, i. e. Aug: rather to boast his power, than to benefit his interest: Those Festivals which were hitherto Solemnities of Joy, are now signalized with sorrow: Diana's Oracle bids them look to Diana's Rocks; the covering of the holy e Bed turned pale and yellow; the hinder part of the holy white Pig, when washed, bit off, intimated the losse of half the City.

c But Callimedon said, If Phocion passed his word, wouldst thou believe him? d The Feast of their Mysteries, when they go from Athens to Eleusin.

The Garrison is civil, but twelve thousand poor Citizens they disfranchise and disperse; Demosthenes and Hyperides are put to death: they wished for noble and merciful Antigonos and Alexander again (a Pbrygian digging the earth, and saying, I seek for Antigonos) now they were under Tyrannical, but dissembling Antipater, than whom none so really cruell and haughty, none so pretendedly familiar and plain; of whom yet Phocion obtained, that his Countrey-men should be either not banished at all, or banished no further than Peloponnesus.

Equal and just was his government at Athens, discountenancing the phantastical till they

they vanished to the Countrey, and promoting the solid and quiet: *Xenocrates* would have none of *Antipater's* freedome, for the hinderance whereof, he was sent Embassador; nor *Phocion* any of his money, who would refuse *Alexander*: and when *Menyllas* would have given it his son, *If he be sober*, said he, *be hath enough*; if *luxurious*, he shall never have enough.

Antipater said he had two friends at *Athens*, *Phocion* and *Demades*, whereof the one that could not be at once a friend and a flatterer, would take no money, and the other never had enough.

a Saying at his sons wedding, that at his own wedding the Neighbors heard not of the cost, but Kings paid for his.

b *Antipater*.

Demades was a proud and prodigal, *Phocion* poor and humble, though so many times General of *Athens*, so many times courted by Kings. *Phocion* would intreat *Antipater* to stay for his contribution, to ease the people, but not the Garison to set them at liberty. *Demades* is slain by *Cassander* for his letter underhand to *Antigonus*; *Phocion* is his Favourite as he was his b Fathers; and *Nicanor* the new Governours friend, as he was the old one *Menyllus*: Him he made so much the *Athenians* friend, that he made common shews: and when *Polyperchon*, young *Cassander's* Governour, designing *Athens* for himself, proclaimed its ancient Laws and freedom; *Phocion* in spite of the seditious Oratours now at liberty, let *Nicanor* go according to his word, saying to them that suggested the Cities danger from *Nicanor*, That he had rather they should suffer wrong from him, than offer him any: but

but for his over-much confidence in *Nicanor*, when he cast Trenches about *Pyrea*, and *Alexander*, *Polyperchon's* son c betrayed *Athens* (under pretence of assisting it, taking advantage of their turmoyle) *Phocion's* soldiers mutiny; the mixt Assembly first deprive, and then daccuse him of high Treason: *Phocion* with his party (as *Pericles*, &c.) fle to *Polyperchon*: there they meet the *Athenian* Embassadors and Orators, that were to accuse them. They have a solemn hearing before the King in a field neer e *Phoryges*: *Dinarchus* is wracked and slain, the rest flye high: *Agnonides* requested they might be all sent to *Athens* to answer for their doings; the Lords of *Macedon* were for the Kings hearing of it: the King and *Polyperchon* check *Phocion*, and are partial. *Phocion* is apprehended, his friends muffle themselves, and steal away; he is sent in Carts publicly by *Clitus* to *Athens*; the Kings Letters charge him with Treason: the Noble-men would have urged for him, that the slaves should be dismissed the Assembly at his Tryal; and f he himself, that he might be heard, or his friends discharged, but in vain: the Nobility are threatned to silence, and he is told that it is guilt enough to be his friend. Some would have brought *Phocion* to the wheel, all condemned him with *Nicocles*, &c. to dye; others cursed their fortune: *Phocion* bore up his spirit; some reviling, most pittying g him, and he charging

c Had they not seen Alexander talking to *Nicanor*, they had never saved it. d By *Agnonides* the Orator

e A village of *Phocide*, at the foot of *Actonin*.

f Will you condemn me justly, said he? Yes said they. How if you hear me not? but what have these done? They are (said they) thy friends.

g They were

troubled that his death happened on the 12. of *Munychion*, or *March*; when the Knights went on procession to *Jupiter*, who thereupon cast off their Garlands, seeing the Festival polluted with that murder.

his son never to be revenged of them. *Nicoles* would drink the poyson before him. — Thy request (said he) is grievous to me; yet because I never denyed thee any thing, I will grant thee this: All the poyson was spent, and the Hang-man would fetch no more without money: Give him money, said *Phocion*; for a man cannot dye at Athens for nothing. Most men relented at his death, but some mens envy and cruelty went beyond it, to the banishment of his body, which none durst burn but poor *Conopion*; and none bury, but a Noble woman of *Megara*, who commits his bones with the usual sprinklings to that ground, until the Athenians repentance and justice brought him to his Ancestors Graves, as their after-misfortunes taught them to do, condemning his Accusers, erecting his Monuments at the common charge, and reckoning *Socrates* and *Phocion's* death the two most fatal actions of Greece.

C A T O



XXXVII.

C A T O U T I C A N.

Contemporary with Julius Cæsar, Pompey, Herod, Antipater.

Anno Mundi
3890. Ante
Christ. 58.

Cato the Cenfor gave that Family a name, *Cato* the Orphan brought up by a honest, eloquent, and magnanimous *Livius Drusus*, improved it: Constant was he in word and countenance, solid in his very recreations; one that went through, even beyond his strength, with what he began; neither pleased with flatteries, nor awed with threatnings; never laughing, always smiling, hardly angered, and hardly pleased; slow to learn, and as slow to forget, as the quickest fancies are attended by the worst memories,

F f 4

and

a with his brother Cæpio, his sister Porcia, and half-sister Servilia.

and the most stayed with the best : as slow was his consent as his apprehension, as never yielding but to a clear reason : none more submissive to his Master than *Cato*, in point of duty ; none more inquisitive for the reason and cause of things, in point of Truth. When *Pompeius Silo* would have had him and his Brother *Capio* intercede with his Uncle *Drusus*, that they and their Confederates might be free Citizens of Rome ; *Capio* was willing, but neither flatteries nor threats could make *Cato* so. Whereupon *Pompeius* said, *What miracles doth this child promise Italy, if he live ? If he was a man, we should not have one voice of our sides.* So grave was his carriage among his very Play-fellows, that when *Sylla* was to shew the *Troja*, or the boys running on horse-back, they would not exercise but under *Cato*, to whom all others yielded, and with whom *Sylla* was more familiar, beyond the authority of his place. Seeing so many Noble-mens heads in *Sylla's* Prison rather than house, and hearing the publick groans, *Why doth this Tyrant live, saith Cato ?* and his School-master *Sarpedo* replying, *Because mens fears run higher than their heads.* Why givest thou me not a sword then ? quoth the noble youth, with sparkling looks, and angry countenance. So loving was he and his brother *Capio* one to another, that being asked often whom he loved, he said still his brother, without whom he never supped for twenty years together, who, though an excellent person in comparison of others, yet was he but a *Scippius*, if

a An effeminate person pointed at.

com-

compared with *b Cato*. Studious was he of virtue and civil Philosophy with his friend *Anipater* the Poet, that he might live justly ; of Eloquence, that he might speak handsomely, saying to his friends that admired his long silence, That he would then speak when he could say something worthy to be heard ; and in the mean time he would live well. The first Oration he made, was in the behalf of a *Basilica Porcia's* Pillar, that the Tribunes would have taken down, as troublesome to their seats. An Oration witty and vehement, but not affected ; grave, and yet pleasing : his speech was clear, and his nature strong ; inured to hard exercises when well, and patience when ill. When young, he would rise from Table at the first draught, that he might be sober ; and when in years, he would sit up all night, that he might discourse. *Memmius* said, *He drank all night ;* but said he, *Thou canst not say, I play c all day.* So corrupt were those times, that he thought the onely way to be honest was to run counter to them, &c be ashamed of nothing but vice : his cousin *Cato's* hundred Talents worth of Land bestowed upon him, he sold, as he mortgaged his own Estate, to lend his friends money ; having lost *Lepida*, precontracted to *Metellus Scipio*, (against whom he wrote bitter *d Iambicks*) he married *Attilia*, the first, not (as is said of *Laelius*) the only woman he knew.

In the Bond-men or *Spartacus* his War, he shewed himself sage, valiant and wise, nothing beneath *Cato* the elder ; refusing all honours,

b From whom he never parted until he was Apollo's Priest ; then they divided their estates, which amounted to 120 Talents apiece. a Called so from Porcius Cato that built it.

b As abiding heat, going bare-headed in Frost & Snow, going on foot in the field.

c He would always say, that the goddess Venus, whose the best love was, was always against him.

d In Archilocus his way.

honours to the wonder of all men, and deserving all, to their envy. When he sued for a Colonel of Foot's place, he remembered the Citizens names without a *a* Promptor; and when he went to the Macedonian War, without a friend but *Munatius*, who had always lay and brode with him, having promised *Attilia* to keep him. So exact were his instructions and disciplines, so gentle his persuasions, so due his rewards and punishments, that knowing it was not enough for himself to be valiant or sober, his Souldiers were as quiet as warlike, and as valiant as just; dreadful to their Enemies, courteous and civil to their friends. Beloved he was, 1. because he never commanded any more than he did, the greatest Captain going in all things as the meanest Soldier. 2. Because good-natured, noble and eloquent, and one whose person endeared vertue, and whose vertue endeared his Person.

a called Nomenclator, or Monitor, a servant that pointed to the Candidate, the Citizens name, that he might beg their votes: an Officer then forbidden by Law.

b Beside fifteen slaves, two free-men, and four friends.

c Always adding his reason to his command, that his injunction might be as just as his power.

Having two months liberty for his own affairs, he employed them to persuade *Attenodorus* the Stoick of *Pergamus*, that had refused to come to any King, to live in his camp; which when he had done, he reckoned a more glorious conquest than any of *Pompey's*. In all things he did like a Philosopher, but in his extream sorrow for his brother *Capio*; his excessive charge at his Funeral, and his magnificent Tomb, beyond his sober and severe temper; from whence the Princes that would have contributed to his Brothers Funeral, and the People, followed him with tears

tears and prayers. *a* He thought himself as a Caesar in his uncontroable in his writings, as in his actions, that said, *Cato sified his brothers ashes for gold.*

In his return, to satisfy King *Dejotarus* his Fathers friends request, and his own curiosity, he went to *Asia* with that modesty, that he never went to an Inne, if he had a friend to go to; or to a private house, if he had an Inn: And being despised for his own, and his Retinues plainnesse, he bid them take care they should not abuse *Romanes*, for they are not all *Cato's*, but such as will take what they want not, if you will deny them what they want. When *Antioch* honoured *Pompey's* slave *b* *Demetrius* above *Cato*, he said no more, but *O* unfortunate City! *Cato* was eminent for his own sake, but revered for *Pompey's*, who upon all occasions, rather out of *c* fear than love, honoured his person, and celebrated his vertues, recommending to him what he never did to any other, his Wife and Children. As he passed, the Cities strived which should honour him most, where he bid his friends have care of him, lest *Curio's* *d* words proved true.

Old *Dejotarus* King of *Galatia*, recommends to him his house and sons, courteth him with Presents (which he would not take, lest he might seem corrupt, and because he had of his own; nor his friends, because they shared with him) so far, that he would stay with him but a night: and notwithstanding his danger, declaring that he would rather leave

b All the City was in procession, every Order by themselves: when *Cato* thought it was for him, and seemed to be angry, they asked him for *Demetrius* *Pompey's* slave, and said they staid for him; at which *Cato* laughed.

c For he would never suffer any body else to see him.

d *Curio* told him, that he hoped his austerity would return more pleasant out of *Asia*.

leave his own life, than his brothers remain behind. He returned to *Rome*, where he was always either disputing with *Athenodorus*, or pleading for his friends: He would never sue for the *Quæstorship*, though it was his turn, untill he perused the Lawes, and conversed with the Officers of that place, whom he reformed, so that they were not his Masters, as they had been other young mens, but his servants, to whom Bribery was a displacing, and forging an utter incapacity: though his honest friend *Catulus Lucianus* first pleaded, and then interceded for one of them, to whom *Cato* said, *Thou a Censor, and hinder a Reformation?* He cleared the Records and Tables, made the *Quæstor's* house as honorable as the Senate, and took such effectual order, that no private man durst deceive the Commonwealth, nor the Commonwealth deceive any private man. False Bills he corrected; new ones he examined, and admitted not without a Consul's Testimony, and true ones he discharged. He first charged *Sylla Parisians* with the common treasury, and then others durst charge them with murder, so that the whole tyranny was revenged; being careful that no money was bestowed by the Senate without reason, nor paid out of the Coffers without orders. He watched both night and day, and shewed that the Commonwealth might grow rich without oppression. Troublesome he was at first to his companions, because scrupulous; a great Ease he was to them at last, because to *b* bear all burdens

and

a Catulus looked as if he would answer him, but went away, and said nothing; but sent Lollius that was sick with his casting voyce to save the man, though Cato never after employed him, nor made reckoning of Lollius his voice.

b He being ready to excuse them against all importunate Suits.

and complaints resolute: Yea, the last day of his Office, in the midst of all mens Applauses, he saved the Commonwealth some thousands, by rasing out that false account that some mens importunity had urged, and honesty *b* *Marcellus* his easinesse had yielded to. After his *Quæstorship* he had his Espials in the Treasury, and his exact survey of the Commonwealth's Estate from *Sylla's* time to his *Quæstorship* at home. Notwithstanding *Pompey's* wyles to divert him, he was the first always that came in, and the last that went out of the Senate. Nothing passed in any Province, but he had a Copy of it; nothing in *Rome*, but what he had a hand in, without any other respect but that of publique good; so that when *Cicero* thanked him for defending his Sister-in-Law and other Innocents against *Clodius* his Invectives, he bid him thank the Commonwealth for whose sake he did all. The proverb was, *I will not believe it, though Cato said it.* It was *Annaus* his retort upon the prodigal man that made a long Speech of sobriety and thrift; -- *Why shouldst thou, who livest like Crassus, who buildest like Lucullus, speak like Cato?* The Tribuneship of the people, he said, was to be used like a strong Medicine, in extremitie. Retire he would with his Books and Philosophers to his pleasant *Luca*, but that he met in his way *Metellus Nepas* his Carriages; and to crosse his rashnesse, instructed with *Pompey's* wiles, got a *a* Tribuneship for the Commonwealths sake rather than his own, wherein first he reformed that corruption

b who yet was his friend at wayes.

a An Office wherein a man might hinder others from doing good, though he did none himself.

b But not his own brother-in-law Syllanus. *c* The accused used to have a Spie upon the Accuser, to see what course he took to manage his Accusation.

a This Speech was kept, being taken by Short-hand men, being dispersed by Cicero all over the Senators; These were the first Short-hand-writers in the world. *b* Cato was unfortunate in his Relations; his Wives, Attilia and Servilia, his Sister Servilia divorced from Lucullus, were all naught; yea, according to Plato's community, he gave Hortensius leave to make use of his brave wife Marcia.

under

under pretence of suppressing many of Cato's first civilly intreated; and when despised by that rash man, protested Pompey could never come with an Army to Rome while he lived: Metellus is mad with malice, and Cato in an Extasie of vertue: The Senate is thronged with armed men; Cato sleeps quietly in the night, acteth resolutely by day. The Nobility stand by him and their own liberty: he seating himself between Caesar and Metellus, would suffer him neither to read nor pronounce the Law for Pompey's advance. He is forced out of the Market-place, rallieth the People, out-crieth Metellus, and frights him away; he applaudeth the Multitude, he guardeth the Senate, untill Metellus packed away to Pompey in Asia. Oppose Metellus he did when he was at Rome, but would not condemn him when absent. It was prudence and policy, when he had overcome an Enemy, not to trample on him. As he checked Pompey's Usurpation, so he promoted Lucullus his honour, whose victory Pompey reaped the fruit of in Asia, and would have had the triumph of it at Rome. Memmius accused Cato, but his vertue silenced it. Pompey would out-do him, but requesting the delay of the Consul's election until he came to Rome, notwithstanding his conquest and name, Cato's interest disappointed him. When that great man would have won him over by Alliance, he answered, *He liked his Alliance well, but he must not be won by a Woman.* He would be Pompey's friend in any just cause, though a stranger

a Not as if the delay had been of any importance, but lest Pompey should attempt any new devices.

stranger to him; but his enemy in his usurpation, though allied; a noble resolution, but infortunate, considering that that and Cato's opposing Pompey in his controversie with Lucullus about the Laws of Pontus, and with the Senate about the *b Lex agraria*, and Caesar's suit for Triumph and Consulship together, was the cause of that farall Alliance between Caesar and Pompey, who first courted the People, and then forced the Senators to passe and maintain their *d Laws* with an Oath, which wrought tears at home, and Cicero's eloquence abroad, perswaded even Cato to, he urging that to oppose the generality was a nicenelle, in what was past remedy a weaknesse, and so as to be banished Rome (which had need of Cato, though Cato had no need of it) a great inconvenience. For opposing the next Law about dividing Campania and Terra Dilevora, or the Land of Labour, Cato is imprisoned, until the groans of the Senate, and the universal sadness of the People rescued him; until at last when Clodius the Tribune, a Piso and Paulus, Pompey and Caesar's packed Consuls could do nothing for Cato, he was first complemented, and then forced to Cyprus, without any attendance but two Roguish Secretaries, or any business but to restore the Out-lawes of Bizantium; whither he went, perswading Cato to retire for fear of a Civil War, and Pompey to be quiet for the honour of Venus her Priesthood, that should be bestowed upon him by the Romanes at Paphos. When that King sent for him, he bid him come to him; and when he

*b For dividing Lands amongst Souldiers.
c which was inconsistent; he that sued for Triumph, being to be always, and he that sued for Consulship but for a time in it.
d who were afraid of being banished as old Metellus was, for refusing of such Laws.*

a The first Caesar's Father-in-law, and the second Pompey's sworn servant.

became, he neither met nor revered him, but with a wonderful Majesty in so mean a person, welcomed him, and advised him rather to reconcile himself to his Kingdom at home, then throw it away upon unfatiable *b Romans* abroad. Great was his pains in seeing Bizantium, as great his care in securing and making the best of the other Ptolomy's Treasure and Estate, which he would a trust no man with, but sold every farthing of it at the highest rate himself. Over-much love causeth hate, and men that love us too much (saith Cato) are soonest angry, because we cannot return them so much love again. Threaten Munatius he did, for disobedience if he left him; but their friend Barta's supper, and his wife Marcia's endeavour reconciled them. Hence he returned with seven thousand Talents, notwithstanding he had lost all his accompts at *b Sea* (a great losse, considering his care to transcribe them, his faithfulness depending upon them, and a good memorial to future Ages being contained in them) to Rome, where all the whole City met him, regarding neither great nor small, refusing their honours and applause, and allaying Cicero's heat, who would have repealed all Clodius his acts, had not Cato told him, that so he might dissolve the Government, that the Officer was obnoxious; and the Office firme: so that they fall out, until Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus aspiring to an usurpation, the two last were by force made Consuls, and Cato to ballance them would have been Praetor: but that Pom-

*b Ptolomy was then going to Rome to crave assistance against his Subjects, where when he was faine to wait at the gates, he repented him that he not onely despised the counsell of a wise man, but the Oracle of a god.
a For which Munatius his friend was angry, as you may see in Caesar's Antichaton, and Thraceas his Book, taken out of Munatius his book of Cato's deeds and sayings.
b His device was to tie a cork to a Ship, that if it sank, he might by that cork discover it.*

a when Cato should have been chosen, Pompey pretended it hundred, and so dismissed the Assembly, with whom it was a rule to do nothing while it thundered.

b He would give sentence sometimes after Dinner.

c He would go afoot barelegged to his Prætor's chair, to judge the greatest man.

d He had an extraordinary Prætorship at

38 years of age, though that place was not conferred on any under forty. Of the ways of choosing Prætors, see Dio. l. 30. Of Anthony and Sylla, Salust. of Cæcilius, Suetonius of Julius.

pey fearing that his authority would have made the Prætorship equal to a Consulship, partly by a force, partly by money (selling Cato from the Prætorship, who deserved to be hired to it) preferred *Vatinus* before him, lest he did too narrowly sift their devices, and too popularly allay their applause. Not a Prætor would the People follow to their house but Cato; not a man stood for the people against the Law preferred by *Trebonius*, for dividing the Provinces between the new Consuls, but Cato too, who first delayed the vote by his speech; and being forced by the Sergeants out of the Pulpit, declared against it with a Declaration for the Commonwealth, and for Liberty, until partly by an Army, partly by money, all Rome was either awed or debauched to a compliance. When the people in a fury against that Vote, would have demolished Pompey's Images, Cato refused it; and upon the proroguing of *Cæsar's* power, that honest man's advice (though too late believed) was privately as profitable for Pompey as it was publickly (though in vain) just for the Commonwealth; which with its darling Pompey, was never sensible of its misery, till it could never suffer nor remedy it. He impaired the dignity of his Prætorship and his own integrity, with his too plain garb, and his too irregular carriage. He enraged the ambitious Nobility as well as the mercenary

Multitude

Multitude, by his too severe Lawes against Bribery, to so fearful a tumult, that nothing but his steady constancy, and his seasonable speech could pacifie it.

The Senate praised him for escaping the danger, but he said, *He would not praise them for leaving him in it.* Fearful were most to bribe for their places, fearful were others to loose them. Twelve Myriades they laid down as a pawn of their integrity: Cato is made Judge; and when he condemned a person for breaking the Universal Order, his Fine was forgiven him, because it was enough to be condemned by Cato, whose justice was envied by the Nobility, but revered by the People; who valued it so much the more than Wisdom and Fortitude, as they do what is a mans choice, beyond what is his nature.

Pompey undermined him, *Clodius* his seditious Confident rails against him for defrauding the Commonwealth at Cyprus, and refusing Pompey's Daughter at Rome: To which he answered; *That his peace brought more peace from Cyprus, than Pompey's wars from all his Provinces; and, that he was too near the Commonwealth to be allied to Pompey, who made himself as much Cæsar's slave by the Army he sent him (without their consent, though upon their charge) as he made Rome by the Army he kept there: I am above Pompey, who have refused those Provinces when offered, which he hath snatched when denied him.* So faithful was he to his friends, that he not onely made mad-headed *Phaonius* Edyl (by disco-

G g 2

vering

^a How most of the names were written by one hand,

vering the a cheat of the Tables) but assisted him in it, in bestowing wilde Olive crowns in stead of Golden ones in the peoples Plays, and bestowing Leeks, Pears, Radishes and Lettices, &c. upon the *Græcians*; Earthen pots full of Wine, Pork, Figs, and Cucumbers upon the *Romans*; gifts contemptible from others, but very taking from that severe man, who while made Master of the Playes by *Phaonius*, was followed by the people more for his convenient Ornaments, than others for their trifling and vain expences. When it was moved against *Scipio* and others bribery and force, that *Pompey* should be President of the Election, *Cato* said, *The Law could have no safety from Pompey, Pompey might have it from the Law, untill three Factions in the Market-place, and a whole yeares Interregnum in the City, brought him over to choose that as a lesser evill to avoid a greater*; beyond all expectation, closing with *Bibulus*, that *Pompey* should be sole Consul, and that *Rome* should have one Magistr te rather than none. Wherefore *Pompey* courts him to his House and Gardens; *Cato* said, *That as he opposed him at other times, not out of malice, so he advanced him now not out of friendship, but acted at both times with respect to the Commonwealth.*

^a Pompey had made a law, that no Offender should be praised; yet he sent an Oration in the praise of *Plaucus*, though accused; at which *Cato* stopped his ears, and *Plaucus* excepted against him,

His first advice upon *Pompey's* request, was about the Fines for Bribery; Provide for what is come, and winke at what is passed; New lawes being late and unjust for old offences. Faithfully he deals with him in his partial a carriage about *Plaucus* and his friends So troublefom

troublefome he was to all that were guilty, that they durst not admit him the Judge, for fear of being cast by his severity; nor yet refuse him, for fear of discovering their own guilt. As he always foretold, so now he prevented *Cæsar's* designs, 1. By a competition with him for the Consulship. 2. By a Law, that no man should have that office, that need not for it in person; a Law that cut off the peoples power of pleasuring the Nobility; or of being pleased by them so far, that *Cato*, who could not go out of his austere and modest way to flatter them, lost the Consulship, but with more ^b equanimity than others gained it.

^b Going next day to Tennis; and walking without shoes in the Market-place as familiarly as at other times.

When *Cicero* blamed him for not complying with the people at that time for the Consulship (that needed a *Cato*, though *Cato* regarded it not) he answered, *A wise man would not change his manners to save the world.*

When *Cæsar* sued for solemn sacrifices for his successe against the *Germanes*, *Cato* would have him delivered up, because he broke the Peace with them; adding, *That yet they should sacrifice, lest the rashnesse of their General might prove the plague of their Empire.* When *Cæsar* thereupon wrote Letters of accusation against him, he laughed the Accusations out of the Senate as Trifles, and ripped open *Cæsar's* design as a plot shewing as clear as if he had been his Confederate, that *Gaul* was not so much their Enemy as *Julius*, insomuch that they discoursed of a Successor; and that *Cæsar* should quit his Provinces as well as *Pompey* his.

his. The Nobility believed *Cato*, but feared the people, until the taking of *Arminium* taught them, as *Cato* said, That if they had hearkned to him, one man should have been their hope. Howbeit now (said he) *Pompey* onely who hath done the mischief can help it. With *Pompey* he left the City, sending his younger son to *Munatius* in *Brutia*, and leaving his eldest with his a wife *Martia* to govern his house at *Rome*; never clipping his head or beard to his dying day, seeing his Countrey miserable, whether overcoming, or overcome. *Sicily* was his Province, the providence of the gods was his wonder, that *Pompey* who in his irregular courses against his Countrey was invincible, was now in his regular ones for it at *Dyrachium* as good as conquered. Upon *Asinius Pollio* his prevalence in *Sicily*, he adviseth the *Syracusans* to submit to the strongest, so much he pitied that Countrey; He counselled *Pompey* to delay the War to a Treatie, and no way hazard an utter overthrow, so much he loved his own. His gentle Laws, that no *Romane* City should be sacked, nor Citizen killed in cold blood, won *Pompey* all *Italy*, and his courtesie at *Rhodes* all *Asia*. *Pompey* durst not trust him with the chief command at Sea, which he designed for him, because he fought not against one Tyrant, but against Tyranny: Discharge him he could not, because his a Philosophical speech of Liberty, Death, Honour, and his Appeal to the gods was the life of the Army, who regarded de-

a whom he gave *Hortensius*, when young, & took again after his death when rich. Saith *Cæsar* in his *Anticacions*, though *Cato* was no more covetous then *Hercules* in *Enripides* was fearful.

a Though *Cato* knew *Pompey's* secret envy towards him, yet he made the most affectionate speech as ever was uttered, & had the most universally received Applause as ever was given.

spised *Cato* more than great *Pompey*, and were inspired with those two great words, You fight for *Rome* before the gods. *Pompey* left *Cato* with half his Army, as most faithful to him, if he were overcome, and too faithful to the Commonwealth, if he should conquer.

Upon the *Pharsalian* defeat, when a *Cicero* would not accept of *Cato's* charge, he rallies the broken Legions to shelter the banished *Romans*, if *Pompey* were dead; to venture for another victory, if he were alive. In *Africa* he checked *Pompey's* sons rashnesse (in threatening *Cicero* and others for going to *Italy*) and kept together his Army, who would serve none but *Cato*, who was as loath to leave such noble persons, as he was ignorant what to do with them; until hearing that King *Juba* had entertained *Pompey's* Father-in-law *Scipio*, and helped b *Ælius Varius* to an Army, he marched seven dayes with great difficulty to *Affrick* afoot, never c lying down since his *Pharsalian* defeat, but asleep. March he did when he had no water but what his Asses carried, no security from Snakes and Serpents, but what the *Pillies* afforded him. The contention between *Scipio* and *Varius*, who both flattered *Juba*, he composed; to knowing *Philostratus* the Philosopher he gave the upper hand, which he refused to proud *Juba* the King. He refused the supream command of the Army offered him by *Scipio* and *Varius* against law, because he had brought his Army (he said) to fight for it. He being but Vice-Prætor, and *Scipio* whose name was

a which he would have surrendred to him, because *Cicero* had been Consul, & he but Prætor.

b To whom *Pompey* left the care of that Province.
c He eat sitting ever after that Battel, never washing himself nor lying down (as the custome was) to supper.
d People that inhabited Snakes, & sucked up the poison of Serpents.

ominous in *Affrica*, Proconsul, with much clemency he saved *Utica*, designed by *Scipio* for a massacre and razing: With much care he secured it from *Cæsar*; being saved, replenishing its Magazine, repairing its Rampiers, entrenching its Walls, furnishing the Camp, disarming the Citizens, and wearing out that man of experience and power, *Cæsar*, whom he could not overcome. *Scipio's* baseness, not enduring his caution and wariness, jeered it as cowardliness: so that *Cato* was equally afraid that *a Scipio* should overcome *Cæsar*, so presumptuous he was; as that *Cæsar* should overcome him, so rash he was: Whole defeat a few days after as undauntedly he heard, as he did prudently foresee it, allaying the amazements of *Utica*, called together three hundred *Romane* Commissioners for Trade, and unconcernedly with his book of that Wars expences in his hand, advised them in *Jupiter's* Temple to keep together, and with their unanimity to dread *Cæsar* to a submission, or to persuade him to a reconciliation, offering himself to lead them as long as their minds are above their misfortunes to *Rome* it self, that had recovered her from greater dangers. *Spain*, he told them, knew not the Tyrants power, *Rome* was weary of it, and both at the devotion of any Champion. He advised to be ready for all danger, in behalf of their liberty, as their enemy was against it; telling them that happy they should be if Conquerours, and glorious if conquered; and leaving them to their reason and their prayers.

a Cato said, he would never live in Rome, if Scipio overcame.

prayers, looking upon the misery of the Times as their necessity if they yielded to them, but their renown, if they overcame them. Much prevailed his persuasions, more his constancy, to make them forget their danger, and rather die and lose all under *Cato*, than be spared by *Cæsar*. So just he was in his extremity, that he would not manumit the slaves without their Masters consent: so exact, that he would not enroll them in his musters without their own: so wary, that he would do nothing in pursuit of *Scipio's* and *Juba's* letters, without the three hundreds consent: then whom, when he spake, none more resolute; but when he turned his back, none more fearful, whose Estates and Dependences taught them rather to submit to *Cæsar* with the whole Empire, then to stand out against him, with *Cato* and his *a Utica*; and make their slaves free, to lose their own liberty. Now are *Pompey* & *Cato* at *Cæsar's* devoir, whom they would have betrayed *Cato*, *Utica*, and all the Senators there, as the price of their Peace and Pardon, had not he with those Horsemen that left *Juba*, and despised *Cæsar*, to follow him, saved himself and all the Noblemen, yea, and brought the treacherous Merchants themselves to fall down before his virtue and constancy, with this request, That he would pardon them, if they were not all *Cato's*; refusing their intercession with *Cæsar*, saying, Let them aske pardon who are overcome; and that he was always above *Cæsar* in justice, though now below him in fortune.

At

a Utica was a very strong town in Africa, well walled, and well furnished.

At last, hearing of *Cæsar's* coming; 1. He said, *O gods! then he cometh against us, as against men.* 2. He managed all the Senators escape. 3. He checked their ambition, who strove for power, when it was just lost. 4. Saved the rissed City with his own presence from a whole *b* Legion. 5. He advised and drew up the Cities supplication, inserting not a word for himself, recommending young *Statilius*, who would needs follow him, and refuse an escape to the Stoick Philosophers, to teach him to obey necessity. 6. He wished his friends to abstain from publique Affairs; wherein if they followed his integrity, the times would not bear it; if they complied with the times corruption, his Alliance would not endure it. 7. He treated the Magistrates and chief men of *Utica* liberally with a Supper, and nobly with a discourse upon this subject and piece of Stoicism; *Who is good is free, the wicked is the onely slave.* 8. So careful he seemed to be of affairs, as if he intended to live; yet so earnest in his discourses of another world, as if he resolved to die; as having set the Watches, walked, as his custome was, with his friends, and read over *Plato's* dialogue of the Soul abed, he did, calling for his Sword, which his careful sons and servants had hid (suspecting his sad fate) and when they and the Philosophers *Demetrius* and *Apollonides* refused to give it him; Give me a reason why I should not die, I yield, I will never be forced to live: *Cæsar* may be master of all, but *Cato's* resolution.

Cato, who was angry with his sons, who would

b who upon his
beck, although
then conquered,
left the spoil.

would offer to compel him to what they could not perswade him, at last, dispatching *Chambers* and *Butas* his servants, to see that all the Senators were shipped off, reading twice over the *Immortality of the Soul*, and twice sleeping most securely, he considered his sword's edge, ran it, though weakly, by reason of a swelling in his hands, into his bowels: The fall of a Geometrical Table hard by, called up his sons & servants, who would have sowed up his wound, but that the resolved man tore his own bowels, and put himself beyond their hope, and his fear of life. Whose *b* death, notwithstanding the present danger that was to be feared, the Conquerour that was to be flattered, and their own dissentions, they lamented as sadly, as they celebrated his Funeral by the Sea-side nobly, as the onely free-man, and invincible person in the world. *Utica* erected him a Monument, with a sword in his hand; *Cæsar* a name, with this saying, *O Cato! I envy thy death, since thou hast envied mine honour to save thy life; and his daughter c* *Porcia* a renown, for dying like her Father as manly, as his son unlike him, & effeminately.

a with a blow
that he gave his
servant over the
nose, because he
brought him not
his sword.

b He died in the
48 year of his
Age.

c who being
Brutus his wife
slew her self.

d Being naught
with *Psyche*,
Maphradates
his wife; whence
the Proverb,
Porcius and
Maphradates
have but one
soul, and *Cato*
will go from
Maphradates
to morrow 30
days hence.

AGIS

Anno Mundi
361, or
431. Ante
Christ 337,
or 518.



XXXVIII.

AGIS & CLEOMENES.

Contemporary with Marcellus the Roman, Antigonus the Macedonian, Simon the High Priest of the Jews, Theophrastus and Megasthenes a Persian Historian.

IXion embracing a cloud instead of Juno, had nothing ambitious men pursuing glory instead of virtue, do nothing being slavishly subject to the humors of the people, that they may command their person (as they who stand in the prow of the ship, attend their orders that are in the poop) the good man aims at honour to countenance his active virtue, and the young man (saith Theophrastus) to encourage his budding one: the Dragons tail that

that would needs guide the head, hath taught us that, as Phocion saith, *A man cannot be at once a friend and a flatterer*: so none can be a Master and a servant. Too much applause becomes not an ambitious man, lest he presume (after doing well, to do any thing) nor too much flattery the people, lest being first pleased, they grow at last insolent. The Gracchi are Latine instances of this truth (who though nobly born, bred, and serviceable to the Common-wealth, yet fell by over-obliging the people, and being over-applauded by them) as Agis and Cleomenes are Greek ones, who by enlarging the peoples authority against the Nobility, lost their own over both.

When Gold had debauched Sparta to covetousness, covetousness to licentiousness, and both to dishonour, Agis (the son of Eudamidas, the son of Archidamus, the son of a Agesilaus, of the house of the b Eurytionides) who excelled his partner Leonidas in Spartan virtues, nobleness of minde, &c. as he did the other in Grecian excellences; Sparta being then the worst City of Greece, and c Leonidas the worst man in Sparta (spurning at the delicacies he was by his Mother Agisstrata and Grandmother d Archidamia brought up in) would at twenty years of age have refused the Kingdom, had not he hoped to have reformed Sparta; which the conquests of Athens first corrupted, and Epitadeius his malicious law, That a man might make his Land over to whom he pleased, destroyed an hundred Citizens enjoying the Land, and the rest perishing,

a The greatest Prince in Greece.

b There were two royal houses in Sparta, Eurytionides and Agides, of whom was Leonidas.

c He brought from Seleucus his Court too much pomp and show to Lacedaemonia. Agis.

d who had more gold than all Sparta besides. Vide Diod. Sic. 16. l. 8. Pausan.

rishing, untill *Agis* observing that poverty made them unserviceable abroad, and seditions at home, offered a regulation; which the young men approved of, but the old men opposed; being as much afraid after their covetousness and oppression to return to *Lycurgus* his old institutes, as a Runagate is to come back to his Master: *Lysander*'s esteem and authority, *Mandoclidus* his prudence and policy, his debts and son backed him against the clamours of the Nobility: *Agisilaus* his Mother is dealt with to bring on the other women who had their Husbands estates and hearts in their hands, that her son might have the honour not of enriching (when *Ptolomies* Slaves might be more rich than *Sparta*'s Kings) but of ennobling and regulating *Lacedemonia*.

Amazed was the Lady at the novelty of it, untill *Agisilaus* perswaded her how feasible it was, and how profitable: a angry were the Ladies to part with their goods and power over the *Spartan* Treasure, but *Lysander*'s the Ephor's interest prevaieth over them. Secretly did *Leonidas* oppose *Agis* in favour of the rich, and but secretly, for fear of the people, suggesting that *Agis* by these favours to the poor of dividing goods and lands, and canceling debts, might procure him a stronger Guard, but *Sparta* no more Citizens: the Law past, the Debts are cleared, Lands are divided into twenty thousand parts for twenty thousand men, to be divided into fifteen Companies, after the old *Spartan* way, to serve the Countrey; and all this upon *Lysander*'s motion

a who spake to
Leonidas to
reprove *Agis*.

motion to the great Council of the People, the Oracle of *b Paspheae*, and King *Agis* his example, in making all his command, his relations, wealth, common. The people applauded not this action of *Agis*, more than *Leonidas* envied it, as loth to forgive his debts, and more loath to give the glory of it to the King; therefore asked *Agis* whether *Lycurgus* would have abolished propriety, or admit strangers to *Sparta*: to which *Agis* replied, That by abolishing the use of gold and silver, *Lycurgus* abolished borrowing and lending; and that he excluded *Sparta* not so much those that were strangers in their persons, as they who were c strangers in their lives; and you your self commend *Ecphrepes* for breaking Phrynis the Cittern-man's two strings more then ordinary, and yet blame me for moderating excesses; as if discord in a City were not more dangerous than in a Cittern.

A great tumult there was; the poor men siding with *Agis*, and the rich with *Leonidas*, whom *Lysander* chargeth with his strange wives, and (as the a custome was) upon the Star shooting in the bright night that the Ephori were to sit abroad every ninth year, *Cleombratus* being brought to claim the Kingdom, deprived him, the new Ephori restored him; but at *Lysander*'s policy, b exasperated both Kings so against them, that they were forced from their seats of Justice, and their *Leonidas* to *Tegea*, and all things go as *Agis* to accuse their Kings.

Saying, that the Ephori had nothing to do but in cases of difference, to the wibibit King that had most reason of his side.

would

b Or *Cassandra*, or *Daphne*, as *Phylarcus* writes, or the Mother of *Hammon* by *Jupiter*, at the City *Thalameis*: the Oracle was, That the Spartans should return to the first institutions of *Lycurgus*. c *Tarpander*, *Thales*, and *Pherecides*, though strangers, yet were revered in *Sparta*, because they sung and lived *Lycurgus* his laws. d That is, nine. e It was unlawful for any of *Hercules* his race to marry a strange woman. f The Ephori were to sit out one Moon-shining night every nine years; and if a Star shot, they were to accuse their Kings.

*e Saying of the
Fire that was
made of him to
the Athenians,
that it was the
brightest he ever
saw in his life*

*d See Baton
the Syacopian,
and Aratus his
own Commentar-
ies, where he
saith, That be-
cause the Far-
mets brought
all their Corn
into the barn,
he thought fit
to delay the
war, rather
then hazard
the country.
e Chelone
who list not her
Father when he
was banish'd,
and so took not
her Husband
when he was
exile.*

would have it, onely subtle *Agésilas* being as loath to divide his Lands, as he was to pay his debts, perswaded *Lysander* and his Master first to *c* cancel all Bonds, but delayed the division of Land until the Wars with the *Ætolians* called *Agis* aside to assist the *Achaïans*, where he shewed himself an excellent Commander over others in the discipline and obedience of his Soldiers, and over himself in his temperance: his advice was resolute, but wary, and with submission to *Aratus* his elder, whom he came not to command, but to assist; rather to hazard the Battel, then *d* delay the War. His return home was with much honour, until *Agésilas* his extravagancies put the people upon recalling *Leonidas*; and (notwithstanding his daughter-in law's intercessions by her self, her children, and what ever was dear unto her) upon banishing her Husband *Cleombrotus*. Hereupon *Leonidas* having secured all, would have allured *Agis* out of his Sanctuary at *Juno Chalcæas* her Tomb; and when that would not do, by *Ampharus* (who had borrowed his Mothers plate, and would keep it) as he was going out to bath himself, trapp'd him; and having imprisoned him, conven'd him before the *Ephori* to give an account of his Government, whom his contempt and innocence despised: saying to those who would have him lay the blame upon *Agésilas* and *Lysander*, and repent, That he followed them not but *Lycurgus*, and would die rather then repent, although nei-

ther

ther Soldier nor Sergeant in the *a* Decade durst lay hand upon the sacred person of the King; yet murder'd he is speedily and quickly for fear of the People (who pitied him as much as he did his murderers) and by his side that aged and good Matron *Arcadama*, and vertuous *Agésilata*, whose dying words were, *Thy goodnesse Agis was thy ruine, the gods grant yet that this may profit Sparta*; whose fears were great, but yet their griefs greater, that the first King in the world should be murder'd in their City at that age when any offences are excusable, and of that nature, that he had no faults but this, that he trusted others more than himself, and saved their lives who took away his; whose fair, *c* rich and vertuous Wife *Agatis*, *Leonidas* marieth to his young son *Cleomenes*, between whom there was as mutual a love upon King *Agis* his account, whom he would often discourse of, as there was deadly hatred between her and *Leonidas*: As temperate and noble was *Cleomenes* as *Agis*, but more active and stirring: the one would perswade a Reformation, the other would compell it; as much abhorring the idleness, indulgence, and private spirit that then prevailed, as he loved man-like exercise, temperate Education; and the just Equality that formerly obtained, having raised his noble minde by *Spburus* of *Boristhanes* his Philosophy to as great a pitch of resolution as others of effeminacy by *Tertius* his Poetry. Upon his Fathers death observing the rich mans dissoluteness, the poor mans despair

H h

and

*a Or Caiade;
which the Græ-
Lexicon saith
was a prison of
the Kings. So
Thucydides &
others call it.*

*b Since the Dor-
nans time, the
posterity of Her-
cules. Vide
Diod. Sic. l. 4.
& Paus. in Ar-
gol.
c As being the
bur of Gylip-
pus.*

and carelesse, the Ephori's usurpation, that had left him but the bare name of a King, feeling *Xenares* and his other friends pulles touching *K. Agis* his reformation and Council in vain, and finding his design would go on more successfully in War then Peace, he set the *Spartans* and *Achaians* at variance (upon *Aratus* his invasion of the *Arcadians* their neighbors) he gained and fortified a *Artemium*, discovered *Aratus* his night-design upon *Tegae* and *Craomenia* (writing to him to know what he did then with his scaling-ladders; whereupon *Democritus* the *Lacedemonian* said, *Aratus must make hast before his young Cockrell have on his spurs*) at the Ephori's command, who feared the War, he returned at their command too, when *Corymbus* was taken, he took *Methydnum*, burned the *Argives* borders, dares the fearful *Achaians* that drew off with shame before *Palantium*, bravely encouraging his Citizens with the old *Lacedemonian* saying, *That they enquired not so much how many their enemies were, as where they were*; and a while after overthrowing the *Achaian* Army by *Lyceum*, and upon the noise of that victory surprizing *Mantineia*, designing the restauration of *Archidamus* King *Agis* his son, and thereby his own settlement against the Ephori, who feared his success, as much as he envied their power, and upon his murder bribing the Ephori to War, in order to his first design, wherein with his Mothers assistance, who had a great stroak in *Sparta*, he won *Lendira*, and there overthrew

Aratus

a A Temple of Minerva hard by the City of Belbina in Laconia.

Aratus by Stratagems in pursuing him, who had overthrown him by power in the Field, using all their dead civilly, but *Lyfades* (who made *Megalipolis* a Free-State) honourably: upon which success he breaks his design for the Reformation of *Sparta* to *Megistonus*, one of the Ephori that slept in *Pasiphae's* Temple, dreamed there was but one of their Chairs left for the place of Audience; and that he heard a voyce saying, *This is best for Sparta*; a dream that encouraged *Cleomenes*, because it seconded his design, and frighted him because it discovered it: there was no way but to draw out a the *Lacedemonians* to the war in *Arcadia*, that he might bring in strangers upon *Sparta*, as he did, slaying the four Ephori at Supper, *Agessilaus* only escaping to the Temple of Fear, (that passion they say that preserves the Commonwealth, fortitude it self being nothing else but fear of shame) 2. Banishing by Trumpets eighty Citizens. 3. Overthrowing all the Ephori's Chairs but one for himself. 4. Declaring the original constitution of that government by Kings, the usurpation of the Ephori since *Asteropus* his time, and *Messinian* Wars, when the Kings in their absence set them up, and their insolence against Kings and People. 5. Wishing the removal of all those Foreign things, Money, Debts, Poverty, Riches, Pleasures, &c. without force; which force now necessary he yet excused by *Lycurgus* his own example, whose power first frighted *Charilaus* to a Sanctuary, as his justice at last won him to his institution. And

H h 2

6. open

a Against the Cities Herea & Alceza, or Alce mentioned by Pliny, lib. 4. b They had Temples of Death, of Laughter, of Fear, not because buriful, as the Devil, but because useful to the Commonwealth, whereof the chief support is fear and reverence to Law & authority in the meanest things, even the shaming of the child, which the Ephori brought in to insure young men to obey in Trifles. Vid. Plat. in Enliph. Hom. Ill. 3. & 4.

c Allowing even the banished a part, saying, they should return too, when his City was settled. Vid. Liv. 1. 34. & Paul.

2. d Teaching them to use their Pikes with both hands, instead of their Darts with one hand; and to carry their Targets with a good strong handle, and not buckled with a leather thong.

a Euclides.

b Therefore he chid his servants one day for giving strangers brown bread & black Lacedemonian broth, You must not, saith he, use strangers so hardly.

6. opening his resolution to make every honest man he knew serviceable to his Countrey, and free of his City. He first c divided his own and his friends Estates and Lands, next he replenished and d trained up his City; then he educated their children with *Sphaerus* the Philosopher's advice to learning & temperance; and to please the people, chose his a brother King with himself. To undeceive the *Achaians* (that thought he durst not leave *Sparta* for fear of a revolt) he draws out his Army against *Megalopolis*, made a booty of, and set up a Stage-play in their Countrey, although otherwise his Army knew no exercise but what is manly, the King himself being to them the great example of plainness and temperance; Virtues, that won him more reverence among the *Graecians*, than others pomp and riches; which they admired not so much, as they despised their pride and insolence; his plain courtesie ruining more Countries than others successful prowess; his condescension was not more eminent than his thrift purely *Laconick*; three boards for himself, and but five for the greatest strangers, furnished not with Kickshaws, but with b solid meat, and rich wine, adding some silver pots of wine upon a three-legged Table, whereof every man drank what he pleased, none being compelled: In stead of songs he had equally pleasant and useful discourses; it being his maxime, That it became Princes to gain friends by civility and pleasant entertainments, and Clowns onely to gain hirings by money. *Mantineia* referred her self to

to him, and he referred it to her own Laws and Liberties: He surprized *Arcadia*, designing either to put *Aratus* out of favour for suffering him to spoil the Countrey, or force him to a Battel, as he did, to his utter overthrow, near a *Dymes*: He restores *Langon* to the *A-* a Between which place the enemies
lians, frighted *Aratus* from the charge of
General, forced the *Achaians* to a resignation of the Seigniorie of Greece, and a supplication for Peace, which had been concluded
in a general Assembly at *Lerna*, had not *Cleomenes* fell a bleeding in the way by drinking
cold water when he was hot, and lost almost his voice and life: and Greece had been restored, had not *Aratus* (either respecting or
envying *Cleomenes* that power which he had so long enjoyed, and having in vain threatned the *Achaians* from the Peace) brought in
Antigonus and those *Macedonians* into his own Countrey, and into his own house, which he
had but e're while expelled thence, courting b He could not
the *Macedonian* pomp and luxury, that he endure the *Lacedemonian*
might avoid the *Spartan* Austerity and Equality, sacrificing with Garlands to *Antigonus* course bread
his Gown, out of hatred to *Cleomenes* his and plain caps,
b Cap. The Peace had been concluded at those instances
of the *Doric* life.
Argos, but that *Aratus* would tie *Cleomenes* c The Suburbs
to come without his Army to e *Cybarabis*, in- of *Argos*, called
veighing against him in his Orations, as *Cleom.* so from *Cylarab*
did against him in his Letters; whereupon a rabus the son
War is proclaimed in a *Aegion*; the common of *Schenelus*.
people are for *Cleomenes* his equality of Lands, a As *Aratus*
and the Nobility are against b *Aratus* his *Macedonians*. In this juncture *Cleomenes* takes writeth.
b See his Com-
mentaries.

c For valiant
Pyrrhus himself
entering it once,
was slain, and
could not keep
it.

d So effeminate,
that 50000
were at once
made slaves by
the Aetolians.

a His Castle

Palena, Pheneum, Pentelium, and Argos it's
selfe, which never c Spartan King was before,
in the midst of his Games and Feasts : and
though he and his design of levelling were ere
while the laughter, they were both now the
wonder of the world, before whose time none
more d effeminate than the Spartans, as after
it none more manly, *Lycurgus* himself being
raised in him from the dead. To *Argos* he
added *Cleones* and *Phluntb*; and *Corinth* it
self with *Aratus* (who said, That things had
more power over him, than he had over things)
ride Post to submit to him : and he having o-
vercome the *Troezenians*, the *Epidaurians*,
and the *Hermionians*, entrencheth *Corinth*, of-
fers *Aratus* all the civility in the world, with
the doubling of *Ptolomy's* pension ; which,
when he refused, and would have betrayed
the Castle of *Corinth* to *Antigonus*, he plun-
dereth him and all *Sicyonia*, secures the A-
venues of the Mountains of *Onienes*, spends
Antigonus his provision, and tires out his
well-disciplin'd Army with delay, repulseth
him to a despair at the Haven of *Lechaum*;
untill *Argos* revolted, because *Cleomenes* per-
formed not his promise of levelling : *Aristo-
le* and *Aratus* assisted him with Auxiliaries
from *Antigonus*, and *Megistanus* (upon whose
word he had suffered the *Argives* to live in
their own City) was slain : he left *Corinth* for
fear his passage home might be cut off, and
his Countrey laid waste ; he quitted *Argos*
and it's a *Aspis*, though retaken ; in a little
time losing all *Peloponnesus*, as he had gained
it :

and as one misfortune follows another, his
overthrow at *Tegea* is seconded with his ver-
tuous and b welbeloved young *Agias* her
death ; which yet he bare manfully, suffering
not his private sorrows to choak up his pub-
lique cares of his Affairs at home, and of his
confederacy abroad, particularly with *Pto-
lomy*, upon the hard condition of delivering
him his noble Mother *Cratisclea*, who check-
ed his unwillingness to discover to her the
conditions with these words : What ? ashamed
to let this old age of mine do some service to my
Countrey before I die ? and chid his tears in
Neptune's Temple, with these words ; O King
of *Sparta* ! let us not dishonour our Countrey with
tears, that is in our power ; nor bewail our
fortune, for that is not so. And when *Cleome-
nes* durst not make that useful Peace with *A-
chaia* for fear of *Ptolomy's* hard usage of his
Mother and his Son ; Will not you, saith he,
do what is expedient for *Sparta*, notwithstanding
Ptolomy's displeasure, an old woman and
a young boyes danger ? *Antigonus* presseth hard
upon the borders of *Laconia*, the *Ilotes* are
made free for five hundred Talents, and em-
ployed against his a *Leucaspides*. An unlook-
ed-for enterprize is undertaken, *Cleomenes*
pretending to march to *Selacia*, wheels about
suddenly upon b *Megalipolis*, took it's weak
Avenue by *Panteus*, was in the City before
he was heard of, frights away the fearful mul-
titude ; and upon *Lyfandridas* his motion,
that he should rather make them his Confede-
rates than ruine them, he spared the place,
H h 4 saying,

b So well he lov-
ed her, that in
the middle of
his victories, he
would make
private jour-
neys to *Sparta*
to see her.

a Or white
shields,

b A place as
considerable as
Sparta, to
whose assistance
Antigonus
was drawing
on with the A-
chaians;

saying, Interest must give way to honour; until Philopamen and his fellow-Citizens stubborn refusal of his favour offered at Messina, exasperated him to deface and spoil their City, and send their tables, images & pictures to Sparta. The Parliament at Argum breaks up upon Aratus his hiding of his face, and crying; Megalipolis is taken and razed: Antigonus his forces are dispersed in Garisons, Cleomones invades the Argives, either to force Aratus to fight with his few strange Foot, or to be disgraced, as he was with this taunt, Either fight, or resign thy Generallship. Antigonus bears up his own determination against all reproaches, Cleomones layes all a waste, to the amazement of the Countrey, to the very Suburbs of Argos, which he would not suffer his Soldiers to set on fire, saying, That what he had done at Megalipolis, was rather angrily than thoughtfully done: He sends to Antigonus in jest for the keys of Juno's Temple, dispatcheth his Army to Pblunta, and got a name at Clogunta, Orchomena, and all Greece, for bearing up one City against the power and treasure of Macedonia and Peloponnesus, with no lesse renown to himself, then ruine to his enemies. But money is the sinew of all things, especially of War. He that rules the Prowe, saith Demader, must see before him (that is) for promise; and Archidamus would say, The charges of War have no stint: strength goes beyond skill; and Antigonus his greatnesse and treasure overcame Cleomones his necessity, which could neither pay strangers, nor maintain his own people;

a Cutting down
their corn, not
with Sicles or
Swords, as o-
thers use to do,
but with long
poles instead of
Sicthes.

People; For, as Providence bears the stroke in all weighty causes, Cleomones lost his Army and City at Gelasia but two dayes before Antigonus his letters of the Illyrians invasions: want of money was the reason that he fought (as Polybius writeth) twenty thousand against thirty thousand: Demoteles the Scout-Master-General's Treason, in perswading him that there was no ambush in his Rearward, was the cause that he was overthrown, though none could fight so valiantly as his Soldiers, none command more skilfully than himself, beating the Macedonian's Foot-squadrons five furlongs off; but seeing his brother encompassed, he bid him die honourably, and with not above two hundred of six thousand Spartans escaped to Sparta, advising them to yield to the Conqueror; and promising to serve them either with his life or death, he refused to sit, or, as their custome was after the Battel, to drink; but laying his arms and head upon a pillar, cast in his minde all ways of securing his Countrey, takes Ship at the Haven of Gythium with all his friends, leaves Sparta to the clemency and noblenesse of Antigonus, who left them to their own laws and government, and died either naturally of a Tylick and Catarrh, or honorably in the midst of the Battel, or triumphingly for joy after it. From Cythera, Cleomones sayls to Syrena, when his friend Therycion accosteth him with these words; We have lost one opportunity of dying nobly, by making Antigonus take the King of Sparta not alive, but dead.
What?

What? do we flie death at hand, to seek it afar off? It being no blemish for Hercules his posterity to serve Alexander's, let us rather serve the noble Macedonian, who overcame us, then the effeminate Egyptian, who was overcome by us. What? flie from Antigonus, serve Ptolomy, and be beneath both? A joyfull fight for your Mother to shew King Ptolomy's Wives her son, yesterday a King, to day a Prisoner and Fugitive! Let Laconia be our Field, our necessity and swords our courage, and some satisfaction to the Spartan's ghosts at Salamis our Reward: Let us never enquire from Egypt, who is Antigonus Lieutenant in Sparta.

"To seek death (replied Cleomenes) is the easiest; to escape those misfortunes, that more noble persons than we oppressed by destiny or number have undergone, is the weakest thing in the world. We have yielded to our Enemy, 'tis below us to yield to our unhappinesse too. I'll neither live nor die with respect to myself; as my life was not, so neither shall my death be so uselesse, as to serve onely for a shift from misery. Let us serve our Countrey while (there is hope) we may, we can dye when we will. To this Therycion said no more, but *died.

Cleomenes lived nobly in Alexandria, where his plain Garb had but mean entertainment at first, untill his constancy and courage, his parts and prudence, (wherewith Ptolomy was much taken) deserved him greater; and as long as Ptolomy Energetes lived, procured him a respect, and a pension at present, and a vast pro-

*By the Seaside, whither he flipt and slew himself.

mise of assistance for the future; as in his leached sons time, when a Bawd and Lecher ruled the Kingdome, and a Stage play was the greatest State-affair, the honour and trust of a Privy Councillor, when he dissuaded the Kings brothers death, saying, We had better beget, rather than destroy these persons on whom depends the safety of the Kingdome: and when Sosibius urged the Princes interest in the strangers; Nay, said Cleomenes, to shew at once his interest and faithfulness, the Peloponnesians are at my commandment, and they shall be at yours: but the Kings weaknesse making him fearful, and that fearfulness distrustful, Cleomenes and his strangers were reckoned as Lambs in the midst of Sheep; especially considering he would look through his fingers, as the Law all, and was seen of none; insomuch as when he desired assistance, or at least leave now Antigonus was dead, and Peloponnesus in uproar, to return home, the King was so lost in Wine and Women, that he heard not of it, & his Dominus fac totum Sosibius thought that not to let him go was dangerous; that to dismiss him (now so active and stirring, so well acquainted with the imperfections of their Government, and as little taken with gifts and pleasures, as *b* Apis with the Priests allowance when restrained) were an oversight. In this juncture comes Nicagoras, who had sold Cleomenes some lands, to supply him with horses to the King: Cleomenes told him he had better have brought Courtizans; which when Cleomenes would not pay him his purchase-

a when Magias by his Mothers means being endeared to the Soldiers, aimed at the Crown.

b A bull, which had rather follow its naturall inclination in the pasture, than enjoy greater matters on the Butchers stall.

purchase-money, he told *Sofibius*; and upon his suggestion writ against him to the King who was so incensed, that he shut up *Cleomenes*; who over-hearing his own friend *Ptolomy* give order for close custody, looked to die as soon as the King was sober: But having refused *Antigonus* his peace, he and his *Spartans* scorned to expect the sots sentence; they contrive that Presents should be sent to *Cleomenes* from the King, as if he would discharge him, and with that pretence he had liberty to break out with thirty more resolute men, to kill the two *Ptolomies*, to scour the streets, to attempt the Prisons, but in vain; none either assisting or opposing them. Whereupon *Cleomenes* died, saying, *That those people deserved to be ruled by a woman, who would stye from their own liberty*, and bidding them die like his companions, as they did every man by *c* his own hand; and *Pantæus*, as his dear *Cleomenes* requested, last, when he saw them all dead: His Mother and all his Relations died by the Tyrants order as manly as himself, desiring onely to fall before her children; and when that was denied, adding onely, *My children, where are you now?*

c In the 16th. year of *Cleomenes* his reign.

a Covering her self.
b Being but newly married, she came as far as Egypt to her Husband.

With her fell *Pantæus* his beautiful and virtuous Wife, as *a* modestly and *b* constantly as she lived: But a Serpent wreathing her self about flawed *Cleomenes*, put the King to a fit of superstition, his Ladies to their Expunctions, and the *Alexandrians* to their prayers to the Demi-god *Cleomenes*, untill learned men taught them, That as naturally as Bees breed

red out of Oxen, Wasps out of Horses, and c When their
cles out of Asses; Serpents crawl out of fat is melted, or
Men: therefore the Dragon was devoted of their marrow
to Princes and to Men. gathered together.



Anno Mundi
3600. Ante
Chr. 267.

XX XIX.

DEMETRIUS.

Contemporary with *Jesus of Syrach*, *Antiochus*,
M. Fabius Max. *Ptolomy Lagus* King of
Egypt.

As the senses receive white and black, sweet and bitter, so Arts and Sciences contain good and evil, shewing men the one, as *Ismenias* did those Scholars that struck a clean stroke, with a *Do so*; and the other, as he did those that bungled, with a

a Do not so. As the *Lacedemonians* set the drunken *Ilotes* before their children, humanely abusing one part of man-kind, teach the other : So place I these two great instances of that great rule (That from great *Mindes* great *Vices* and *Virtues* do proceed) *Demetrius* and *Anthony*, before posterity, lawfully to imitate their virtues, and avoid their vices. Both valiant and liberal ; both high minded and prodigal ; both effeminate and intemperate ; both living with various successes both dying with the same unfortunatenesse both advanced when they hoped not, and overthrowen when they feared not. *Demetrius* whether *Antigonus* his Son or Nephew I will not determine ; his Father dying when he was a child, and his Mother marrying suddenly after ; tall he was, but wonderful sayr, his countenance sweet, mixed with gravity ; yet so majestick were his looks, that he was therefore feared. Though he followed his lusts and pleasures much, yet was he careful and diligent to dispatch matters of Importance. Loving and obedient was he to his Parents likewise to his Friends, whom always he used with kindnesse and courtesie ; and that appeared by his love to *Mithridates*, whom he saved from *Antigonus* his bloody intention, by writing upon the ground with the end of his Dart, *Flie Mithridates* (being sworn by his Father not to speak) which *Mithridates* understanding, thereupon escaped. *Antigonus* made him the Master-General of all his Army against *Ptolomy*, where he was defeated.

a *Antigonus* dreamed a dream, whereupon he was resolved to put *Mithridates* to death, and discovered it to his son *Demetrius*, swearing him to be private.

stated, yet courteously used by *Ptolomy*, sending him his Men and Goods back again ; which favour he suddenly requited, by returning it after the same manner, having got leave of his Father to make War against him ; defeated *Silles*, *Pompey's* General, whom he took with the Camp, and seven thousand prisoners. *Demetrius* was sent again to *Arabia* against the *Nabatbanians*, who feared not, though he was in great distresse for water ; at which the barbarous people wondering, he had leisure enough to return with safety, and with a great booty of a thousand Camels, which he brought away with him. Which place *Seleucus* conquering, in the mean while *Demetrius* invadeth *Mesopotamia*, and distressed the Garison of *Seleucus* in *Babylon*, and sodainly returned home, defending *Halicarnassus* besieged by *Ptolomy*, who with *Cassander* kept *Greece* in servitude, but *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* endeavour it's liberty ; for what power or riches they could gather together in suppressing the barbarous people, they bestowed it to the restoring of the liberty thereof ; which *Demetrius* nobly compassing, is called by the *Gracians* their Saviour and Benefactor. But in the noble management of this businesse, he put himself into great danger, by leaving his Camp, to follow famous and beauteous *Cratesipolis Polyperchon* (who had been *Alexander's* wife) which is commonly the effect of Lechery.

Thus going along, and setting *Greece* at freedom : but coming to *Megara*, sent for *Stilpo*

a Giving them the names of Gods, Kings, Saviour, &c. There was an Altar built in the place where Demetrius came out of his Coach, consecrating it in honour of his nobleness, and to the praise of his name. Munychion was altered, & called Demetrium.

Stilpo a famous Philosopher, and asked whether he lost any thing amongst all the Spoils that were taken; he answered, *Who could take my learning from me?* Having thus wholly and nobly brought about his intentions, was highly and a over-greatly honoured, which attracted him hatred beyond measure. But at last, being a little settled, he is married at Athens unto Euridice, which came of the noble and ancient house of Meliades: he had many Wives besides; but Phila, Antipater's daughter was most in his affection, both for her Fathers sake, and her former Husbands, Craterus: But it is supposed he married one so old by the advice of his Father, whispering in his ear this saying:

*Refuse no woman ne're so old,
Whose marriage bringeth store of gold.*

Wherein he cunningly alluded to these verses of Eurypides,

*Refuse not to become a Thral,
Where lucre may ensue withal.*

While these things passed on in this sort, his Father sent him to Battel against Ptolemy for Cyprus; whom he valiantly making to fight at Sea, Menelaus made no resistance at Land, but yielded Salamina unto him, and his ships and put into his hands also twelve hundred Horse-men, and twelve thousand Foot-men well armed. This noble and triumphant story

history he beautified by his great bounty and goodness, giving his Enemies slain in Battel honourable Funerals, setting the Prisoners at liberty without ransome paying, and giving moreover twelve hundred compleat Armors unto the Athenians. After which conquest, Antigonus and Demetrius were called Kings: The Father puffed up with this, determined to set again upon Ptolemy himself, leading the Army by Land, and the Son by Sea, but were driven to return without any attempt given, as Medius a dreaming foretold. Therefore Antigonus growing unmeet for War (having a fat and a corpulent body, being little lesse then fourscore years old) ever after used his son in his place, who wisely and experimentally governed all matters.

Demetrius in time of Peace was given to all manner of Vices, but in time of War was as sober and continent as any one born so by nature. Therefore it is reported, that one coming home from hunting, he ran to his Father and kissed him; who smiling, said, *How now son? dost thou think thou art kissing of b Lamia?* Another time, having been a long time out of his Fathers sight, said he had been troubled with the Rheumè; Yes (saith his Father) but it was the Rheumè of Thasus or c Chios. But his Father forbore with his faults, burying them in the depths of his vertues, who ordered all things with so much discretion.

Politick and circumspect he was to prepare all manner of Munition for War; in matter of weight was he careful, though sometimes he

a He sleeping, thought to see Antigonus run with all his Army, who should have the upper hand; and that at the first he ran with great force & swiftnesse, but that afterwards his strength and breath failed him so much, that when he should return, had much ado to retire again. b Courtezan to Demetrius. c In either of these 2 Islands were excellens good wines.

took his pleasure, never mingling the one with the other, being a most wise and skilful Captain, and an excellent Shipwright; an extraordinary natural wit had he to devise all such works as can be done by wit and hand; neither did he spend his brains and inventions about toys (as other *a* Kings did) but made things of such consequence as were worthy of, and shewed that they came from a King; which were so famous, that his friends wondered at *b* them, and his enemies delighted with the beauty of them.

He besieged the Rhodians, being unworthy Confederates of Ptolomy, sending him a ship of Demetrius full of Linnen, Tapestry, Letters, &c. which his Wife Phila had sent him (which was much contrary to an Athenian temper; which, having intercepted some of King Philip's Currens that made War against them, courteously sent him all, and his Olympia her Letters, sealed even as they received them) but so kind and gentle was Demetrius, that he could not finde in his heart to serve them after their kind; which he might have done not long after, by defacing the draught of the City of *Jalysus* painted by Protogenes born in *Caunus*, an excellent Painter, which Demetrius found (almost ended) in a house in the Suburbs of the City: the Rhodians (having a long while nobly defended themselves) were desirous to be rid of this War: therefore concluded Peace with Demetrius upon these conditions, That they should be Confederates with Antigonus and Demetrius against all men

a Ptolomy King of Macedon delighted to make fine Tables and pretty Lamps, and Artalus surnamed Philomater, would plant & set physical Herbs.

b His Gallies with 15 or 16 banks of Oars, and huge Engines of Battery called Elepolis.

c This work was seven years a doing, and was so famous, that Apelles himself wondred at it.

for Ptolomy onely. The Athenians sent for Demetrius, upon Cassander's coming to lay siege to their City: Whereupon Demetrius hoisting sayl towards Athens with three hundred and thirty Gallies, and a great number of men of War besides, did not onely drive Cassander out of the Province of Attica, but followed him even to the Streith of Thermopylae, and there overthrew him in set Battle, and received the City of Heraclea, which willingly yielded unto him, and six thousand Macedonians that came unto him to take his part: And in his return back, he set all the Grecians at liberty on this side the Strait: He made a League with the Boeotians, and took the City of Ceneeres, and the Castle of Phyle and Panactos, in the Frontiers and Confines of Attica, in the which Cassander had left Garisons to keep the Countrey in subjection; and driving them out of the Countrey, he rendred the Forts again unto the Athenians; for which victory (though it was thought they had given him all honour imaginable afore) yet they found new devices to please him, by ordaining that the place behind the Temple of Minerva should be prepared for his house to lie in, saying, That the goddess Minerva did lodge him with her. Neverthelesse he with abominable and horrible insolencies and wantonnes defiled the Castle where the Temple of these Virgins were, both towards young *a* boyes of honest houses, as also unto young

a Among whom Democles the fair was one, whom divers wayes he sought to entice, both by fair means, large promises and gifts, & also with threats besides. But when he saw no man could bring him to the bent of his bow, and the young boy in the end seeing him so importunate upon him, came no more to the common places of Exercise, & secretly went to wash himself to avoid the common Stoves: but Demetrius watching his time of

going thither, got to him being alone; which the Boy (not able to resist) seeing, drowned himself in a hot boyling Cauldron.

- a who were
 1 Chrysis.
 2 Lamia.
 3 Demo, and
 4 Anticyra.

women of the City: so that this place seemed to be pure and holy at such times as he lay with his common a Courtizans.

Demetrius going to Peloponnesus, never an Enemy of his durst tarry his coming, all yielding him their Castles and Towns. Thus Demetrius wan unto himself all the Countrey called *Aëe*, and all *Arcadia*, saving the City of *Mantineæ*; and for the sum of a hundred Talents given amongst them, he delivered the Cities of *Argos*, *Sicyone*, and of *Corinth* from the Garison that lay amongst them. Demetrius to honour the Feast of *Juno* in *Argos*, called *Hera*, married *Deidamia* K. *Pyrrhus* his Sister Daughter of *Æacides*, King of the *Molossians*, and changed the situation and name of the City *Sicyone*, calling it *Demetriade*. After this he was chosen General of all *Greece*, and was so proud, that he laughed them to scorn that called any other Princes Kings but his Father and himself. So unreasonable was he, that he taxed the *Athenians* two hundred and fifty Talents to buy his Courtizans sope.

All the Kings and Princes conspired together against *Antigonus* because of his cruelty, rashnesse, and insolencies: but Demetrius leaving *Greece*, and joyning with his Father, at the first onset made *Antiochus* the Son of *Seleucus* flie; but over-rashly chasing the Enemy, lost the victory, and was overcome, and his Father was killed with Arrows, Darts, and Pikes; and they divided the Kingdom among them. Demetrius was forced to flie, but he hoped some ayd of his former *Athenians*,

ons; they unthankfully slighted him, his Garisons either withstood him, or revolted: miserable upon every side he was, every where successlesse, but at last something encouraged by *Seleucus* (who required his daughter *Stratonicæ* in marriage) he finding the *Athenians* in civil wars, marcheth against them, and again overcometh them, though he had lost most part of his ships by reason of a boysterous storm, and out of his clemency forgiveth them with a mild narration of their faults. At this the people shouting for joy, strove w^{ch} should do him most honour; but now he secures himself from future rebellion. Thus having taken *Athens*, he sets upon the *Lacedemonians*, and overthroweth King *Archidamus* and all his Army which came out against him. But was there ever King that had so often and sodain changes as Demetrius? therefore it is reported, that in his great advertity, when Fortune turned so contrary against him, he was wont to cry out against it that which *Eschylus* speaks in a place:

Thou seem'st to have forgotten me, of purpose for to show

Thy force in lifting of me up, and down again to throw.

Now again when his affairs prospered so well, and that he was like to recover a good force and Kingdom, news was brought him, first that *Lyfimachus* had taken all his Towns from him which he held in *Asia*; and on the o-

either side, that *Ptolomy* had won from him all the Realm of *Cyprus*, the City of *Salamina* only excepted, in the which he kept his Mother and Children very straitly besieged.

But this sadnesse was well recompenced with joy: For after the death of *Cassander*, he invadeth *Macedon*, whereof he was suddenly proclaimed King, after he had killed a *Alexander*, who laid wiles for him when they familiarly entertained one another; and the people very kindly and willingly accepted him, both for *Phila* * his wives sake, daughter to *Antipater*, and for the *b* hatred they bare to *Cassander* and his posterity, into the Kingdomes of *Macedon* and *Thessaly*, without any debates or harangues. To this new Crown was added the joy that *Ptolomy* obliged his Mother with presents, whom he had besieged with an Army; that his daughter *Stratonice* was married to *Seleneus* and his *c* Son too, and in the right of both proclaimed Queen of the barbarous Nations; and that the best part of *Peloponnesus*, with the Cities of *Athens* and *Megara* were his own: whereupon he besieged the *Bæotians* in *Thebes*, and with his Engines (now *Cleonimus* stole away) took it, engarioning the Town, imposing a contribution upon the Countrey, and substituting *Hieronymus*

a The son of *Cassander*.

* For *Antipater's* sake.

b For his own and his Father *Alexander's* murders.

c His son *Antiochus*, who falls in love with his Mother in law, and would die because he could not conquer his unreasonable passion, had not his Physician washed him, and discovered by such love-tokens as his shining of his colour, the rolling of his eye, his extasie, the failure of his pulse and heart, &c. that he loved *Stratonice*. Afraid he was

to tell it the King, lest he should be angry; afraid to conceal it, lest the Prince died: but one day he tells his Majesty that his son must die, his disease being the love of what is impossible for him to enjoy. What is that, said the King? My Wife, said the Physician: Art thou not (said the King) more sensible of my favours than to let my onely Son die for lack of your Wife? Would you (replied the Physician) give him yours? Yes, if his love were so happy, answered the King with tears in his eyes, and my kingdom too: Nay then (said the Physician) it's so, and you who are Husband, Father, and King, may be Physician too; and so they were married.

the

the Historiographer in his stead: but the *Bæotians* (Notwithstanding his great civility, particularly to *Pisistratus*, whom he not onely released, but made Polemarch or Campmaster of *Thessaly*) upon his noble expedition to rescue *Lyfimeachus* in *Thrace*, revolted, *Demetrius* overthrew them in the Field, and (upon *Pyrrhus* his return home from invading *Thessaly*) with great fury, first by his son, next in his own person, he begins their City, battering it with continual assaults; 1. By his Engine *Elepolis*. 2. By his men, of whom he said (when his Son *Antipater* relented at their continual slaughter) Is there any distribution of Corn to those that are dead? Until his own exemplary valour (notwithstanding an Arrow-shot in his neck, never commanding more service than he undertook himself) took the *a* place: his justice executed thirteen Citizens, and banished as many; his mercy pardoned the rest, and his policy removed the Games of *Apollo Pythius* from revolting *Thebes*, to most loyal *Athens*, which claimed that god for its Patron, and Founder: hence weary of Idleness and Peace that made his *Macedonians* vain and seditious, he invaded the *Ætolians*, and leaving *Pantachus* there, missed *Pyrrhus*, and wasted his Countrey, while he overthrew his Lieutenant in the Field, and overcame *Demetrius* in the hearts of the People; who as much revered the hardnesse and valour of *Pyrrhus*, resembling that of *Alexander*, as they did despise the softnesse and vanity of *Demetrius* (in his Diadem, his Purple-Cloak

I i 4

embroy-

a New twice upon and lost in ten years.

embroydered with the Heavens and Stars, his woollen shoes) more becoming a Stage-player. Demetrius his inaccessible reservedness and rough state did no lesse displease, than Philip's noblenesse obliged them: Two years would he detain the Athenian Embassadors without answer: no audience would he give the Spartans single Embassador, though they urged like themselves, *One is enough to one.* One day he was open and free, and received many Petitions: but going over the River *Axiu*, *b* threw them all in unanswered. Philip on the other side (being told by a poor woman, to whom he said, *He was not at leisure to do her justice, that he should then leave to be King*) devoted whole dayes to hear causes: Force (saith *Timotheus* of *Mars*) may awe, but Law (saith *Pindar*) *c* governeth the world. *Jupiter* in *Homer* is called *Poliouchus*, or City-preserver: but *Demetrius* glorying in his shame, must be called *Poliorcetes*, or Fort-taker.

But recovering his health at *Pella*, and his Kingdom, which *Pyrrhus* wasted as far as *Edessa*, he made a Peace in order to the great design with 98000 Foot, 12000 Horse, and five hundred Ships built at *Pireus*, *Corinth*, *Chalcis* and *Pella*, by his own personal direction (of *d* extraordinary bignesse, and of as exquisite serviceableness) of invading *Ptolomy*, *Seleucus*, and *Lyfimachus*, to whom *Pyrrhus* (considering it might be his turn next now he had no Hostages) joyned *Ptolomy's* Navy, awes *Greece* to a revolt; *Lyfimachus* and *Pyrrhus* his Army invade *Macedon* from *Epirus* and *Thrace*,

b Opening his
lap and Cloak.

e Justice, saith
he, is Queen
of the world.

d whereof one
was of 40 banks
of Oars, 280 en-
bits long, & 48
enbits high, car-
rying 400 Ma-
riners, 4000
Rowers, and
3000 Soldiers.

strace, *Pyrrhus* takes *Berrha*; *Demetrius* his Army thereupon, although drawn off as far as could be from their Country-man *Lyfimachus*, molder away; and after a mutiny, and *Demetrius* his *a* escape, yield themselves and the *a* *In a black* Realm to *Pyrrhus*; who having the valour and *Cloak instead of* merit, as well as the pomp and state of a King, *an embroydered* *one.* *Demetrius* after 7 years Reign, saw his Kingdom divided between *Pyrrhus* and *Lyfimachus*, and his constant Wife *Phila* poysoning her self at *Cassandria*, as not able to bear her Husbands calamity, yesterday a Prince, to day a Beggar, though invincible under her own.

But see the changeableness of Fortune! he rallieth together a broken Army of *Grecians* (whom he won by his plainness with pity, and not by his Kingdom with interest) restored *Thebes* to its liberty and government: Upon *Crates* his friends intreaty and advice, he raiseth the siege of *Athens* (which had revolted, and revoked the Priest-hood of *Diphibus*, who was that year Priest of the Saviours, instead of the Governour, or *Ebanymus*) with twelve thousand Foot he invades *Caria* and *Lydia*, strengtheneth his interest by marrying *b* *Ptolomy's* daughter. *b* *Ptolomaide*; *Sardis* and other Cities, *Lyfimachus* his Captains and other Soldiers submit *c* *Lyfimachus* to him; *c* *Agathocles* skirmisheth his Rear, *d* *By barrring* and cutteth off his *d* provision; the fear of a *the strength of* long journey to *Armenia* and *Media* enrageth, *Taurus.* *Famine* and the *e* *Plague* which followeth *c* *By eating ill* *meats.* *it*, distresseth his Army; he writeth most sad Letters of his case to *Seleucus*, who nobly resolved to furnish him, but that his Wife *Patrocles*

trooles advised him to watch so active and designing a Prince as *Demetrius*, against whom he drew up towards the strong holds of *Taurus*, where *Demetrius* (having in vain petitioned for leave to conquer the *Barbarians*, or at the least to winter there) being cooped up (and offered onely to winter for two months in *Cataonia*) as a wilde Beast in a toyl, skirmisheth *Seleucus* with successe, recovereth the passes, and hazarded a Battel (when *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus* now jealous of one another, were parted) upon his recovery of a dangerous fit of sicknesse, surprizing the enemy by marching another way) with victory, had not Traytors discovered his design, and *Seleucus* shewed himself to his Soldiers, and saying, *That he had deferred fighting, rather to save them, than spare Demetrius*; brought them all to a submission, as he did *Demetrius* himself, after he had in vain attempted all ways of escaping the Guards on all passages and avenues, whom he received in a rich Tent honourably (being more joyful that he had an opportunity to pardon him, than that he had the happinesse of conquering him) as his friend rather than his captive: so great was the concourse to him, upon the intimation of *Seleucus* his favour, that pity gave place to envy, and courtesie to a jealousie; so that a thousand Foot and Horse secures, and *Cheronefus* had him, where he wanted neither for necessaries, nor for pleasure, nor for attendance, nor for hopes of Peace; which *Seleucus* his own inclination, together with others medi-

His passage to Syria being cut off.

a That the Soldiers would mutiny as soon as they saw Demetrius.

mediation design'd, should be upon *Antigonus* and *b Stratonices* Arrival: but he forgetting his misery, and hunting, drinking, and playing, by ease, *c grossesse*, and intemperance, dyed in the 54th year of his age. Strict was his injunction to his Son, not to believe a word that came from him, but to keep his Garisons: loose was his carriage, drinking either to forget his cares, to shadow his design, or to teach the world that pleasure, not vertue, is the utmost of a Princes ambition. His Funeral was celebrated with a *d solemnity* becoming not his present fortune, but his former state, wherein succeeded him a series of Princes to *Persens* time, when Greece yielded to Rome, as *Persia* did to Greece.

ed, adorned, and attended with much Royalty. Xenophautes playing a lamentable Song, and the Oares answering him.

b To indear them to Demetrius as the instruments of their delivery.
c Being kept up three years.

d His Son in Mourning, attended by most of the Cities with their Garlands, carried his remains in a golden pot to Corinth, where it was crown-

M. TULLIUS

Anno Mundi.
3871. Ante
Chr. 78.



XL.

M. TULLIUS CICERO.

Contemporary with Cæsar, Ptolemy Auletes
King of Ægypt, Aristobulus King of Ju-
dæa.

Cicero (whose Mother *Helvia* was well
born and bred, and Father *Tullus* not
a Fuller as some conceived; but a de-
scendant from a *Tullus Attius* King of the
Volsci) said of his name *b* *Cicero* most ho-
nourably, when advised to change it, That ei-
ther it was, or he would make it a noble one)
engraving his names *M. Tullius* on the one
side of his Plate-offering when Treasurer of
Sicily, and a *Cich-pease* on the other. 1. His
birth

birth (on the third of *January*, when they sa-
crificed for the prosperity of the Empire)
without any pain to his Mother, with the i-
mage that told the Nurie, *She gave suck to a*
great Common-siths-man, promised much of
him; his quick wit, his large capacity, and
his ingenuous towardnesse more: So great his
parts, that men came to see him, and the
boyes revered him; and so apt according
to *Plato's* rule (*l. 6. de rep.*) for all Learning,
that his youth was as famous for *c* Poetry, as
his riper years for Oratory; an Oratory, that
notwithstanding the alterations of that
Tongue, bears the Bell still, when his Poetry
hath yielded to later times, and better inven-
tions: the Academick *Philo*, whom *Rome* e-
steemed much for his Eloquence, more for
his Behaviour, was his Master for Philo-
sophy, *M. Scavola* for Law and Policy, and
Sylla for War: but seeing civil War the issue
of a Commonwealth, and Monarchy the con-
sequence of that War; he retired to con-
templation, and a more learned *d* converse,
untill *Sylla* selling *Roscins* his *e* estate by the
Cryer, and **accusing* him by his slave *f* *Chry-*
sogonus, *Cicero* (when none else durst) at
once recovered the young man, and raised
himself. His voyce was clear, but harsh and
vehement; his temper and body weak and
meager; his meals sparing and late; his in-
clination studious, in compliance wherewith,
he retyrred from *Sylla's* displeasure, when
forbid to practice at *Rome*, to *Athens*; where
he was as much taken with *Antiochus* his
graceful

c His poem of
8 Slaves called
Pontus Glau-
cus.

d with the Phi-
losophers of
Greece.

e which amount-
ed to 250 Ta-
lents.

** That he had
killed his Fa-
ther.*

f who bought it
for 2000 Dra-
cbmes.

graceful eloquence, as he was displeased with his humorfome novelty (who rather out of fa-
 Aion than judgement, quitted the Academick
 Philofophy, *Cicero's* darlings for the Stoick, his
 hatred) until upon *Sylla's* death the improv-
 ment of his health and voyce, the Letters
 from *Rome*, and the Arguments at *Athens*,
 that preffed his return to the publick fervice,
 he refumed his Oratory, ftudy and Exercife,
 hearing at *Rhodes* the moft g eminent Rhe-
 toricians, and excelling them all even in his
 Greek Declamations, which all commended,
 but *Apollonius* admired and envied, faying,
Cicero would carry their Learning and Elo-
quence (the two onely things left poor Greece) to
Rome too; and returned to *Rome*; where fuch
 was his warineffe (becaufe of the *Pythian O-*
racl'es advice to him for his reputation, ra-
 ther to follow his own inclination than the
 peoples humour) that he fought no office;
 fuch his ftudiousneffe (being by the Mecha-
 nicks called *Scholar* and *Gracian*) that he
 obtained none, until his ambition putting
 him on his excellent Orations (wherein he
 corrected his natural defects with an artificial
 imitation of *Rofcius* and *b Æſop*) rayfing,
 and his *i* becoming facetiousneffe (which
 had no other fault but that it was too much)
 recommending him, he was in time of dearch
 made *Treafurer of Sicily*, where he was not
 more envi'd at firft for his care to furnifh *Rome*

g As *Xenocles*,
Adrameltin,
Dyonifius,
Magneſian,
Menippis the
Conon, *A-*
pollonius,
Molon, and
Poffidonius,
 who put him
 upon declaim-
 ing in Greek.

h The Stage-
 players, where-
 of one was ſo
 vehement in a-
 king the King
Atreus, that he
 ſtruck a man
 dead by chance
 with his Scepter.
 i He was good at a jeſt, ſaying of loud Orators, That as a
 lame man muſt go, becauſe he cannot ride; ſo they muſt cry, becauſe
 they cannot ſpeak.

with

with *Corn*, than he was honoured afterwards
 for his gentleneſſe, diligence, and juſtice.
 Much glory he had for bringing off the *Ro-*
mane Nobility that had miſcarried in the *Si-*
ſilian Wars; more he expected, untill he
 whom he asked what they thought of him at
Rome? replied, *Where have you been, that*
we have not heard of you? which allayed his
 ambition; which (though he ſaw it was end-
 leſſe) ſwerved him in the Courts of Juſtice,
 and attended him to his Grave. Every Arti-
 fier knoweth his Tool, and it's place, and
Cicero underſtood every Citizen's name and
 habitation: Not very rich was he, yet (which
 enhanced his reputation) he took no fee, e-
 ſpecially in a *Verres* his caſe; whoſe caſe he
 ſtated ſo clearly, whoſe Evidence he ſummed
 up ſo briefly, that (in deſpight of the *Præ-*
tor's delays and adjournments, without any
 harangues) he was fined ſeventy five *Miri-*
ades; *Cacilius* the Jew being ſilenced by *Ci-*
cero with that Jeſt, *What hath a Jew to do*
with a b Bore-pig? *Hortenſius* that had recei-
 ved a *Sphinx* of *Verres*, pretending he under-
 ſtood not *Cicero*; with, *That you have a*
Syhyx at home; And *Verres*, himſelf repro-
 ving his effeminacy, with this; *Look to thy*
children at c home. Some ſuſpected *Cicero*
 becauſe *Verres* his Fine was ſo little, but the
Sicilians thanked him when *d Ædile*, that it
 was ſo much: his ſpirit was ſo publick (be-
 ſlowing the *Sicilian* Presents to abate prizes
 of victuals at *Rome*) his Diet with his choice
 friends, *Gracians* and *Romans*, ſo tempe-
 rate

a Peter of *Sici-*
ly, whom the
Sicilians accu-
 ſed.

b *Verres* is a
Bore-pig, and
 the *Jewes* love
 not ſwine's fleſh.

c His Son had
 an ill name.
 d By Presents
 ſent him.

e With his wife
Terentia 12
Myriades.

f Who gave his
own house to his
brother, and
dwelt on Mount
Aventine, that
the Citizens
might not come
too far to visit
him.

g Whereas other
Malefactors
had ten dayes.
h He having ly-
en with his
Daughter, and
killed his Bro-
ther.
i The League
was made thus;
They allowed
all licentious-
ness, killed a
man, eat toge-
ther of his flesh,
and so swore to
the villany,

rate and sober; notwithstanding his great estate, and greater Dowrie (his Supper alwayes after Sun-set) his walks and exercise so exact and proportionable, his temper good and strong, that not more waited on Crassus, for his wealth, or Pompey for his greatnesse, than did on f Cicero for his Eloquence. With universal consent did he carry the Prætor's place, with great applause did he manage it: clear was his integrity in all Cases, clearest, 1. In that of Licinius Macer, whom neither Crassus his friendship could excuse, nor his own confidence (so great, that he changed his Gown and Beard as sure of an acquitment, untill Crassus tells him to his heart-breaking, that he was condemned) bring him off. 2. In that of insolent Vatinius, who told him, *That he would not deny such a thing if Prætor; Nor I* (replyed he) *if I had thy swoln neck: but I must consider.* Too strict he was thought by the People, because he would grant Manilius but g one day to answer for himself: but as civill again, when he told them, *He had but one day in his Office, and he allowed that day to do Manilius justice: whom upon the peoples request, he defended so nobly, and in him Pompey, whom the Nobility through his side aimed, at that the Commonalty adored him, & the Nobility too; when incestuous and h unnatural Catiline (in Pompey's absence, now Sylla's alteration was not settled) was in the head of a bloody and licentious conspiracy of Thuscans, Gauls, and Romanes, now they had*

wasted

wasted their estates in ryot and building; promoted him against Catiline to the k Consularship with Anthony, the people understood not Catiline's conspiracy, and the indebted Nobility favour'd it: Sylla's proceedings were justly, though unseasonably questioned: those whom he banished, crept in and inflamed the distempers; the Decemviri with l absolute power over the Romane Empire in War and Peace, are set up by the Tribunes.

But Cicero to prevent this, draws off Anthony, by granting him the Realm of Macedonia; and having him at his beck, checked not onely that attempt, but all other Innovations, shewing what Justice and Right can do with Eloquence and Integrity: how easily we may carry what is profitable, if we do but propose it under the notion of what a pleaseth, an instance of which Art is this; Orho sets the Knights seats in the Theatre above the Peoples, not more to the content of the one, than the b discontent of the other; untill Cicero's c Oration composd the distemper, and set the Prætor Orho as high in the Peoples affections, as he was in the Knights.

But Catiline and his discontented followers, the draglers of Sylla's disbanded Army, hasten therebefore Pompey's return, who was now in his way; Earthquakes and other Tokens prognosticate, the Confederates reveal, and Catiline upon Cicero's examination in the Senate d confesseth the design (in those darke

self in the Senate would favour his design.

K k

words,

k Although he was but a Knight, and no Senator's Son, vid. Orat. Pro Planco, Valer. Maxim. l. 9. c. 13. concerning Macer: his Father's estate was at Arpes, or Arpirium in Campania, Plin. l. 3. cap. 5. Or of Apulia, another part of Italy.
l To accuse; to banish, to levy men, money, &c. to buy and sell Lands.

a Though his rule was; What is expedient, will last longer than what is pleasant onely.

b The people whistling at him, while the Knights clapped their hands.
c In Bellona's Temple.

d Supposing there were many that upon his declaring him-

c Syllanus and
Muræna being
chosen Consuls.

f Cicero told
him, his words
and Catiline's
arms would not
consist in one
City.

g He was made
Prætor in order
to his restaura-
tion to the Se-
nate, out of
which he was
turned.

h Called Sulla,
from the calf of
the leg he shew-
ed Sylla (when
he examined his
accounts) as
children do
when they make
a fault at Ten-
nis.

words, *I will give it the lean and meagre that have an head*, meaning the people; rather than the strong and fat that have not, meaning the Senate) Cicero arms and guards himself at the Election-day in Mars his Field; and the people seeing his Brigantine, stand by him, and reject *Catiline*: the bloody night approacheth, the *Thuscan* Soldiers draw together, *Crassus* receives dangerous Letters; he cleared himself (because of the friendship between him and *Catiline*) and consults late with *Cicero*, *Metellus* and *Marcellus*: a Senate is called, the Letters are read, the whole plot is reported; an absolute power is entrusted with the Consuls, *Metellus* undertakes Foreign affairs, and *Cicero* Domestic: all the People guard him, *Cethegus* and *Martius* design upon his life is discovered by *Fulvia*; the Senate assembles at *Jupiter Stator's* Temple; (they would not sit with *Catiline*, who came there to clear himself, but warned him out of Rome) in great state and rage he departs guarded like a Prince, and attended like a Consul: *Manlius* that waited the event at *Tuscanum*, brings him twenty thousand men; a War is proclaimed, *Anthony* is ordered against *Catiline*; the Prætor *Lentulus* with the Male-contents of Rome appear for him (as if he would recover his Senatorship by sedition, out of which he had been excluded for lewdness) he being encouraged not only by *Catiline*, but the *Sybil's* Prophecy of the three *Cornelii* that should Reign at Rome, whereof *Cinna* & *Sylla* were the two first, and he

he the 3d.) sets apart a night one of the *Saturnals* for all the *Senators* murder, (but *Pompey's* sons, whom they would reserve to make their peace with their victorious Father) they furnish *Cethegus's* house with Flax, Brimstone, and Arms; they set an hundred men to fire a hundred parts of the City, and stop Conduits, pipes and water: The *Allobrogian* Embassadors already discontented, are engaged to embroyl *Gaul*; they advise *Catiline* to proclaim an universal Liberty: watchful *Cicero* looks into all their Intrigues, which were managed rather as the frolicks of some good fellows, than as the counsels of Statesmen) takes their Letters and Messengers (which he read and examined in the Temple of Concord) *Cethegus* his house is searched, *Lentulus* is convicted, turned out and committed: The Senate and *Cicero* are guarded, the Ladies celebrate their *Gynæcea* at his house; and while *Cicero* was perplexed, whether he should be as severe as their cause deserved, which his inclination and their condition forbade him; or indulgent, which the Cities danger (from men whom gentleness would embolden rather than reform) allowed not, saw a Flame rising out of the Embers they thought were out, which the Vestals, *Cicero's* bold Wife (that was better acquainted with the State, than her Husband with the household) his brother *Quintus*, and his friend and companion in his study, *Nigidius*, urged as an argument for a severe proceeding against the Conspirators: the Senate were next morning for Execution, until *Caesar* (whose pra-

a Or the fear of
the good God-
dess, which was
yearly kept be-
fore the Vestals
at the Consul's
house.

Etices Cicero winked at, because he had saved all the rest if accused, rather than he should have died) Popularity and Eloquence carry it for moderation, viz. The confiscation of their Goods, and the confinement of their Persons. Cato and Catullus are for death, Caesar now accused by Cato, and suspected by all, calls to the Tribunes in vain: Executed the Traytors are before Cicero's eyes one by one (the whole City being astonished, as at a solemn mystery) he crying to their fellow-conspirators that assembled together (not knowing of the execution) against the fatal night, *They lived.* At his return home the silence breaks out in applauses to the Founder of Rome; the Torches and Candles turn that night to day; the noblest Citizens and Conquerors attend him, saying, *Others had enlarged the Empire with much blood and treasure, Cicero saved it from the most fearful ruine with one night's care:* The Conspiracy breaks out, Catiline is defeated, and killed, but Caesar now Prætor, Metellus and Bestia revive the design, keep Cicero from the Pulpit of Orations (onely admitting him to swear, as the custom was, at going off of his Consulship, when he swore to Caesar's great offence, that he saved the Common-wealth, all the people assenting to it) and send for Pompey: but Cato's authority and Oration advanced Cicero's Consulship so far, that he was decreed Father of the Country, and voted all the honour Rome could give him, untill (as all excellencies are allayed with miscarriages, his own pen and tongue

b In the Prison, whither they were fetched from the Prætor's.

had

had tyred the world with his Exploits and Merits, calling Aristotle the Golden stream: saying of Plato, *That if Jupiter spake, he did it like him;* liking of all Demosthenes Orations, c the longer, hugging Theophrastus as his delight, honouring all excellent men in his writings, enfranchising d Cratippus (by the Areopagites and Caesar's leave) as a great ornament to Rome. Honour others he did very much, himself more; the two onely Greek Epistles he hath extant, being the issues of his e ambition. When Munatius angered him: *Did I save thy life yesterday (said he) by casting a mist before the eyes of Justice, and abusist thou my friend to day?* When he dispraised Crassus as much one day, as he dispraised him another, he replied to Crassus his expostulations about his unconstancy; *Then I took an ill argument to shew my eloquence.*

When Crassus had said, *None of his Family lived above sixty years:* Cicero answered, *He said so to please the people.* Crassus was pleased with that Stoical saying, *The wise man is rich:* But Cicero bid him consider, whether it meant he should have all. Being asked how he liked Crassus his son Aëtius his speech; "Aἴτιος Κραῖσσος" said he, i. e. *Worthy of Crassus.* Crassus now going to Syria, sent to be friends with Cicero and to sup with him; and Vatinius sent to be friends with him; *Will he sup with me too,* said he? Old Lucius Gellius would not grant Caesar's Law for dividing of Lands while he lived; *Tarry a little,* said Cicero, *and the old man shall not trouble you long.* Octavius the African

c He would say Demosthenes slept in some Orations, yet he named his Orations against Antony Philippus in imitation of Demosthenes against Philip.

d His Sons Schoolmaster, whom he advised as he doth Herod, to hear him.

e The one to Gorgias, the other to Pelops, because they did not advance his honour abroad as they should do.

f Sabinus.

a All th Affri
cans ears are
bored.
b A fellow that
had poysoned his
Faiber with a
Tart, threatned
to revile Cic-
ero: I had rather
(said he) have
that than thy
Tart.

e He called a
man that had
two banished
sons Adrastus:
because Adra-
stus his daugh-
ters were mar-
ried to two Ex-
iles. He would
call deformed
children, chil-
dren begot in
spight of Phoe-
bus.

d Meaning Syl-
la's bills of Pro-
scription. Mar-
cus Gellius
supposed to be a
Bond-mans
son, read one
day aloud

in the Senate;
Wonder not
(said Cicero)
for it may be
he is a Cryers
son.

pretended once he heard not Cicero, yet said he, *Thou hast an a hole in thine ear*: b Metellus Nepos told him, *He had overthrown more by his Witnesse, than he had saved by his Eloquence. I grant that* (said Cicero) *for I have more faith than eloquence. Publius Sextius would say all in his own cause one day: Nay* (said Cicero) *bestir thee to day, for to morrow thou wilt be a private man. P. Cotta an ignorant, but conceited Lawyer, being examined touching an Inheritance, said, He knew nothing of it: Thou thinkest* (said Cicero) *we aske thee concerning the Law? Metellus Nepos insisting upon that question in dispute, Who is thy Father? Cicero replied, It's a hard question for thy Mothers son. Nepos fled to Syria, and upon his return set up a Crow over his Master Phila-ger's Grave; Thou hast done well* (said Cicero) *for he taught thee rather to flye, than to speak. Clodius said in his Preface once, that his friend had enjoyned his prudence and faith in that businesse: And wilt thou* (said Cicero) *perform neither? When c Sylla's son set up his Bills of Sale; Yea marry* (saith Cicero) *I had rather see these, than his d Fathers. Drinking water when he sued for the Consulship, and the people flocked about him; I thank you* (said he) *for hiding my drinking of water from my Censor, who loves wine so well.*

Smartnesse becomes an Oratour, but con-
stant droll a Buffon: Many mens ill will got
he by his taunts; but none more than Clodius
his, against whom, upon his domineering Wife
Terentius suggestion (who could not endure

Clodius

Clodius since Cicero should have married Clo-
dia) when he was taken in Caesar's house that
night the Ladies kept their Sacrifices there,
Cicero was witnesse, proving his being in
Town that day (which he denied) as others
did many more e lewd practices; and when he
acquitted for fear of the People, charged Ci-
cero with false witnesse; Not so (said he) twenty
five of the Judges believed me, and condemned
thee: and the rest believed f not thee till they felt
thy money.

But Clodius being discharged, and made
Tribune, got in with the People by the Laws
for distributing Lands and freedom among the
Poor; and with the Nobility, by his power to
dispose of Provinces to the Rich (as Macedon
to one g Consul, and Syria to the h other)
and observing Crassus against Cicero, but Pom-
pey and Caesar for him, flattered with i fair
words from his Lieutenantcy under Caesar;
which, and by his publick Orations thereup-
on, enraged Caesar so far, and enjealoused
Pompey, that Cicero was impleaded for his
illegal proceedings against Cethegus and Lentu-
lus; that he changed his Gown and Beard, as
did the fifteen hundred Knights, and the Se-
nate would have enjoyned the whole City, but
that the Consuls interposed. Clodius carried it
by force, and his Army of Slaves. Pompey,
Caesar's Son-in-Law would neither look on his
Countreys misery, nor hear Cicero's argu-
ments, nor consider his Obligations to both.
To close with Cicero he was afraid, to forsake
him, ashamed; he resolved not b to speak

K k 4

e As Persum's
incest with his
two sisters Te-
rentia and
Quadrantana,
from the qua-
drines, or cop-
per pieces her
sweet-heart
sent her: the
one was marri-
ed to Mel: Ce-
ler, the other to
K. Marcius.
f Caesar, to
whose wife
Clodius would
have come,
would not wit-
ness against
him, but put a-
way his wife,
because Caesar's
wife should be
innocent from
the very suspiti-
on of adultery.
g i.e. Piso.
h Gabinus.
i He thought
Cicero had
done nothing a-
gainst him, but
to please his
wife Terentia,
but that it trou-
bled him that a
friend should be
unkind to a
friend.

b Going out at
the back-door
when he came to
speak with him.

with him; *Cicero* throweth himself into the Consul's hands, gentle *Piso* adviseth him to allay *Clodius* his fury with his absence, untill time and the Peoples change might restore him the Saviour of his Countrey: *Minerva's* Statue he consecrated to the Capitol; with this Inscription; *Unto Minerva Protectores of Rome*; and then fled by *Luca* to *Sycily*. *Clodius* banisheth him by a Vote, with an Inhibition against entertaining him within five hundred miles of *Italy*: All places and persons yet entertain him civilly, but *Vibius*, whom he had made Master of the Works; and *C. Virgilius*, whom he had constituted Governor of *Sicily*; whereof the one forbade him his Countrey, and the other his house. The poor man sayls with crosse winds to *Dyrachium*, and there (notwithstanding the Earthquake at his Landing) prognosticated the shortnesse of his exile: All *Greece* contested for his entertainment; yet he looked sad, and cast his eyes like a fond Lover towards *Italy*, sinking below that saying of his, *That Oratory was but his ornament as a Commonwealths-man, and that Philosophy and Reason were his profession as a man*: But ambition and too popular a converse altereth the most noble minde that is not resolved to act in common affairs above common passion.

To banish *Cicero* was not enough for the insolent *Clodius*, but he must burn his houses, set his goods to sale (though none would buy them) set the People against the Senators, and himself against *Pompey*; who now

seeing

being that his deserting of *Cicero* was the forsaking of himself, prevailed with the Senate, that nothing should be done untill he were restored: It comes to an uproar and a laughter; the people are sensible of their misery, guard *Pompey*, and unanimously recall *Cicero*, the Senate in the mean while voting the re-edification of his Houses, and the privileges of those places that entertained him, and he returning within sixteen months after his banishment with that concurrence of people; that as he said, *All d Italy brought him to Rome*: where in *Clodius* his absence he razed his e Acts and Tables: justly (said he) because *Clodius* was no lawful Tribune: Rashly, said *Cato* g (because the power was good, though the person was naught.) Both are upon this occasion estranged, but not enemies one to another. *Milo* kills *Clodius*, *Pompey* is in Arms to keep the Peace, and do Justice. *Cicero* as in other h cases, so in this, whether out of his own timorousness, or out of fear for his Client upon the sight of *Pompey's* Arms, quakes and looseth himself, and leaves *Milo* to his own i courage and resolution.

But he is made *Augur* in *Rome* in young *Crassus* his place, and General of twelve thousand Foot, and twenty five hundred Horse in *Cappadocia*, which he reduceth under *Ariobarzanes*, and setteth happily. The *Sicilians* now grown insolent with the *Romans* misfortunes in *Syria* and *Parthia*, he persuades to reason: rich Presents he refused,

d Even *Crassus* who hated him, met him; because as he said, his son loved him: e which were kept in the Capitol.

f Being no Politician.

g And because he had confirmed what he had done at *Cyprus* and *Byzantium*.

h In pleading against *Hortensius*, his courage failed, and he had the worse of it, only for fear he should have the worse of it: i who neither cut his beard, nor changed his gown, as the accused use to do.

sed,

Where Consul.

a without any
noise on either
side.

sed, the Governours Feasts he remitted ; the best and most knowing men he entertained at his sober and thrifty Table : Easie was the access to him, walking always before his own Gate from four in the morning till eleven. Never did he correct any man in anger what private persons had *a* embezzled, he referred to the publick : his useful War against the Thieves, gained him the name *Imperator*. To his friend *Cacilius* that writ for some Panthers, he replied, *No such creature durst live under his government.* In fine, having received all the entertainment that either the learning or delicacy of Greece could make, he returned to Rome ; where finding those factions that threatened a War, he refused a Triumph, saying, *He had rather (all being agreed) follow Cæsar's coach; between whom and Pompey he writ and travelled, but in vain, untill Pompey fled; and he perplexed (as he writes, whether he should close with him who had the better cause, or with Cæsar who had the better head and hand) had means enough to flye, but knew not whither. Cæsar wished him either to follow his fortune, or if his age would not bear that, to retire to Greece : But because Cæsar wrote not to him himself, he went in a fume to Pompey, saying, He would do nothing in his last dayes unworthy of his first : where Cato told him, That though his own principles and practice made him Cæsar's enemy, yet Cicero's interest with his friends and countreys had been to be Neuter : and Pompey neglected him, who*

dis-

ained all his counsels, and repented of a cause so openly, that he first mistrusted, and at last hated him : His sadnesse there was very unseasonable, his jests more unsuitable, when *Domitius* recommended a wife and a sober man for a command over men ; *Why (said Cicero) keep'st thou him not for thy children ?* When *Theophanes* the Lesbian was recommended for comforting the *b Rhodians* ; *b After the defeat at Sea.* *this it is (said he) to have a Grecian master of Artificers.* When *Lentulus* told Cæsar's friends were melancholy ; *Why? (replied he) do they envy him ?* Another saith, he heard Pompey was besieged ; *And (saith he) camest thou hither to see it ?* *Labiennus* promised success even after the *Pharsalian* fight, from the seven Eagles taken in Pompey's camp ; *Yes (said Cicero) if we were to fight but with the Dames.* After the *Pharsalian* Field he refused the command *Cato* offered him, with some danger of his *d* life, and submitted to Cæsar, with more of his credit, but that Cæsar embraced him so familiarly then, and writ of him so *e* honourably afterwards, that notwithstanding his smart speech for *f Ligurius* (at which Cæsar looked pale, trembled, and set fall his Book, especially in the description of the *Pharsalian* field, where Cæsar quaked at his own victories, that carried more dread in *Tullies* pen than in his sword) that pleased him, He was put upon nothing unworthy of himself : but at the erection of a Monarchy, retyred to command all Rome, in his Lectures to the young Noblemen at home,

c And, for all
thy Oracles we
are undone.

d From Pompey's sons, who
would have
killed him but
for Cato.

e In his Anti-Cato, where he
compares him to
Pericles, &c.
and speaks as
high of him, as
he did of Cato.

f Before this Oration, they say
Cæsar said, I
have not spoke
a great while;
Ligurius is a
condemned man
because valiant,
and my enemy,

as

as he had done in his speech to the old ones broad : translating Greek Authors, and writing Philosophy Dialogue-wise was his study the reading of such Greek words (as *incomprehensio* , καταντικς *comprehensio* , *vacuum* , τὸ ἄτομον *individuum*) into Latine, was his Matter-piece , Poetry was his recreation , and *Tusculum* was his study , where he said he led *Laertes* his life. Ambitious he was to return to the City (therefore he praised *Caesar* on all occasions particularly upon his erection of *Pompey's* statue, saying, *That by setting up that he established his own*) or if that would not do, to eternize himself with an history of a *Rome* and *Greece* but that the troubles he brought upon himself hindered him ; As 1. His inconsiderate divorce of *Terentia*, because she neglected him and his Daughter that travailed with him abroad , and his affairs at home : and 2. His suspected marriage with that young and rich Maid , whom yet he cast off when she had discharged his debts , under pretence that she mourned not competently for his Daughter's death ; a misery against which no Philosophy could comfort him.

To these domestick unhappineffes you may add those more publick ; 1. Of *Caesar's* death wherein yet *Cicero* was not engaged. 2. Of the peoples fury (notwithstanding his Oration for an Athenian c *Amnesty* , & the assignment of Provinces to *Brutus* and *Cassius*) when *Anthony* shewed *Caesar's* blood , and stirred up theirs. 3. Of the Conspirators flight

a Or of all Romans & Grecians.

b Lentulus & Piso's wife.

c Or an Act of Oblivion.

Anthony's authority , who mistrusted *Cicero's* popularity , and disliked his manners so far , that (notwithstanding *Hirsius* and *Antonia* the designed Consul's request to him stay , and assist them, whom he could neither trust, nor yet deny) he would have gone to Greece , but that the news of *Anthony's* compliance with the Senate , and other occurrences, brought him with great applause home again ; where *Anthony* laid ambush for him , and fetched him by force to the Senate, until young *Caesar* came from *Apollonia* , and offered *Cicero* the assistance of his men and money , on condition he assisted him with his Eloquence and Interest against *Anthony*, to recover the money he owed him , and check his insolence ; which he accepted of more willingly , 1. Because he had dreamed that this young man was designed by *Jove* to end their Wars, and begin their Empire. 2. Because he found, that in order thereunto he was made *Caesar's* Heir, as the boy told him in the Play-place on *Mar's* hill. 3. Because he might allay *Anthony's* greatness with the Army, and the young mans with his authority, who called him Father ; and whom he flattered so far , that e *Brutus* told him, He aimed not so much at the freedome of Rome , as at a gentle Master to himself.

Cicero is now so great , that he expelleth and defeateth *Anthony* , sets up *Caesar* with Rods, Axes , and other ceremonies of Honour, makes him General of the Army ; which when the Senate fearing his growing greatness,

would

d He dreamed that one day all the young Nobility were before Jupiter in his Temple, and that he discharged them all in discontent , but Octavius, who he said should be King. c In his Epistle to Atticus.

*Where they
cast off their
friends, as Cæ-
sar, Cicero,
Lepidus, Pau-
lus.*

*a New strong
there.*

*b Livy saith
63.*

would have disbanded. he sueth with him fir-
for the Consulship. until the young man was
great, that he cast off the old Dotard, whose
ambition was but his stalking horse, and
shared the Empire between himself, *Anthony*
and *Lepidus*, at a private conference in *Bolonia*,
where their interest drowned all their
relations; such a bruit man is, when at his own
command. Upon the news whereof, and now
that he was by compact to be slain, *Cicero* was at
Thusculum with his brother *Quintus*, resolved
for *Assyria*, to a *Brutus*, as well as their age,
grief, and sorrow permitted: *Quintus* return-
ing home for some money, is betrayed and
killed. *Marcus* now in great perplexity, whe-
ther to trust *Cæsar* (who it may be had not
quite forsaken him) or dye on his earth, that
the gods might avenge his blood, or go to Sea,
entrusteth himself with his servants by sea, to
go to his pleasant habitation at *Capri*, or *Cæ-
jeta* (where the North-windes cauled *Etesia*
refreshed his body, and *Apollo's* Temple his
soul) there a flight of Crows pursued him to
his very Bed; and when his servants meditated
his removal, *Pomilius Lema* the Tribune, or
Colonel of Foot, whom *Cicero* had brought
off by his Eloquence when he had murdered
his own Father, and *Herennius* the Centuri-
on sent to murder him, discover'd by his bro-
thers slave (whom he had brought up in the
Latine Tongue) which way he was conveyed,
and setting on him in a shady Lane, now hold-
ing up his white Beard and meagre face to
the Assassins strokes, killed him now *b* sixty
four

four years old, shutting their eyes, not able to
hold the villany their hands committed;
his head and hands that invented and writ the
Philippics, are by *Antonie's* commandment
set on the Pulpit for Orations, untill the peo-
ples fury (who saw in *Cicero's* head *Antho-
ny's* heart) *Cæsar's* ambitions and the gods ju-
stice brought him to the same end; advancing
Cicero and his posterity, when they cut off
Antony and his, & his Statue was pulled down,
and his name forbidden a mention. When
Cæsar himself (seeing a Book of *Cicero's* in his
Nephews hand, who would have hid it for
fear of his Uncle) embalmed *Cicero* with this
Eulogy, He was a wise man indeed (my son)
and loved his country well.

*c It being orde-
red, that none
of that Family
should be called
Mark.*

The Parallel.

Demosthenes excelled in Rhetorick, wherein
no Orator more plausible, no States-man
more grave and magnificent, no Sophister more
acute; *Cicero* was a general Scholar: the first
mans phrase discovereth a grave and solid tem-
per, and an indefatigable industry; the se-
cond is a pleasant and light nature, and a flow-
ing Genius, not so grave as became his place:
his Declamations against the Stoicks in *Mura-
na's* behalf against *Cato*, fitting a Jester (as
Cato said) rather than a Consul. *Cicero's*
looks were pleasant, and *Demosthenes* pensive,
and

*a Smelleth of
Lamps, as Py-
thius told him.*

b Chares, &c.
of Demosthe-
nes, Pompey,
and Cæsar of
Cicero,

* Plato.

and some thought perverse: The one was mo-
dest, the other immoderate in his own praise
witnessed his own *Rant*, *Cedant arma togæ*. It
noble to speak and do well, ignoble to beg
Applause for what we have done or spoken
Both their Oratory were prevalent, both suc-
cessful, so that others b Arms had need of their
Eloquence, but Authority shewes the man
Demosthenes, when offered the Army his O-
rations raised, was so humble as to refuse
it: And Cicero, when the times and his
Quæstors place in Sicily allowed all liberty to
enrich himself, was so incorrupt as to scorn
it. Demosthenes made one Oration for *Pho-*
mio, and another for *Apollodorus* for money:
Cicero (even then when to take a Bribe hand-
somely was a reputation) spoke all his for no-
thing. Cicero's absolute power in *Catiline's*
conspiracy, was an argument that no City is
safer than that wherein * *wisdome* governeth
with justice. Cicero rejecting all presents,
despised money in his lowest estate; Demo-
sthenes could refuse none, trafficking for it in
his best. Demosthenes was banished justly as a
Malefactor, and none pittied him; Cicero
unworthily as a Patriot, and the whole City
bewayled him: onely the first did most ser-
vice to his Countrey when an Exile (assisting
the *Græcian* Embassadors against the *Mace-*
donians) and the last did least, loosing him-
self in grief and sorrow. At his return Cice-
ro did nothing, but (as *Lælius* and *Brutus*
charged him) complied: but Demosthenes

carried

carried on the old cause of Liberty and pri-
vileges. It was pity to see old Cicero mur-
dered as he fled that death that naturally
was at his heels; It was noble to see Demo-
sthenes, though intreating for civility, yet
prepared for his doom, by a poyson of his
own buying, scorning the Tyrant *Antipater*
and his Instruments of Cruelty; and when
the god NEPTUNE denied him Sanctu-
ary, taking it with a greater, and that is
Death.

LI DION.



XLI.

DION.

Contemporary with Artaxerxes, Eldras, Camillus, Lyfander, Dionysius, Plato, Isocrates.

a A man might know their education by their life, as Hippomachus the Fencer said. He knew his scholars, if he saw them but bringing meat from the Market.

T Roy, (O Sostius Senecio) was not offended with Corinth, because engaged against it, for that Glauens of that City had formerly fought for it; Rome should be no more offended with the Academy than Greece, since it made men eminent in both; Brutus being as familiar with Plato's Doctrine as Dion was with his person, both alike principled, both alike *a* active; and both (which was their chance, rather than their fault) equally

equally unfortunate; both familiar with Spiculus (that appear not onely (as some think) fanciful and weak men, but to grave and learned Philosophers) while they lived, and both forwarned by them of their death. The first Dion was somewhat in favour with the Tyrant Dionysius for his Sister Aristomache his Wives sake, but more for his *b* own; In so much that he gave orders to his Treasurers to let him have what money he demanded. Now though Dion had ever before a noble minde in him by nature, yet much more did that magnanimity increase, when Plato arrived in Sicily, who was then a young man ready and apt to learn; for having from a childe been brought up with humble conditions under a Tyrant, and acquainted with a servile, sordid life, with a proud and insolent reign, with all vanity and curiosity, as placing chief felicity in covetousness; but after he had felt the sweet Reasons of Philosophy, his heart was inflamed with an earnest desire to follow virtue: Therefore he desired Dionysius to be acquainted with Plato, who caused him to be sold into the Isle of Ægina for his too *a* strict discourse of virtue. But for all this, Dionysius refused not to honour Dion as afore, employing him in Embassies of weighty matters: and being sent unto the Carthaginians, he behaved himself so well, that he gained great reputation by his journey; neither was the Tyrant displeased at his plain speech, no man daring to be so bold upon him as he. For one day Ge-

b For prudence.

a Proving no Tyrant to have the virtue of Fortitude, and that the lives of unjust men were displeasing and unhappy.

b (i. e.) Laugh- ter.

L 1 2

Dionysius

nysius his face, and he himself said; *Gelon* the Laughing-stock of Sicily: But *Dion* answered him; For his sake men trusted thee, whereby thou camest to be a Tyrant; but for thine own sake they will never trust any man: For *Gelon* shewed by his Government, that it was a very goodly thing to see a City ruled by an absolute Prince; but *Dionysius* on the other side, made it appear a most detestable thing. *Dion* married the Tyrants Niece; and *Dionysius* the elder being poysoned, he in the first Council and Assembly holden by his friends, to consult about the state and affairs of the younger *Dionysius*, moved matters so necessary and profitable for that present time, that by his wisdom he shewed they were but children, and by his bold speech made them know, that they were but slaves of the Tyranny, because they beastly and cowardly gave such counsel and advice, as might please and feed the young Tyrants humour. But further, the young man's state being in great danger by reason of *Affrick*, this *Dion* promiseth to go over, and to find a way to appease the Wars; or if it best pleased him to fight, he would furnish him with fifty Gallies ready to rowe, upon his own proper cost and charges; at which *Dionysius* wondering, gave him many thanks for his good will. But this bred him envy from his fellow-Courtiers, who endeavoured every way to bring him out of favour, being also displeased with his strange manner of life, which was not after their manner, giving himself to no sports, vain pleasures, and dissolute

pastimes,

pastimes, wherewith they enticed the young Princes to all vices: they also mis-named this *Dion's* Vertues, vices; as in calling his gravity pride; his plainnesse and boldnesse in Oration, obstinacy; his perswasion, accusation; his neglect of their company, when idle, contempt. They so flattered *Dionysius*, that *Dion's* stern, slow, and severe conversation was troublesome and unpleasant to this younger *Dionysius*. Yet at that time he was revered more than any body else, not out of any good will that was born to him, but out of necessity, considering he was the onely instrument of the States good and welfare. He perswaded *Dionysius* to settle himself to the study of Literature and Vertue, whereby he might gain the love of his Subjects, being the assured guard of Princes.

For the furtherance hereof, they sent for *Plato* out of *Athens*, who with much perswasion came, (but *Dion's* enemies fearing this might divert him, sent for *Philistus* the Historiographer to withstand *Plato* and his Philosophy) but *Dion* intended thereby to frame him a wife and righteous Governour. This being horribly envied by *Philistus* and the rest, seeing this sudden change, they so accused *Dion* of self-ends, that they moved *Dionysius* to banish him into *Italy*, and to put *Cato* into prison, where he could not choose but visit him, and love him: but being perswaded to the contrary by the same ill wishers, he sent him again away. But afterwards *Dion* and *Plato* lived in *Greece*, where they were

L 1 3

both

a From which his Father kept him close, lest thereby he might be taught not to be tyrannical.

b Banished out of Sicily by Dionysius the elder.

c Dion.

both much honoured; but the *Lacedemonians* made him c a *Spartan* and Burgeſſe of the City, notwithstanding *Dionysius* his diſpleaſure, who had ayded them at that time againſt the *Thebans*; at which *Dionysius* being incenſed, kept back all his great wealth and Revenues, which he ſent him afore carefully, and made Port-sale of them, and kept the money to himſelf.

But ſeeing nothing could be done without either *Dion* or *Plato*, *Plato* again was ſent for the third time, who came with much ado, and reſtored the Tyrant to his former temper, making him a joyſul man. Nevertheless for the love he bare to *Dion*, and for his perſuaſion of *Dionysius* thereunto, and out of the envy and malice of his Enemies, was lodged among the dangerous Souldiers of his Guard, and is ſent away with thoſe, as *Archytas* ſent to demand him, when he heard of this abuſe of *Plato*. But *Dion* (hearing this, and how his a Wife was uſed) made no more ado, but proclaimed open War againſt *Dionysius*, which the Philoſophers advance, meeting together at the Iſle of *Zacynth*, where they levied all their Souldiers, that were not above eight hundred in all, but all noble, valiant, and excellently well trained in Wars: Much were they made of by *Dion*, who very ſumptuouſly and magnificently feaſted them; embarking them in Ships, with great plenty of Victuals, and preparations of Arms; and eſcaping *Philiftus*, who lay in wait for them, they came to *Pachynus* the foreland of *Sicilie*,

a The Tyrant married her againſt her will to Timocrates one of his friends.

Sicily, where the Pilot could not perſwade *Dion* to land being ſo near his Enemies: but a dangerous Tempeſt roſe againſt *Dion*, that they knew not where they were, till the ſtorm caſt them on the Iſle of b *Cercina*; but luckily a favourable South-winde in five dayes driveth them to c *Minoa*, which he won, but ſpared the Inhabitants by reaſon of many friends he had there, and the affection he bare to *Synalus* Captain thereof, into whoſe hands he delivered the Town again without any hurt or violence to him. But overjoyed that *Dionysius* was a not in *Sicily* at that time, he went to *Syracuſe*; which together with the *Lacedemonians* joyned unto him, firſt killed the *Proſagides* the Tyrants tel-tales then conquered him, who too b late received Advertiſement of *Dion's* Enterprizes. Moſt joyfully have the *Syracuſans* received him, as nobly hath he ſet them at liberty, freeing both them and the *Sicilians* from the bondage of the Tyrant, for which they did not onely honour him much, but worſhipped him as a god. But *Dionysius* having come by night and poſſeſſed the Caſtle of *Syracuſe* (all his meſſages of compoſition rejected both by *Dion* and the *Syracuſans*) made his Souldiers drunk; which in that fury couragiouſly overthrew the wall which they had made between them and the Caſtle: But (all oppoſition flying) ſave *Dion* and the ſtrangers he brought with him, who moſt valiantly fought with them; and (though wounded in the hand, with ſeventy of his men ſlain) yet moſt nobly gained the victory.

b which is on the Eaſt of *Lybia*.

c A little Village in *Sicily*, under the *Carthaginians*.

H was gone to Italy.

b The meſſenger travelling hard day and night, fell aſleep on the ground, and a Wolfe took away his Portmanle, and he for fear fled away.

For which exploit the *Syracusans* gave the strange Soldiers a hundred silver Mina's, and rewarded *Dion* with a crown of Gold, and thought not how to reverence as they ought his Magnanimity and inflexible Constancy, standing firm and fast for judgement and ver-true against the vehement intreaty and perswasion of his kinsfolk and friends. Nevertheless the ungrateful *Syracusans* (fearing that he should be forced out of necessity to pardon the Tyrant for the great Pledges and Hostages he had of him) they began to chuse them new

Governours, and pitched upon a *Heracledes* for their Admiral, whom *Dion* made so himself, having perswaded the *Syracusans* to the contrary; for which favour he seemed publickly to be very thankful, and to fall at *Dion's* feet, but privately suggested aspersions against him into the common Peoples ears, whom secretly he so enticed to rebel, that *Dion* miserably troubled and perplexed, knew not which way to take. Hereupon *b Sosis* moveth further sedition against *Dion*, but he discreetly cleareth himself of all.

But the unthankfulness of the *Syracusans*, still weary of the severity of *Dion*, they murmure, and chuse 25 new Captains, whereof *Heracledes* was one; and forsaking *Dion*, endeavouring to entice and divert his own Soldiers from him: but so true and kind-hearted a fond, and a he was, that his Soldiers were so also to him,

a One of them that had been banished, a good Soldier, and a Captain, well esteemed of, for the charge and office he bare under the Tyrant, but very unconstant.
b Brother to one of *Dionysius* his Guard, a known villain, & a wicked fellow, would persuade the *Syracusans*, that *Dion* was a subtle and wary Tyrant, though *Dionysius* was a fond, and a drunken one.

c By calling a Physician to search the wounds, which *Sosis* said *Dion* and his men had given him; which were found to be counterfeited, though thereby at first the people were enraged against *Dion*, they condemned *Sosis* to death, and

and so withstood the great tumult of the *Syracusans*, that he caused them cowardly to flye away, who at first scorned and vilified the small number of his Army: and calling his Soldiers back, leads them to the Countrey of the *Leontines*, and courageously beats back the Captains of *Syracuse* with much shame and reproach, who were forced to pursue him to avoid the scorn of the people, and to recover the same they had lost.

But the *Leontines* received him with so much gladness, that they courteously entertained him and his Soldiers, though strangers, and made them free Citizens with them. But *Dionysius* seeing this, makes no more ado, but enters upon the City, and so miserably sets it on fire, slaying all men, women, and children, that they were shamefully forced to recall their former ingratitude, and in their extremity were glad to implore his aid, who out of love and tender-heartedness was not unwilling to give it them, though at that very time they *a* deluded him, shewing and making it clear, That their urgent necessity, not their love, was the main motive of their desiring his presence. But when he came without fear, and undauntedly discomfited the enemies on every side, encouraging the *Syracusans*, compelled *b Mypsius* to flee into the Castle, *Heracledes* and *Theodotus* bowed unto him, beseeching him not to remember their Errours,

a For when *Dionysius* his Soldiers were repaired to the Castle, after all their mischief, they thought they would not trouble them any more; therefore they sent to *Dion* he should not come: but finding it otherwise again, both they and their Captains begged his help. *b* One of the chiefe Assistants of *Dionysius*.

but

c Athens.

but out of his own gentleness and nobleness of spirit to forgive them ; which (notwithstanding his Soldiers perswasion to the contrary) he willingly yielded to, saying, That he learned of long time in the c School of Arts, to overcome Anger, Envy, Malice, and Contentions. For all this the Syracusans return frowardness in reward of his mildness : And when Heraclides himself was so reasonable, out of his acknowledgement (or out of fear at least) as to make a motion for the absoluteness of Dion's power by Sea and Land ; yet though the Nobility granted it, the mercenary and mechanick part withstood it : But he kindly granting their desire, restored Heraclides again to the Admiralty. After he had thus by his care, diligence, and watchfulness set them in safety, they by their own infidelity, and Heraclides his instigation, rebel again ; and refusing to draw the War to any length, gave him then a small overthrow, which was by reason of a factious Jar and Division, which happened among his Soldiers.

But Dion presently prepareth for another War, and came to Syracuse, and prevented Dion's haste, coming thither with his Fleet ready sailed against him ; who being disappointed, and returning again, met Gasilus the Lacedemonian coming to be General of the Syracusans, whereof being very glad (because of the hatred he bare to Dion) presently hereupon they sent unto him, that Gasilus was sent from Lacedemon to be their Captain in that War ; but Dion made answer, That the Syra-

Syracusans had Governours enough ; and though their Affairs did of necessity require a Lacedemonian Captain, yet that himself was he, being made free of Sparta. Gasilus perceiving he could not be General, maketh Dion and Heraclides friends, with an Oath, That if he rebelled again, that he would be avenged of him. But Heraclides, a seditious, troublesome, and a light-headed fellow, begins to make a Mutiny, and to accuse Dion, That he would not suffer the People to cast Dionysius the Elder's body out of the Tomb, and that he did not overthrow and raze the Castle which Apollocrates, Dionysius his son voluntarily yielded unto him, seeing he could not otherwise help himself, and was by Dion's aid conducted to his Father, who a long while afore had fled secretly by night to Heraclides when he was first Admiral, committing the Castle to the charge and care of his son. Upon this perfidious Accusation, Heraclides is given over, and murdered in his own house ; howbeit Dion causeth him honourably to be buried, following him with all his Army. He was sent to the Corinthians to establish a Commonwealth to the Syracusans, but his mind carried him to demolish a Democracy, and to advance b Aristocracy. Calippus a noble Athenian, who followed him in all his Exploits and Victories, seeing Heraclides and all dead, and some possibility for the government of all Sicily, if Dion did not stand in the way, conspireth against him ; and after much and diligent contrivance of this Treason (notwithstanding

a The absolute government and authority of the People.

b The number of a few Noblemen to govern and direct the weightiest and chiefest matters of Estate.

c Dion's wife standing his great and *c* solemn Oath to the contrary) slew him on the day of the Feast of Proserpina, and cast his Sister and Wife great with child to Prison, where she was brought to Bed of a son. But this horrible Treason not escaping unpunished, Calippus did not prosper long; for going to take a little Town called Catana, he lost the City of Syracuse, whereupon he said, *I lost a City, and got a Cheese-knife*: and withal, was slain with the same Dagger Dion was murdered; and well he deserved such a death, who would give such an end to a man so incomparable. So grateful he was, that he would reap no benefit or pleasure of his victories, before he had shewed himself thankful to his friends: So kind and tender-hearted he was, that he took his Wife Arcta again, seeing her homage and tears, though forcibly married to another man: so moderate and temperate he was, that he contented himself with any thing that came first to hand: so modest he was in his Apparel, also in the number of his servants, and service at his Board, as if he lived with Plato in the Academy at Athens: so fortunate and moderate he was, that all the world had him in admiration. Such his ability, such his magnanimity, such were all his Qualities, as if all vertues had thought him only the proper subject of their concurrence and meetings.

M. BRUTUS.



XLII.

M. BRUTUS.

Contemporary with Julius Cæsar by his Father.

M Brutus, descended from Junius Brutus, as rude and rough, as he was well bred and gentle; as great an enemy unto Kings, as he was unto Tyrants; and by his *a* Mother from Servilius that stable *a* Servilia, Cæsar's Sister. bed *b* Melius, followed *b* Plato for Philosophy, *b* whom he mentioneth in his Cicero for Latine Oratory, and *c* Empylus for *c* Book of Julius Greek (wherein he was short; as in a Letter Cæsar's death. to the Samians: Your doings be slow, your coun- *c* wherein Brutus was short, as in his Letter to the Pergamenians; I understand you have given Dolobell's money; if unwillingly, you offend me; if willingly, do the like to me.

fells

Anno Mundi
3901. Ante
Chr. 47.

sels long, consider the end : and that to the Patereians ; Either choose the Patereians judgement who may have their liberty, or the Xanthians fortune who despair of it) he was trusted by his Uncle Cato in his affairs at Rhodes above Canius, and employed something below his hope and study. When some thought he would side with Caesar to revenge Pompey for his Fathers murder, he joyned with Pompey to serve his Countrey for the publick good; to whose Camp in Macedon he was most welcome. So studious, that the very day before the Pharsalian Battel, he was epitomizing Polybius : so well beloved, that Caesar gave order for his safety, as for his own dson; and when he escaped after the Fight to a Marsh first, and then to Laresta, upon his letter to Caesar, he not onely pardoned, but advanced him; he hearkned to his advice, and always granted his request, saying of him, I know not what this young man would have : but what he would, he willet it vehemently. He moved nothing but what was honest and rational, so grave and constant he was; he carried what he moved, he was so resolved : any man might perswade him, no man could flatter him to a kindnesse. He would say, That he thought them ill brought up in their youth that could deny to said, Hold nothing. In Caesar's absence against Cato and Scipio, Brutus was Patron of Gallia Transalpine For Cassius, rather than Governour, remedying former oppressions, rather than adding new. Upon Caesar's return, Brutus and his government was his greatest delight : Cassius and

Brutus

Brutus were divided by Caesar, that they might be united to him : Cassius his cause was just (said he) therefore he had the second Prætorship; but Brutus was to be preferred, therefore he had the first. Brutus avoided Caesar's favour, as rather a temptation to his noble mind, than a reward to his vertue : he being as much afraid of his mind and power, as he was confident of his good nature, would say, He feared not sat Anthony and Dolabella, but lean Brutus and Cassius. Brutus hated the tyranny, and Cassius the Tyrant. Brutus might have succeeded Caesar, if he had not killed him; for he said, upon some intimation of Brutus his conspiracy, I thinke ye that Brutus will not tarry till this body dye ? But Brutus was incensed against Caesar's Empire by his Ancestors enterprize against Kings, and the peoples expectation from him; for under their Images they writ, O that Brutus were alive ! And before his face when Prætor, Brutus is asleep. The people would not assert their liberty if Brutus led them; for they said, They wanted not men of valour and resolution, but of esteem and prudence. Cassius first felt Brutus, who said, He would dye, or Caesar should not be King : Cassius replying, Rome will not suffer thee to dye : They look for playes and pastime at other Prætors hands, but they look for liberty at thine. Brutus having layd aside Cicero, whose fear and age was unsuitable to this Enterprize, & famous with others, who in by-discourses had declared against Civil Wars, and obliged the noblest and valiantest Romanes upon his authority

d As it was thought by Caesar's familiarity with his Mother he was; for when Cato insisted in the Senate that a Letter brought then to Caesar should be opened : He shewed it him, and it proved a Love-letter between him and Cato's sister Servilia; wherefore Cato said, Hold nothing. In Caesar's absence against Cato and Scipio, Brutus was Patron of Gallia Transalpine For Cassius, rather than Governour, remedying former oppressions, rather than adding new. Upon Caesar's return, Brutus and his government was his greatest delight : Cassius and

city to so secret a conspiracy, that notwithstanding all the Predictions of it, it would not be believed (not leaving out his Wife *Porcia*; who as *Cato's* Daughter, and *Brutus* his Wife, by a wound she gave her self, assured him of her constancy, and (which was more for her Sex) of her secrecy.) (Notwithstanding that *Calpurnia* and the Soothsayers stayed *Cesar* longer then ordinary from the Senate: *Casca* was frightened by the way, as if *Brutus* had discovered all; *Porcia* swooned, *Pompilius Lena* seemed to bewray the conspiracy to *Cesar* as he came (so that the Complices did intend to dispatch themselves) drawing *Anthony* out of the Senate by Discourse, *Cimber* petitioneth *Cesar*, and the rest seconded him, kissing *Cesar's* hand, and then stabbing him in the heart; who when he saw *Brutus*, yielded himself: *Brutus* would have satisfied the other Senators, but they fled: the other Conspirators would have killed *Anthony*, but *Brutus* refused, because it was not honest nor prudent, *Anthony* being a noble person that was principled for liberty, though engaged to the Tyrant. At first the multitude abhorred, and were amazed at the fact, but afterwards they applauded it: and when they saw that neither power nor spoyl was the design, but honest liberty, all the multitude mutynied *Brutus* to the Capitol, yet the Senate entertained, secured, a honoured and employed them in several Provinces, particularly *Brutus* in *Crete*; who committed two faults; First, in saving *Anthony* their

a *Anthony* sent them Pledges, and invited *Cassius* to supper, as *Lepidus* did *Brutus*.

close

close enemy, and next in publishing *Cesar's* popular wit, and solemnizing his Funeral; at which *Anthony* by his speech, and shewing *Cesar's* garments, enraged the multitude so far, that *Brutus* and his friends rettyred to *Anium*, and there for fear of *Cesar's* Soldiers, refused to shew his Playes as Prætor, or his Lord Mayors shew: But reproving *Cicero* for siding with young *Octavius*, as if he could be contented with a mild bondage, and were more afraid of an honourable War than a slavish Peace, when he heard how *Rome* was divided between *Anthony* and *Octavius*, lest his resolved *Porcia*, b who bore up against her misfortune, until she saw it pourtrayed to the life in *Andromaches* Table, and went to *Athens*; where being entertained with publick joy, he openly heard *Themistocles* the Academick, and *Cratippus* the Peripatetick, but privately prepared for War, soliciting the *Macedonians*, and lifting the young *Romans* at *Athens*, particularly young *Cicero*, who was a right Commonwealths-man; and having taken some Ships and Money from a Correspondent at Sea, entertained the *Romans* on his Birth-day, rallied *Pompey's* straglers, took *Cinna's* five hundred Horse, with *Julius Cesar's* Ammunition and Arms at *Demetriade*, received *Macedon* from *Hortensius*, was before *Anthony* (notwithstanding the hard and foul way) at *Dyrachium*; where being cured of his a *Bylimia*, and as civilly used by the City, as he courteously spared it; he cut off three of *Anthony's*

b *Bibulus* her son writes thus

a A great appetite caused by a vehement heat within, from an extream cold without. Vide Plut. de Cor. viv.

M m

Ensigns,

Ensigns, surprized and took him in a certain Marsh, and upon his secret practices and Cicerō's death, executed him.

Being condemned at Rome (by Octavius, M. Anthony, and Lepidus means, who shared the Empire, to the Senators and Peoples great regret) with Cassius, they met at Smyrna; the one a rough-natured man, the other gentle and well beloved; both skillful, both joyful to see their men, their money and Ships, and both resolved rather to deliver their own Countrey, than conquer others: others entered into this conspiracy for power, Brutus (as Anthony himself confessed) only for liberty; writing to Atticus, That he would either dye or live with Liberty, and rid his Countrey of bondage by battell, or himself by death.

With this resolution (foreseeing that Anthony and Octavius would part) as Cassius took Rhodes, so Brutus surprized Lycia, burned b Xanthius (who would not be saved) took Patarea (by his noble usage of the Ladies that came to his hands) and levied a hundred and fifty talents upon Lycia: meeting (after many noble and renowned actions in his way) Cassius at Sardis, where some ill offices were done between them, but their contracts ended in Supper and Philosophy: Cassius excused Lucius Pella's corruption in his Prætorship, and advised indulgence in that juncture; but Brutus condemned him, saying, Either let us be just, or let us recal Cæsar.

As they were going to Europe, Brutus (who slept

b where they laid nets with bells over the River, so that if any swam, they should be caught and heard.

c whom he sent home without ransom to celebrate his justice and mercy. See Dion. l. 44. Appian l. 2. Val. Max. l. 9. s. 9.

depe very little) saw a Spirit, that told him he would see him at Philippes; to whom he said no more, but, Then we shall see one another again. Cassius the Epicurean perswaded him it was but the Agitation of his mind, his Melancholy and Imagination: but the Eagles that flew over their Camps, and vanished at Philippes, intimated something more; For Octavius and Anthony on the one hand, and Brutus on the other, d encamping at Philippes (after some unlucky signes) Cassius proposing delay, Brutus advising dispatch (left their men run over to Octavius) both though of contrary opinions and tempers, resolved either to conquer, or not to fear being conquered, gave the word by little Bills, made their speeches, and Brutus with his right Wing surprized Anthony as he was drawing his Trenches, and overthrew, while Cassius with his left, being left naked, was overthrown, before Brutus, now strayed too far in the pursuit, could come to his relief: and mistaking Brutus Horse for the Enemy (so that he thought Tentinius his friend had been rather taken, than embraced by them before his face) commanded his Slave Pindarus to kill him; who (as Brutus said) was the last Romane. Sixteen thousand of Cæsar's side fell in this Encounter, and eight thousand of Brutus, who (had he not followed his victory too far, had gained it.)

In the mean time, having killed the Slaves he had taken prisoners, and sent the Free-men to be Slaves (as he said) at Rome, having rewarded his Soldiers with two thousand Drach-

d In the Philip-
pian Fields.
e The Sergeants
bring off his
Garland back-
ward, the man's
stumbling that
carried the im-
mage of Cassi-
us his victory;
the fowls of
Prey, and the
Bee-hives on
their camps:

f See Meffalas
and Octavius
his Commenta-
ries of these
things, & Phi-
lippus Volum-
nius.

maes a man, and checked them for their rashness, promising them the spoyle of *Thessalonica* and *Lacedemon* upon their success.

a A signe of ill luck.

Having won a Battle by Sea, which he knew not of twenty dayes after (upon the enemies bravadoes, when they had received *Caesars* his bloody garments) notwithstanding the old spirits appearing; the swarms of Bees upon the first Ensign; the Soldiers arms sweating Oyl of Roses; the two Eagles encounter, and that on *Caesar's* side flying away, the a *Athiopian* they met at the Camp-door, (all ill Omens) he observing his Armies revolted, encountred the enemy with success on the left Wing, where he was in person, but was overthrown on the right, where he trusted weak Captains: and lastly, encompassed by the enemy, saw his Foot discouraged at their friends miscarriage, and his horse cut off by his side, young *Cato* and many young Noblemen venturing their lives to save his, particularly *Lucilius*, who surrendered himself to the Barbarians in *Brutus* his stead; who passing that melancholy night in the woods and rocks, and recollecting his friends fall next day, when all his friends refused to kill him, he said, *We must flye with our hands, and not our feet*: And so pitying his Country more than himself, and applauding his own vertue more than his enemies conquest, did that which in *Cato* he looked upon as offensive to the gods, and unworthy of a man; and died with his own hands, as *Porcia* a while after died with hers.

The

The Parallel.

Both *Dion* and *Brutus* rose by small occasions to great power: *Dion* alone, *Brutus* with *Caesars*. *Dion's* enterprizes were his own design, *Brutus* his friends; the one got an estate in his Countreys service, the other spent one. *Brutus* his, was his necessity, *Dion's* his choice: The one fought for his Countrey, when he could not be safe at *Rome*; the other would not be safe and merry in banishment, because he would fight. *Syracuse*, when *Dion* appeared for it, was weary of *Dionysius* his avowed tyranny; *Rome*, when *Brutus* engaged for it, was in love with *Caesar's* dissembled Monarchy: *Syracuse* weary of one King, would have many Senators; and *Rome* weary of many Senators, would have one King. *Dion* looked round him, and was circumspect; *Brutus* a not so: he was above his misfortunes; this, though General at Land, and Lord at Sea, sunk under them. *Dion* revenged his own wrongs, *Brutus* asserted the publick liberty, for which the one murdered his great friend, the other did but fight against his declared Enemy. *Dion* was the Tyrants friend when he trusted him, and his enemy when he mistrusted him: *Brutus* was *Pompey's* friend and *Caesar's* enemy for the

a In his second Battle, wherein he rashly hazarded all.

b Plut. in his Epistles.

c Who when he came to Milain admired his Image, for the workmanship proportion; and asked the Governours, how they durst keep an enemy among them? they wondering who he meant; I mean that Brutus: whereat when they were abashed, he said, No, no, I commend you for your love to men in adversity. See Val. Max. l. 4. 6. he calls slaves Brigæ.

Common-wealths sake. All saw Dion opposing Dionysius his tyranny to set up his own; His enemies confessed that Brutus aimed onely at the settlement of the Romane Empire. Any man might have overthrown Dionysius the son; Brutus onely could undertake Caesar the wife; whose very name raised an Army, and his very Interest an Empire. It was nobly done of Dion to encounter his enemy in the field; it was prudently done of Brutus to surprize him in the very Senate. The one did ill that he provoked his friends to betray him, the other well, that he forced his enemies to honour him: Anthony with an honourable Burial, Milain with a stately Image, and Caesar himself with a commendation of the Gauls, who honoured him when dead, who deserved it when alive.

ANTONY.



XLIII.

M. ANTHONY.

Contemporary with Herod King of the Jews, Augustus, Tully, and Brutus.

Anno Mundi
3900. Ante
Chr. 47.

A Nihony (whose Grandfather was eminent for nothing but his fall with Sylla; and his Father for no more then the a Silver Bason beltowed on his Barber) being taken from debauched Cuno, who run him two hundred and fifty Talents in debt; and seditious Clodius, who set him on dangerous enterprizes; spent his time in A- sia, partly in the Wars, partly in the b Schools, untill Gabinus employed him against Aristobulus and the Jews, whom he c subdued; and take it; and with much ado made his peace with his wife. b Where he had the Asia'ique phrase he was noted for. c Taking Aristobulus himself, being the first man that assaulted the Castle.

M m 4

his

his own great mind engaged him with *Pitomy d* (when others shrunk) where he won the dry and desert passage, took *Peleusium* and spared it, made way for victory (and by incompassing the enemy obtained it) to which his presence and his courtelie, his familiarity and civility, his publike spiritedness and liberality, his *Hercules* face, habit, and actions, added the respect of *Alexandria*, and the love of *Rome*: He bestowed all his gains, and reserved none for one day: he ordered his friend a *f Decies*; his Cofferer set it before him; but he said, *I thought a Decies was more, give him two.* When *Caesar* set up for the people, and *Pompey* for their Nobility, *Curio* gained *Antony* for *Caesar*; and what with his eloquence, what with his money, made him Tribune; in which place he reversed *Marcellus* his Laws; sent the present levies into *Syria*, and forbid the future; read *Caesar's* letters, and advised that both *Pompey* and *Caesar* might lay down their Arms, if either, untill he was forced to *Caesar* in disguise, who when he had settled the City, gave *Antony* charge of *Italy* and the Army, where he obliged not the Army more by his familiarity, then he disobliged the Citizens by his Injustice and Lust; but approving himself to *Caesar* by his valour, he drave away *Libo* from the Haven of *Brundisium*, took many prisoners and much treasure; reduced *Lyssu*; escaped a Shipwrack by a suddain Southwind, and came with men and money to *Caesar*; whose whole Army he turned back from flight at *Lyssu*,

a Full of exhalations called Typhos breath but is indeed but the overflowing of the red Sea under ground.
c Some say he came from Antony the Son of Hercules.
f i. e. Twenty five Myriads.

and commanded next *Caesar* at *Phorsia*; after which battel as General of the Horse, he opposed *Dolobellas Novas tabulas* (being jealous of his familiarity with his Wife) or the Law for cutting off obligations) but ripened the conspiracy against *Caesar* by his pride and insolence, his Harlots and Banquers; his Cupboards of Plate drawn with Lyons; his surly and domineering Wife (who ruled him as he did *Rome*) *Caesar's* extraordinary favour towards him upon his return from *Spain*; their joynt Consulship, and by putting the Garland and Crown at the *Lupercalia* upon his head and on his Image (which *g* when he took, the people murmured, when he refused they shouted) for now *Cassius* and *Brutus* not trussing *Anthony* for his familiarity with *Caesar*, yet sparing him for their hope of him, murdered *Caesar* while he was called aside, who entertained the conspirators overnight at supper, when he saw they aimed at no more; and next morning secured them by an amnesty to prevent a Civil War; but having gained the people by that prudent act and *Caesar's* will, he declaimed them to an uproar at *Caesar's* Funeral, and enflamed them with his cloaths, untill the whole conspiracy was *h* fired out of the City; all the Senate was altered, the banished recalled, and *Antony* absolute; But young *Octavius Caesar's* Nephew and heir, comes to *Rome*, and demands of *Anthony* his Uncles money (which he was called upon for by the *k* Legates) *Antony* puts him by his Tribuneship, and threatneth his Imprisonment;

g They say Caesar hereupon offered his neck to the first that would cut off his head.

h The Citizens running with fire-brands up and down.
i According to Caesars memorials, in Chorons bout he pretended; wherefore his followers were called Choronites.

k Every Roman, to whom he had given seventy five Drachmes a peice.

a That Cæsar
would kill him.
Dio. l. 47. Val.
Max. l. 1. c. 7.

ment; *Octavius* made *Cicero* and the Senate his friends, because *Antonies* enemies, after a Dream of *Antonies*, they make parties, caresse the Legions; and by *Cicero's* authority *Antonies* is overthrown before *Modena*, and *Cæsar* advanced at *Rome*: but *Antonies* great mind bears up against his adversity; his mean condition wins *Lepidus* and his Army, and his civility engageth *Plancus*; upon which increase of his power, *Cæsar* (now weary of *Cicero's* Commonwealth) agreeth with *Lepidus* and *Antony* in an Island, leaving *Cicero* to their mercy, as they did *Paulus* and *Lucius Cæsar* to his; *Antony* cut off *Cicero's* head and hand with delight, and set them on the Pulpit for Orations; and by his lewdness and outrage, and that in sober and noble *Pompey's* house, exaspered the people, untill with his share of the Army he went to *Macedon* against *Brutus*, where his victory was renowned, his courtesie more in his honorable burial of *Brutus* in his own rich Armor: His noble promise of five thousand Silver Drachma's to each Souldier; his moderate Impositions, his procession through the Schools, the Theatres, the Halls, and Temples of *Greece* (that gained him the name *Philellen*, or a lover of *Greece*.)

But when the riches of the East were in his eyes, the Beauty of *Asia* at his devoure, the power of Kings and Queens at his feet, the pleasures and riots of those places filled his Court, and extortion undid the Cities; a Citizens house was his Cooks reward for a fine

dish of meat, (untill *Hybras* the Orator bid him how his Officers cheated him, and ruined the Countrey; adding, That if he would have two Tributes, he must bestow upon him two Harvests.) His minde was b noble, but abused by flatterers, bebauched by Buffoons, and at last bewitched by *Cleopatra*, who quenched all his sparks of Virtue, and Equated all his close Inclinations to vice; for being summoned by him to appear at *Cilicia* for entertaining *Cassius* and *Brutus*, the *Ægyptian* came in her gilded Boat with sayls of Purple, Oars of silver, sitting under a pavilion of Tissue: all sorts of Instruments played, the fairest Maids and Boyes attended; the whole Bank was perfumed; all the Countrey admired her; her Treasure and Ornaments are inestimable: her first supper was sumptuous; her next, to vie with *Antony*, prodigious: her beauty won all eyes, her tongue all hearts. She spake as many Languages as she commanded: notwithstanding the Turmoyle then in the world, they made an Order called *Amicitia*, and accordingly by turns spent vast sums of Money; and what is more precious, Time. They wasted eight wild Boars at a time, made a supper for every house c in the night; whole cupboard of Plate was bestowed for a jest: *Cleopatra* jested, played, hunted, and dined with her Gallant, and never left him day or night, sporting with rough and Soldier-like temper, untill *Fulvia's* peevishnesse had raised a War in *Italy*, *Labienus* had overrun *Parthia*: and upon *Fulvias* his death, all the

b To reward
virtue, and punish
vice.

c That Antony
might have it
fresh when ever
he came in.

d One day *Antony* being
angry, because
he caught no
fish before *Cleopatra*, set his
men to dive, &
put fish upon his
book. *Cleopatra*
smelt it, and
next day inviting
all the *Ægyptians* to the
fishing, bids her
men put small
fish on the book;
which *Antony*
pulling, to
the laughter of
all that saw it;
Cleopatra cried,
My Lord,
leave your Angling-Rod in
Agypt, it is for
you to fish for
Countreys &
Kingdoms.

e Lepidus, Octavius, and Antony agreed to chuse Consuls by Turns.

Octavia with in the tenth month of her widowhood, the Senators dispensing with it. Sextus, Pompey's Ship-master, offered him to cut the Cables, and take Caesar & Anthony as they were at supper, saying, I will make thee Mr. not onely of Sicily, but of Rome. He replied, Thou shouldst never tell me of it, for I was never unfaithful.

* Where was a fountain called Clepsydia, that took in and let out water, like an hour-glasse; being filled when the North-west-winde blows, and emptied on the contrary, as Nilus, b which Place calleth, the giving the Reys to the Horse.

the Provinces Eastward were by agreement with Caesar allotted Anthony, and power to name his own Consul every three years) a Treaty confirmed by a Marriage betwene him and Caesar's noble and handsome Sister.

Hereupon they satisfied a Pompey with the Government of Sardinia; they sent Ventidius to stop the Parthians; they manage the Government with joynt power, until Anthony (being out-done by Caesar both in business and in pastimes; and told by his Soothsayer, That his Demon was too weak for Caesar's) went to * Athens, where he kept open-house, made Shews and Plays for Ventidius success in three Battles in Parthia, Canidius his conquests in Armenia, and Sostius in Syria (Anthony and Caesar both being more fortunate in their Lieutenants Enterprizes than their own) where he staid, until now, grown great, and offended with Octavius, he sails with three hundred ships to Tarentum, in which Haven Octavius melted them who were resolved for War, into a firm Peace, and sweetned their mutual animosities into reciprocal kindneses. Whereupon Anthony leaving his Wife and Children to Octavius, and yielding to b Lust against better counsel, threw Phenicia, Cilicia, and Arabia into Cleopatra's lap, and himself into her Embraces, by whom he had two Twins; Alexander, surnamed the Sun, and Cleopatra, surnamed the Moon; excusing his prodigality to

wards her, with this saying; That it became Romanes to give, rather than take: And his Lust with that; That Royal seed is not to be confined to one womb.

He bestowed Provinces on Monefes, that he might gain Kingdoms of his Master. He compared himself to Themistocles, and his Riches to Darius. He dispatched his Paramour to Egypt, and his own eighty thousand men to Armenia; where out of hast to return to her, he left his Artillery behind, which was cut off. He besieged Phraata in vain, trifled away his confederate Artabazus, killed and took some eighty Parthians in a pitch'd Field, decimated his tenth Legion, and put the rest to eat Barley instead of Wheat. He was troubled with sallies from the City, and skirmishes from the Field, for all his conquest; and afraid of Famine and Winter, was cajoled to some conference with the Parthians, and with some fetcht about to a peaceable departure: but in his way (being informed by an honest Mardian and of the Parthians treachery) was infested by the Enemy, had it not been for his care to strengthen his Rear and Flanks with light-armed men; for the Gauls Horse that dispersed them; for Flavius Gallus that resisted them; for his own resolute charge at last with the third c Legion which overthrew them; his care of the Soldiers, and their reverence to him for his noblenesse, familiarity, his eloquence (for he could harangue the Army to what he pleased) and liberality, they had been cut off.

c When Canidius and other Captains had almost lost all the Romans by piece-meals.

But the *Parthians* fleshed with successe, and recruited by their Kings own Guard that came to triumph, rather than engage, daring the tyred *Romanes*- they (upon *Anthony's* speech and prayer, that his Army might prevail though he fell) submitted to what punishments and services he pleased: and setting themselves in such order, that upon their enemies approach, one covered the other. They first deceived the *Parthians*, who thought they were tired because they kneeled, and then overthrew them: But his Army failed with Famine, Thirst, and a strange Herb they met with, that made them throw stones at one another; the remedy against which was onely Wine. Whereupon *Anthony* cried, *O ten thousand!* meaning the ten thousand *Persians* that had marched further under *Cyrus*: And when the *Parthians* cajoled the second time with a seeming, he had been surprized in a large Valley, had not one *Mithridates* the *Persian* General's Kinsman led them over a mountain, and towards two great Rivers; which (after a desperate mutiny and sickness, by a salt River in the way, together with a sharp skirmish) they with much ado passed over, but surfeited themselves to Fluxes and Dropsies by the plenty of that land, so that 20 thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse were missed in the Muster-roll after eighteen skirmishes, and twenty eight days journey, and all for the *Armenian* Cuirassiers revolt, whose King he allured Prisoner to *Alexandria*, where, upon the arrival of his Paramour whom

d The first rank kneeled, the next stooped, &c. and so covered one another with their Shields, as tyles do cover a house; a way they call *Lestudo*.

whom he pined for, he triumphed, and she showed Largeesses on the Army; who enticed the effeminate so far with her own dalliances, and her followers flatteries, that he waved the War with the *Medes* Horse and Bow-men against the *Parthians* now divided among themselves; despised his Wife *Octavia*, come to *Athens* with Men, Money, and other Presents, to see him; and made War with *Cæsar*, who accused him, 1. For neglecting his excellent Lady. 2. For presuming to divide Kingdoms between *Cleopatra* and her children. 3. For cladding her in the Goddess *Isis* her habit; and he *Cæsar*, 1. For deposing *Lepidus*, and engrossing his Province. 2. For sharing *Italy* among his Soldiers. Whereupon with eight hundred Gallies, sixteen Legions, and his *Cleopatra*, who furnished him with 220000 Talents, victualled his Camp; and (notwithstanding *Domitius* his suggestion, as she that destined *Octavius* the government of the world, and *Canidius* who was bribed by her would have it) would needs go with him to that War she maintained, forsooth; and to encourage the *Egyptians*, to feast and revel at *Samos* and at *Athens*, where Minstrels had whole Cities for the Plays, and Cities had the Revenues of Provinces for their Entertainment; where Kings strived who should honour them most, and Kingdoms, which should most oblige them; for whose sake, poor, but brave *Octavia* is dislodged; *Cæsar* raiseth a great Army, and a greater Tax; *Tilius* and *Plancus* revolts to *Cæsar*, *Cæsar* publisheth

Antonius

a For one day he and *Cleopatra* being sate in golden chairs above, & their children in silver ver below; he gave *Egypt*, *Chares*, *Cyprus*, & *Lydia* to her. *Armenia*, *Media*, & *Parthia* to *Alexander*, who was in a long Median *Gown* and Hat, and guarded by *Armenians*, *Phoenicia*, *Syria*, & *Cilicia* to *Ptolemy*, who was in a *Macedonian* Cloak, and a broad Hat, and Royal band with slippers, guarded by *Macedonians*, and both called King of Kings.

b As treading on her toe at supper, suffering the Ephesi-ans to call her Sovereign Lady, receiving Love-letters from her in Onyx or Christal on his Imperial Chair, where he gave audience unto Kings.
a who plainly told Anthony that he was undone, if Cleopatra was not dispatched to Athens.

b Kings of Lydia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Comagena, &c.

Antonius his Will left with the Vestals: Calpurnius accuseth him of his fond Love-trick with Cleopatra in the midst of his State cares and businesse; for bestowing the famous Library of Pergamos, and the two hundred thousand Books that were in it, to that wanton woman.

Geminus a faithful messenger from Anthony's friends, is sent away by the jealous Queen with disgrace, as were most of his sincere and trusty followers. Anthony's government is taken from him, because he had given it to a woman: The War against Cleopatra or her Eunuchs and Chamber-maids (as Caesar said) is proclaimed; the City Pisaurum peopled by Antonius, sunk; his Image at Alba swear Hercules Temple at Patras was burnt with Lightning while Anthony was there: The ship called Antoniad, and the images of Eumenes and Attalus were torn to pieces, and Swallows nestled in other ships, and many other ill Omens happened.

Both Armies met, eight hundred Ships with twelve banks of Oars, 100000 Foot and 12000 Horse, twelve Kings either in person, or by their Representatives on the one hand; 2500 Ships, 80000 Foot, and many Horse, on the other: Antonius commanded from Armenia to Euphrates, and Caesar from Illyria to the Western Ocean. Caesar's Ships were built for service, strong and nimble; Anthony's for shew, weak and heavy. Caesar promised Anthony safe landing in Italy. Anthony challengeth him to a combat in Ta-

rentum

or a Battle in Pharsalia: Caesar takes Antium, before Anthony thought he had taken Rome; and Cleopatra saith, What danger may ye, if Caesar keep at c Toryne? Anthony fights Caesar away with his stratagem of Oars; cuts off his fresh water, but is defeated by Domitius, by two Kings, Amyntas, and Dejotarus, and advised by his Mariners, and by Canidius to fight in the main Land; where he was as experienced, as Caesar was at Sea: But he hearkning to Cleopatra, who consulted rather how she should escape, than how she should conquer, was deaf to all, even to an old Captain, that told him, That upon firm ground they would either conquer, or dye (though so fearful, that he commanded on the sayls, under pretence that not an Enemy should escape.) Anthony commanding the left Wing, gave order that they should not stir from the e Streit of the Gulph. Yet f Caesar commanding the right Wing of his, provoked them out, and encompassed them. Both sides fought with equal successe, the one with Slings, the other with Engines, until Cleopatra fled with sixty Sayl, and Anthony after, leaving his Land and Sea-forces: and as he had narrowly missed a Romane in his walke upon a back of Land to his Land-Army, so he as narrowly escaped a Lacedemonian, whose Father he had hanged. His Navy was beaten, his Land-Army revolts; he is three dayes dejected, but afterwards went with Cleopatra to Asitik: Caesar relieveth the Cities of Greece with Antonies Corn; Cleopatra guards her

c At the Ladle, scimming the pot by the fire-side.
d He set all his water-men in his foremost Ships, and held up the Oars in all his Ships in Battle-array, in the very mouth of Actium.

e Having met that morning with a Shepherd, whose name was Eutycheus, Good fortune, and his sheep Nicon, Conquerour, whose Statue he had afterwards drawn in brass.
f Having burned most of his Ships.

N n

Ports.

g An odd fellow of Athens, who sold all company but Alcibiades, who he said would one day do much mischief; who liked the mans feast if he were not there: and told the Athenians he was to cut his Fig-tree; and if any of them had a mind to hang themselves, they should do it quickly.
a Antyllus.
b Cæsarion by J. Cæsar.
c The bite of an Aspicke, which makes a man sleep to death.

Ports. *Anthony* retires after *g Tynon's* example, to a Lodge in the Sea neer *Pharos*, and resolves to trust no man: forgoing all his hopes that he might quit his cares too.

Herod King of *Jury* revolts; all *Anthony's* friends leave him; he returns to *Cleopatra* and entereth a his and b her eldest son among the young men with great solemnity: They change the *Animetobion*, the *Incomparable* life, to *Sunapothimemon*, their life who will dye together, made up of feasting and pastimes. *Cleopatra* tries what poyson will kill c easiest; both *Anthony* and she send their Schoolmaster *Euphronius* to *Cæsar*, to crave *Egypt* for her children, and a private life for *Anthony*. *Cæsar* would grant *Cleopatra* any thing that was reasonable, but she must banish *Anthony*; who being jealous of *Cæsar's* young and smooth-tongu'd Messenger, whip-peth him (because as he writ to *Cæsar*, he had angered him now his misery had made him fretful.)

But *Cleopatra* makes more of him than ever, keeps her Birth-day more solemnly though *Pelusium* be taken, *Cæsar* be before the walls, she be ready to burn her rich Monuments and richer Treasure (though *Cæsar* comforted her to preserve them) though *Anthony* having beaten *Cæsar* back, tells his servants this might be the last time they saw him who would lead them to a Battle, where they should be safe with victory, or dye with honour: Though that night was filled with strange noises and signes, and next morning the

the whole Navy falls off, and all his Forces are overthrown: He cries, *Cleopatra* had betrayed him who fought for her sake. She hides her self in a Tomb, and is voiced dead. The poor man hastens to her by his own death; wounds himself, and all in blood was brought to *Cleopatra*, in whose arms (tearing her hair; her face, her breast) he dieth, comforting himself with these words; That *Anthony* could be overcome only by *Cæsar*. *Alexandria* is taken, *Cleopatra's* sons are put to death, even *Cæsaridian* himself, *Arrius* advising, There should not be many *Cæsars*. *Arrius* the Philosopher, *Philostratus* the Orator, and all the people are pardoned. *Cleopatra* poysoned her self after some discourse with *Cæsar*, some love-passages with young *Dolabella*, and some tears on *Anthony's* Tomb, who had twelve Kings in his service, three Queens for his Concubines, and three d Emperors of his posterity.

d Clodius, Nero, Germanicus; the second by his daughter Agrippina, the first and last by his daughter Antonia.

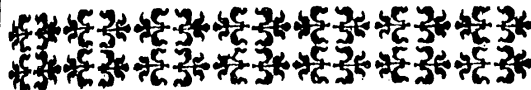
The Parallel.

Demetrius was born to a whole Kingdome (his Father being the most powerful of *Alexander's* Successors) *Anthony* raised himself to half an Empire; both did most feats by their Lieutenants. *Demetrius* was forced to marry *Phila*, though too old for him, and *Anthony Cleopatra*, when too great. Both were so potent, that it was thought they de-

served to be more : but *Demetrius* desired but right and custome, *Anthony* aimed at an Usurpation and Tyranny : *Demetrius* was overthrown in asserting the Liberty of Greece, and *Anthony* in designing the slavery of Rome. *Mark* was very munificent to his Friends, *Demetrius* was more to his Enemies. *Anthony* was renowned for burying *Brutus*, *Demetrius* for interring all his Enemies : Both wanton and riotous, but *Demetrius* would not neglect his Undertakings for Pleasure, nor *Anthony* his Pleasures for his Undertakings. *Wanconesse* was *Demetrius* his diversion (for he would never come out without a perfumed Helmet, or Iviad Darts) and *Anthony's* business. *Omphale* disarmed *Hercules*, and *Cleopatra* *Anthony*. *Paris* ran to *Helena's* Cloister, and *Mark* to his Dears Lap. *Demetrius* had many Wives allowed in *Macedon*, but all beloved; *Anthony* had two disallowed in *Rome*, and both neglected for one Concubine : but *Anthony* by his Inconstancy undid himself only, *Demetrius* & others. *Demetrius* saved his Enemies for his Friends sake, *Anthony* betrayed his friends, to be revenged of an enemy. *Demetrius* brake his Oath with his friends, *Anthony* onely with a Traytor. The one being forsaken by his men, lived three years a slave to eat like a beast : the other having forsaken his, scarce durst die like a Man.

THE

a Desling *Minerva's* Temple, and killing his *Ganimede* to save himself.
b His very uncle.
c *Cicero*.
d *Alexander*.
e *Artabazus*.
f Dogs were not suffered to come to *Athens* Castle, because of butchery. See *Appian*, and *Strab* l. 16. *Pli*.
s. & 23 book.



XLIV.

The GRACCHI.

Contemporary with Agis and Cleomenes, Judas Machabæus, &c.

Agis and Cleomenes were not more remarkable for their calamities among the Gracians, than C. and T. Gracchus among the Romanes; two brethren as eminent for their valiant and renowned Father *Tiberius* (who being twice Consul, once Censor, twice triumphed) as for their wife should dye; He considering her years and her vertues, and died soon after, leaving 12 children, whereof she married one to her cousin *Scipio Africanus*, buried nine, and bred up these two to an higher pitch of vertue than most Romans; so much did their education prevail over her Nature,

Anno Mundi
3770. Ante
Chr. 175.

N n 3

chaste

chaste and excellent Mother *Corneliana*, who refused King *Ptolomy*, and intended wholly the redcement of their different tempers to equal vertues. *Tiberius* was milde and winning in his Orations and converse, *Cajus* earnest and passionate; the one spoke properly and closely, the other finely and pedantickly. *Cajus* *c* was curious in his diet, *Tiberius* temperate. *Cajus* was guided by a Master of Musick in pronouncing his Orations, *Tiberius* by his own discretion: but both just, both resolute, both continent, both careful and industrious in their places; which if they had held at one time, they had been happy; but holding them at divers, they were miserable.

Tiberius the elder was for his vertues made *Augur* by *d Appius*, and for his merit his *e Son-in-law*: In the Punick War, his valour and meeknesse were so obliging, that the whole Army loved him when present, and wished for him when absent. In the *Numantine* Battles, when *Treasurer*, he was as eminent as *Mancinus* was unfortunate: the *Numantines* would treat with none but him, whose name obliged them to peace, and saved twenty thousand *Romane's*: he recovered his *Treasurers* books, and other spoils taken by the *Numantines*, with three friends in Peace, which three score thousand could not preserve in War: that Peace being dishonourable to the Majesty of *Rome*, *Mancinus* was sent *g* naked to the enemy, for making it necessary, but *Tiberius* spared for concluding it when so. *Scipio's* presence, and his

b *Cajus* was the first jetted up and down the Pulpit.
c He bought silver Dolphins for 1250 Drachmaes, for which *Drusus* reproves him.

d As he writes himself, and *Polybius*.
e When *Appius* told his wife of a Match for her daughter; What haste (saith she?) you could do no more if she had *Tib. Gracchus*.
f *Fannius* saith, he scaled a City with him.

g According to the custom in the like case, as at *Sampnium*.

his own popularity saved him now, his absence lost him hereafter.

For *Tiberius* being chosen Tribune (what with his own ambition to outdo *b Posthumius* his Mothers suggestion (who said, She was called *Scipio's* Mother-in-law, and not *Gracchus* his Mother) the common Peoples cries, and the sad sight of all the *Romane's* being disinherited, and the whole Land engrossed by a few rich Strangers (who bought in others names, and possessed in their own) with *Crassus* and *Scævola's* advice preferred the *Agrarian* Law, which *Lælius* attempted very prudently and moderately, rather buying, than taking away the rich mens usurpation: the rich men oppose it as a seditious innovation; first by argument, (which *Tiberius* answered, saying, That the poor *Romane's* perished in the Wars, and rich Strangers enjoyed their Estates; who engrossed the Countrey, while the true owners had not of their Ancestors inheritances where to lay their heads:) and by interest, setting his fellow *Octavius* against *Tiberius*, who first persuaded him to give way to that reasonable and just Law, and offered him as much Land as he would lose by it: And at last (when he was in danger of his life, and all offices ceased) by the Peoples vote deposed him; and by the same vote (the Senate refusing) passed a present restoration of all mens Estates, according to the *i* first proposition (without any consideration which *Tiberius* proposed) and settled three Commissioners for the distribution: the Nobility in the mean time spighting *Gracchus*,

h They say *Blossius* the Philosopher, & *Drophanes* the Orator, both Exiles, persuaded him to it.

i Of 500 Tuggerates a man.

that they would not allow him a Tent to act in, nor any more than nine Obols a day; and the people upon the sodain death of one of *Tiberius* his followers, and his appeal to them in mourning, tumultuating against the Nobility.

Attalus makes the *Romanes* his Executors, and *Tiberius* having joyned to himself one of his followers, *Mutius* makes a Law for equal division of his estate; the Nobility charge him of many misdemeanors, especially with *Octavius* his deposition; he (though gravelled by *Annius* his subtle question) in a set speech asserts the peoples power over Tribunes as great as over the Kings, and maintains them the original of all authority.

But to secure himself now in some danger, and continue a his power, he caresles the people by cancelling the Law for Billeting, by making Appeals to them, and putting Knights in the Senate: Laws that would not passe, until he cajoled the Multitude with mourning and tears to guard his house at night, and his person by day; but in vain, when (as the Snakes eggs hatched in his Helmet, the Bird that hung the wing, the two Ravens that fought that morning signified, and *Flavius Flaccus* told) the Nobility resolved his death, and *Nasica* (when the Consul refused to put any man to death without tryal) broke with his rich followers through the great throng of People; and notwithstanding the signes *Tiberius* made, and the multitudes fury, killed him and b three hundred of his Abettors (who all

a wherein the time for every mans service in the war was set.

b Putting *Bil-lus* into a pipe full of Snakes, and throwing his body into the River.

aid, *Tiberius* intended the publick good, and could not command amisse) confirming the Agrarian Law, and returning to Affrick to satisfy the multitude. The people were not more furious against *Nasica* for killing *Tiberius*, and *Scipio* for approving it, than earnest for his brother *Cajus*; who to enhance himself with the People, retired, and was sent Treasurer to *Sardinia*, where he perswaded the Cities to cloath the *Romane* Soldiers, and King c *Micipsa* to victual them. In a word, when the Senate was at a losse, and the whole Army like to perish; but the Nobility being jealous of him, and making some displeasing alteration in the Army for fear of him, he returns home, to their equall wonder and discontent, alleaging his faithfulness in his Office, his twelve e years service in the Wars, so much to the peoples satisfaction, there were more to chuse him Tribune, than Rome could lodge, or *Mars* hill hold: In which place having raised the popular humour (by smart reflection on his Brothers sodain and unjust death without either Tryal or judgement) he kept it up by enacting,

c whose Ambassadors the *Romanes* turned out of the Senate, because their Master sent Corn to their Army for *Gracchus* his sake. d That he went with his purse full, & returned with it empty. e whereas the time limited was but ten.

- 1 That he who was once deposed, should never be capable of trust (which upon f *Cornelia's* request (whose image is set up with this Inscription, *The Mother of the Gracchi*) in favour of *Octavius*, was repealed.
- 2 That every banished man might appeal to the people.

f who was of so great esteem, that when one slandered her, *Cajus* said, How durst thou reproach *Cornelia*, that had *Tiberius* for her son?

3 That

- 3 That the Common-wealths Lands at home and abroad should be equally divided among the Citizens.
- 4 That Soldiers should be clothed besides their pay, and none pressed under 17 years of age.
- 5 That all the *Romans* over the world should vote at the election of Magistrates.
- And 6. That three hundred Knights should be joyned to the three hundred Senators.
- 7 That the prizes of Corn should be abated, and the money received for the Corn extorted from Tributary Cities, should be sent back.

Which Lawes (passed by his industry, and those mens assistance the people seeing his integrity gave him power to chose) together with his incredible dispatches of business; his amiable conversation, and his care of a High-ways, won him that esteem abroad, and that love at home, that upon his request *Fannius* was chosen Consul, and against his will he was again chosen Tribune.

But the Nobility being his open Enemies, and *Fannius* but his open friend, he cared for the people with two Laws more: The one for sending the Poor to possess *Tarentum*, &c. The other for making all the *Latines* free of Rome. The Nobility could not tell how to check his growing esteem, but they put his Fellow-Tribune *Drusus* upon enacting as popular Laws

a He divided the wayes first into miles, containing 8 furlongs. See Ap-
pion, Aretine,
Sigonius, Cic.
l. 1. de Deven.
Liv. Val. Max.

(all in the *Senates* name, for the benefit of the *Commonwealth*) and observing more popular practices (for he never acted in any Commission himself, as *Gracchus* did) *Cajus* was sent to *Affrica*; and in the mean time *Fulvius* his sedition, and *Scipio's* sudden greatness made him suspected at *Rome*, whither (notwithstanding the wind that blew down his first Ensign and Sacrifices, the Wolves that destroyed his Bound-marks, all ill tokens!) hearing that *Brutus* prevailed, and that *L. Hostilius* his great enemy, and the *Patricians* friend, was to be Consul; and dispatching his *African* Affairs in seventy dayes, he comes, and 1. opposeth *Fannius* his Proclamations, commanding all strangers departure from *Rome*, and forbidding all Confederates coming to it. 2. Makes the Market-place and Theatre as open for the People as the Nobility. 3. Being repulsed his third Tribuneship, and hearing of a day set to repeal his Laws at *Rome*, and condemn his Actions at *Carthage*, he made head against the Senate, but his rash servant *Antillius* was slain. The Senate decree *Optimus* the Consul full power to secure the *Commonwealth*; *Cajus* his tears, his sighes, his looking on his Fathers image, his popular Guard, his Wives brave speech, availed him not: *Fulvius* his Herald of Peace is rejected, and he and his Complices are summoned before the Senate, and not long after with his son slain. *Cajus* flies first to *Diana's* Temple; and there praying the people might never be at liberty to revenge this treason, He fled to an adjoining

joyning wood consecrated to the Furies, wh
his two friends dye to secure his flight, a
in that dismal Grove his faithful servant Ph
locatres first slew him upon his request, an
then himself, and both are cast after some i
humane indignities into the River. The Tem
ple of Concord is buile, Opimius is Dictator
the Gracchi are misled by all but their nob
Mother, who could relate their death wit
as undaunted courage as she would her Fath
Scipio's life. Generous vertue is above sorrow
and reason digests it. Fortune may afflict Ver
tue, but cannot daunt it, having patience al
ways to bear adversity, though not prudence to a
void it. Sufferings may attempt, but not oppre
the Vertuous.



Anno Mun.
3590. Ante
Chr. 358.

XLV.

DEMOSTHENES.

Contemporary with Nehemiah, Artaxerxes,
Philip of Macedon.

AS the Author of a Alcibiades Battle a Euripides, say
saith, *A vertuous man must be born some.*
(though Arts and Vertues flourish
in little Villages as well as great) so I say, *A*
generall Historiographer must be bred in some fa-
mous City, where he may converse with all variety
of men and Books.

In my little Countrey I have no skill, as at Rome I had no leasure to study the elegancy and contexture of the Latine Tongue; therefore I will not compare Cicero and Demosthenes eloquence (as Cæcilius not b knowing himself weakly) *b If it were not hard to know our selves, the gods had never enjoyed it, nor men said, It came from heaven.*

DEMOST

weakly) but their actions: their natures are like; they being both ambitious, both Commonwealths-men, both fearful: and their fortunes not unlike; for both rise from small beginnings to great power, and greater envy both provoked their Superiors, and were banished; and both were recalled to end their lives together with their Countreys liberty.

Demosthenes being left young by the Cuts of his Father, and the Barbarian his Mother worth fifteen Talents; his Overseers cheated him of his estate, and weaknesse hindered his education: His sickly body occasioned his name *b* Battalus, his unpleasant time his other name *c* Argus: Callistratus his applause for pleading Oropus his famous cause, inflamed him, and the prevalent force of his Rhetorick enforced him to lay aside all his exercises and studies for that one of Eloquence: he hears *Isæus*, reads *Plato*, *Isocrates* and *Archidamus*, practiseth in his cause against his Guardians; and after much study venturcth in the publick Assemblies, but was hissed off (for his long periods, his short breath, and his stammering) until (wondering why others extemporary discourses were beyond his premeditations) by old *Eunomus* his advice, he emboldned and strained himself; and upon the difference between his and *Satyrus* his pronounciation of the same verb, he studied in his Cellar Gesture as well as Eloquence; he discoursed on every thing he saw or heard. Demades was a natural Orator, Demosthenes a forced one; he could second Demosthenes, but

Demosthenes

b From Battalus a dissolute Oratour.
c From Argus a bardy Poet.

Demosthenes could not second him: Demosthenes said, He revered the people so much, that he never spake but what he writ in Briefs, and studied; Demades trusted his wit so far, that he never studied what he spake. Both were fluent and prevailing, both pleased with *d* Antisthenes's; the one warily took all occasions to speak, the other rashly sought all. Theophrastus said, Demosthenes was worthy of the City, Demades was above it. Polycædus would say, Demosthenes was a neat Orator; but Phocion (whom he called the axe of his words) a smart one: a word of the one, went farther than a whole stream of the others; he helped his stammering by putting a pibble in his mouth; and his low voyce, by pronouncing a speech to a Cataract. His Orations were grave and vehement, but his replies smart. A Thief called Calchus, jeared his Night-studies: My Lamp (saith he) troubles thee: and no wonder my Lords (added he) that we are robbed, when our thieves are copper, and our walls clay. His first Oration was against *Medius* (to whose riches he yielded) for a private cause. The second was against *Philip* for the publick Liberties: wherefore he was so esteemed, that Greece and Persia admired him, and *Philip* feared him. Other Orators would be bribed, and say, They would not plead forsooth against their Superiours, or the Commonwealth. Demosthenes was a constant and incorrupt, as one that laid this principle at the bottom of all his Orations, That he was not to urge things pleasant, or profitable, but things just and honest.

d As, Οὐτως ἀπὸ λαβὴν ὡς ἀπὸ λαβῆς. μὴ λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ ἀπολαμβάνειν παρὰ φύσιν.

e Antisthenes writes this.

f Demosthenes.

a Though Theopompus say otherwise, and Demetrius no.

honest. No man spake so much to the people none so little for them, saying, *He would not wrong any man for them, and that he would serve the Commonwealth against them*; as he did in his Orations against *Antiphon*, *Theorides*, *Timotheus*, *Apollodorus*, *Aristocrates*, and *Ctesius*. In the Treaty with *Philip*, nine Ambassadors were entertained by him, and the tenth who was *Demosthenes* was observed. Others said *Philip* was eloquent, handsome, and a good fellow: He would say, The first was a good quality for a *Pleader*, the second for a *Woman*, and the third for a *Sponge*.

He commanded not onely *Athens*, but *Thebes* and all *Greece* against *Philip*: his eloquence commanded men, and his interest b money: His Orations were more powerful to raise the *Græcian* spirits, than *Philip's* Army to subdue them. His two words, *Honour* and *Honesty*, went further than his six Legions; yet (as the fate of *Greece*, and the *Philippian* Oracles would have it) he carried all before him in Peace, fled in the day of Battle with his Shield, whereon he writ good Fortune. He hazarded *Philip's* Kingdome, and was courted by *Darius*; he pronounceth a Panegyrick over the dead at *Cheronea*, that silenced his enemies, and he preferred Lawes in his c friends names that satisfied the People: But *Philip's* death put the *Athenians* out of their Melancholy for their defeat, and *Demosthenes* out of his d mourning for his daughter (the publick joy swallowing up his private sorrows) both triumphing too much at his death

b When the Cizies asked what proportion of money they should pay; *Crobylius* the Orator answered, That war hath no maintenance.

c For luck's sake.

d See *Æschine* his Orations.

death, to whom they submitted when he was alive.

Alexander was heir of *Philip's* power, and to *Demosthenes* malice, who engaged all *Greece* against him, till his successe against the *Thebes* first silenced, and then (as the Wolf did the Dogs) demanded him with five more Orators, whose Peace for five Talents was made by *Demosthenes*, who bare all the sway now *Alexander* had rettyred.

In the famous plea about the Crown against *Æschylus*, he prevailed: but for taking a bribe of *Harpalus*, and pretending a e squint, that he could not speak, he was condemned first fifty Talents, then imprisoned; and breaking Prison, at last banished to *Troezen*, where he said his enemies abroad; were more courteous to him, than his friends at home that *Minerva* the Protectress of them delighted in three Beasts, the *Owle*, the *Dragon*, and the *People*, and that he had rather die than be a *State-man*: But *Alexander* dieth, and *Demosthenes* is active for *Athens*, and the *Græcian* liberties, against *Antipater*, as f *Pytheus* and *Callimedon* were for him. Hereupon the *Athenians* honourably restore him from banishment, and remit his fine: But the battle of *Crannon* being lost, the *Græcians* are ruined, the *Macedonians* *Garison* *Manechia*, *Demosthenes* and all the Orators are condemned; and being pursued by *Archias*, *Antipater's* Captain, sucked poyson out of his quill, and died the a 16 of *Pyneption*, or *October*; pretending to *Archias*, he dispatched Letters. After

e whereupon the conceit was

by *Antistates*.

f *Pytheus* said the Ambassadors of *Athens* boded trouble, as *Asses* milke brought to a house boded sickness; but *Demosthenes* replied, But both are *Phylisick*.

a The solemn Feast of *Ceres* called *Tesmopheria*, where the women fasted in her temple a whole day.

The Life of DEMOSTHENES.

his death he b and his Posterity were so honoured, that we may see vertue may suffer, but never sinke; and Demades so punished, that we may see, that whosoever betrayeth his Countrey, betrayeth himself.

The Parallel.

Agis and Cleomenes were borne vertuous, the Gracchi were bred so: the first pair of Heroes were good in the worst times, and the most disordered Countrey; the second were so in the best. The Gracchi were commended for their integrity in taking no money, Agis and Cleomenes must be praised for their Liberality in spending their own. The Gracchi reformed small disorders at Rome, they the very constitution at Sparta; but the first went against, the last with the customes of their Countrey for temperance and equality. Romes power was improved by the first, and Sparta's restored by the other. The Gracchi dyed flying, the other two conquering.

To Cleomenes his victories, we oppose Tiberius his assault of Carthage to the ruine of his enemies; and his Peace at Numantia; to the preserving of his Friends. Cleomenes was too slack and weak, Agis

The Life of DEMOSTHENES.

too nimble and fierce; both bloody in killing the Ephori. The Gracchi on the other hand were civill and moderate, valiant against their Enemies, but yielding to their fellow-Citizens: The ones ambition aimed closely at Tyranny, the other's too earnestly at Liberty. Agis was least offensive, Cleomenes most valiant. Tiberius was sober, and died saving his own life; Cajus was rash, and died revenging his Brothers Death.



Anno Mundi
3542. Ante
Chr. 403.



XLVII.

ARTAXERXES.

Contemporary with Camillus the Roman, Lysander the Grecian, Malachi the Prophet, Xenophon, and a Ctesias who lived with him.

^a A fabulous Historian.
^b Pasagardis a place where Minerva as goddess of Battles was worshipped; where the King putting on Cyrus his old gown, eats a fricacy of Figs and Turpentine, and drinks a little milk and vinegar. ^c To kill Artaxerxes as he was crowned, discovered by a Priest that was Cyrus his Schoolmaster. ^d Cyrus signified the Sun.

Artaxerxes Mnemon, not Longimanus, was King Darius his son before he attained the Kingdom, as Cyrus was after: he was gentle, ^{this} active: he was, notwithstanding his Mothers suggestion, crowned King of Persia at ^b Pasagardis; the other (notwithstanding his trayterous ^c design) assigned Governour of Lydia. ^d Cyrus was not so

thankful

The Life of ARTAXERXES.

thankful for his life granted him by his Mothers intercessions, as he was revengeful for his imprisonment by her assistance; yet keeping a fair correspondence with his Brother, while he was listning to a close confederacy ^e against him.

Artaxerxes was so courteous and liberal, so loving to his ^f Wife and Mother, so ^g kind to his brethren, so unwilling to punish, so ready to forgive, that he was beloved by the most. Cyrus was so learned and resolute, so warlike and munificent, so equal to that great Empire, that he was respected by the best Persians, and countenanced by most Lacedemonians, with whose assistance he approacheth the Frontiers of Persia; when the Queen-Mother is suspected by the Court, and charged by her with the conspiracy, and her intercession for that Traytor. Artaxerxes retyres, the four hundred furlong Trench is taken, nine hundred thousand men march in good order against the ^b Rebel: Carts armed with Sythes run before them to break the enemy. Cyrus ventureth his person too far for a General, and Clearchus too little, choosing rather a place where he might be with ease and safety, than where he might do service. Clearchus fled, doing nothing; Cyrus was ⁱ killed, doing nothing to the purpose: the one being carried by his head-strong horse among the thickest of his enemies, the other keeping by his wariness as far from them. Artaxerxes having quenched his thirst in a puddle (that he said ^{was} the sweetest he ever tasted in his life) and dressed

^e To one that presented him a Pomgranate, he said, Thou canst make a little City a great one: To one that gave him a little water, he gave a cup of gold and 1000 Daries, i. e. pieces of Darius. To bold Euclidas he said, Thou maist say what thou wilt, and I do what I will.

^f who rid open in her chariot. ^g who sat at his Table.

^h See Xenophon's lively description of this fight, who was at it.

ⁱ Ctesias and Dinon report this variously; a Corian killed him, who had a cock of Gold on a spear to carry always before the King (the Corians being called Cocks.)

k Diodor. Sic. faith 10000 of his own, and 3000 of Cyrus his.

l The one on a Gibbet, & the other in two Boats laid one upon another, with the man's face out, besmeared with honey, that flies might eat him up, and worms out of his own dung might devour him.

m wha being won at Dice by his Mother-in-law, was by her stay'd alive, n who was so effeminate, that he gave a seal'd King, with the Corymbides, i.e. Castor & Pollux's dance engraven on it, to Ctesias, for lending him a comb.

o A dainty fat

Bird that liveth by Ay and Dew. p Therefore Agesilaus said, The K. drove him away with thirty thousand Archers; that is, Persian pieces stamped with Archers.

ressed his wounds with the Chirurgion (upon certain newes of Cyrus his death, and pulling up of his head the Persian way) rallied seventy thousand fighting men, saw k twenty thousand dead on the place; would needs have the glory of Cyrus his death entirely his own, and suffered therefore the Carian and Mithridates to be l executed severely for but pretending to it; and which was worse, played away the m Eunuch that cut off his head, to the revengeful Queen-Mother; all the Grecian Captains were betrayed to Tissaphernes but n Clearchus, and all murdered but Menon: Queen Statyra being in more esteem with the King as his Wife, than Paryatis as his Mother, was with Agis and other servants assistance, poisoned with half a p Ryntaces, the Q. Mother eating the other half to avoid suspicion, (for being jealous of each other, they both eat of one dish) The old Woman is confined to Babylon, Agis is brained between two stones (as poisoners used to be there) and the rest of the servants tortured.

But the active Grecians for all this, keeping in the heart of Persia (more enclined to pomp and pleasure, than wars and victory) and designing the liberty of all Asia, Artaxerxes diverted them by a Revolt he p bought in other parts of Greece, and defeated them by the Athenians assistance at Sea. Conon adds his experience to the great Kings power; all

Greece

Greece submits, and becomes tributary. The Spartans quit all their holds, and q Antalcidas his Peace is concluded. The Lacedemonians are overthrown at Lendres: and then Antalcidas who was sent to sollicite Artaxerxes his assistance, was slighted, and therefore pinned himself to death. The King entertains Timagoras the Athenians correspondence, gives him ten thousand Dariaches, and fifteen Milch-kine, and a Bed, because he was sick.

But his Mother-in-law got in again with him by her Prudence, and humoured him by her Flatteries (saying, When he was in love with his own Daughter Attofia, he might marry her for all the Græcian Lawes, for he was to give Law, and not to take it; and his will (the said) was the rule of good and evil) so that she got off his faithful Lieutenant Tissaphernes his head.

Upon whose death, the King (to shew that cowardize is rather the effect of a base minde, than of Luxury, or a splendid fortune) led three hundred thousand Foot, and a hundred thousand Horse with a Generals courage, and a common-Soldiers industry to the foggy and barren Countrey of the Caducians, where Fruit killed many of his Soldiers, and a Famine more, untill Tiribazus by b enjealousing the two Kings of that Countrey, brought them both to a submission. Artaxerxes obliged his Souldiers with wood out of his own Park: But as weak Princes use, was jealous of, and cruel to his Nobility, especially in

q A Lacedemonian that procured it, on whom the King bestowed a presumed Garland with his own hand.

a An Asses head being sold for sixty silver drachmaes.

b He sent his son to one to tell him how the other had sent to Artaxerxes, and he himself went to him to tell him as much of the other.

his old age, when his sons strived for the succession; to satisfy whom, he proclaimed his Son *Darius* his Successor, and enjoined him to wear his Hat right up, bestowing upon him, as Kings there use to do upon their Successors, what gift he pleased; and he desired his Concubine *Aspasia*: the King saying, *If she will, she is yours; If not, she is free, and I cannot compell her.*

c The King had 360 Concubines, & it was death to come within 3 yards of either of them.

But the King having shut up *Aspasia* a while after in a Temple of *Diana's*, and disappointed *Tiribazus* of his Daughter *Amestris*, they both conspire against him; the one to revenge, the other to secure himself against all Competitors. Their Treason is discovered to the old man, who bids the Eunuch follow them still for further information, and makes himself a Trap-door behind his bed; through which, having looked the Traytors in the face, he escaped, and saw *Tiribazus* killed, and *d Darius* executed: after whose death his Rival *Ochus* perswaded simple *Ariaspes* by some pretended threatnings of the Kings to poyson himself, and wife *Arfannes* to be murdered; whereby the old man's heart now done with years (being 74) was broke with cares: Whole gracious mildness after his death, was as renowned as *Ochus* his cruelty was odious.

d He asked every Judges opinion of that Treason, and saw the Razor put to his sons throats. Vide Diod. Sic. l. 28. He bid the Judges go home, & say the great god Ormazdes, or the Sun had revenged the rebellion. Vid. Plut. l. b. de Isid. & Olyrid.

ADDEN

ADDENDA:

OR,

More worthies

BY

ÆMILIUS PROBUS,

And others.



ARATUS.

When the Common-wealth of the
Siccyonians was converted into
 Tyranny ; and when *Abantidas* a By marching
unawares to-
 (killing all before him) exercised it, *Aratus* wards the Ty-
rani's Pallace ;
 amongst the rest , seeing his Father slain , fled and coming so-
 away , and made an escape , when he was but dainly upon
 seven years of age ; which bred in him such a them, laid hold
 vehemency of hatred against Tyranny , that on every man of
 he (vertuously brought up in *Argos*) and not them, and slew
 withstanding all imminent dangers , both by not one. Then he
 policy and valour , nobly delivers his Coun- sent into the Ci-
 try from the yoke thereof , a winning the ty to his friends,
 City of *Siccyone* without any blood-shed. Then to will them to
 take he the *Tyrant* flye , joyning the Ci- come unto him.
 ty b Nicoclos.

ty unto the *Achaians*, courageously defend-
 it still, notwithstanding *Antigonus* his desire
 to win it, seeing it was then free, and refer-
 red all things to the Common-wealth; whose
 happiness he was so zealous, that he
 haste would not suffer him to stay for *Pro-
 tomy*, and thought to have been slain; yet
 he so cunningly escaped, that besides his
 own life, he got *Mantineia* in the bargain: but
 out of his love to the *Megalipolitans*, aiding
 them against the *Lacedemonian* Invasion, was
 once again overthrown by *Cleomenes*, who
 came out against him, and afterwards set up
 the *Achaians*, whom *Aratus* at that time
 reproachfully neglected to defend: but though
Megalipolis was taken, and *Corinth* yielded,
 yet passed many a spiteful Letter between
 him and *Cleomenes*, and he put the Rebels of
Scicyone to death for their secret practices
 with the enemy. Yea, so faithful he was, that
 (though sometimes inconvenience might hinder
 him) that he would employ his evill and good
 will for the service of the Common-wealth.
 By nature he loved civil Government, and
 equity amongst Citizens: He was nobly mind-
 ed, hating Tyrants to the death; and more
 painful he was about the Affairs of his Coun-
 trey, then careful of his own businesse. He
 seemed not to be so sound a friend, as he was
 a gentle and merciful enemy, framing him-
 self in either of both, as time served, for the
 Common-wealth. It was a general and com-
 mon voice amongst all the Cities confederates
 in private company, and at open meetings in
 Theatres,

But he still stirred up by the native enmity
 he bare to Tyranny, overcomes *Lyfades* Ty-
 rant of *Megalipolis*, won praise and honour
 in his doings against *Ætolia*, which he brought

league with the *Achaians*, and with a most
 commendable spirit attempts to set *Athens* at
 liberty; and though conquered by the *Lace-
 demonians*, yet by his very a perswasion he si-
 a Perswading
 aeth at *Argos*, what he had begun by force. *Aristomachus*
 to set the City at
 liberty, and to
 join it to A-
 chaia, telling
 him he might be
 made General
 of the noble and
 honourable
 State of the
 Achaians.

Aratus at that time
 reproachfully neglected to defend: but though
Megalipolis was taken, and *Corinth* yielded,
 yet passed many a spiteful Letter between
 him and *Cleomenes*, and he put the Rebels of
Scicyone to death for their secret practices
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 a gentle and merciful enemy, framing him-
 self in either of both, as time served, for the
 Common-wealth. It was a general and com-
 mon voice amongst all the Cities confederates
 in private company, and at open meetings in
 Theatres,

Theatres, that *Aratus* loved nothing but
 tue and honesty ; that in open War he was
 so valiant and couragious, as he was crafty
 subtil, to take a City upon a sodain. He was
 cautious and wary, that when chosen Arbi-
 trator, to judge, compound, and absolutely
 decide all Quarrels, he would never under-
 take it himself alone, but took 15 other of the
 chiefeft Citizens with him. So well beloved
 was, that *Ptolomy* honoured him, and became
 a bosome-friend and a sworn brother to *Philip*
Antigonus : so vertuous he was, that it did at-
 tract him envy, which worked out his mis-
 chief, and caused the young Tyrant to exer-
 cise his new-bred a cruelty towards him, by
 engaging *Taurian* to poison him. The baseness
 of his death was out-balanced with the honor
 of a most noble Burial, which the *Achaians*
 performed, interrering him as the Founder, Fa-
 ther, and Saviour of their City, and appointing
 yearly Sacrifices to eternalize his memory.

a Philip was
 then changed
 from a court-
 teous and chaste
 Prince, and be-
 came a vicious
 and cruel Ty-
 rant.

HAMIL



HAMILCAR.

Anno Mundi
 3761. Ante
 Chr. 248.

Hamilcar, Hannibal's Father, undertakes
 the *Carthaginian* Army in *Affrick*,
 when they were so improsperous,
 that he had no advantage against the Enemy ;
 and he so wary, that they had none against
 him. After the Defeat at *Ægates*, his Coun-
 tries sad condition put him upon a Treaty of
 Peace : yet his own Resolution kept him up to
 a design of War, telling *Catulus*, who would
 have him lay down his Arms, That he would
 never yield his Arms out of his hands to his E-
 nemies, which his Countrey hath put into his
 hands against them. When the mercenary
 Soldiers were in danger, and Rome would not
 help

help *Carthage*, he distressed the Rebels, reduced the revolted Cities, and at once engaged and settled *Carthage*: To secure which and punish *Rome*, he got a Commission for *Spain* as General, where after nine years success, he fell at the Battle against the *Vellones*, bequeathing his son *Hannibal* his Authority and his Malice, conjuring him by all that was sacred, to finish that War against *Rome* which he had begun.



Anno Mundi
3642. Ant.
Chr. 360.

DATAMES.

DATAMES

Datames, the next Barbarian to *Hamilcar*, that conquered not so much by force as by providence, was first of *Antaxerxes* his Guard at home, and upon his Father *Camissares* his death, and his own service, Governour of *Cicilia*, where he at once saved the Kings Army, and overthrew his Enemies. He first practised to reduce his Cousin *Thyus*, Governour of *Paphlagonia*, to Allegiance by conference: and when he had escaped his snare (notwithstanding *Ariobarzanes* forsook him) did it by force, bringing him like a Beast tied to a Leace, before the King, to his great content; *Datamis* coming in his hunting Habit, and *Thyus* in his Lordly one: where

P p

a For the King
repenting that
he had sent so
good a Com-
mander upon so
long hazardous
and fruitless
undertakings,
sent to remand
him : but the
Messengers met
King Aspistax-
en by the way.

wherefore after some sumptuous Presents, he was joyned in Commission with Pharnabazus in *Aegypt*, and afterwards succeeded him upon the King's Letters, with a few resolute men, after a long journey he surprized strong *Cataonia*, and sent the Rebel *Aspis* to the King, before he a thought he was gone against him; a quick exploit, that won him not more envy from his Peers, than it did favour from his Master. Whom, because the greatest Favourites maliced him, and imputed his successes to his Matter, and his misfortune onely to himself; he left the King, before he was left by him; took *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* before he was discovered, joyous with *Ariobarzanes*, sent his Son *Aridaus* against the *Pisidians*, dissembles his Death, untill he had encamped himself so well, that the Enemy could not fight him when they pleased, and he need not fight them but when he pleased. And when *Mithrobarzanes* his Father-in-law forsook him, he followed him, pretending to his soldiers, to keep up their hearts, that he went onely to betray the enemy, who seeing his Colours, set upon his Father-in-law, who with his Traytors, was cut off between his son *Datamis*, whom he forsook, and the enemy, to whom he revolted. But his own eldest Son having betrayed him to the King, 20000 men of several Nations are sent against him under *Antophradates*; whom, he knowing the wayes, and understanding all circumstances, and keeping always in narrow streights, in several Bat-tels overthrew. Being not to be overcome by force,

the King tries him by stratagems; and being narrowly escaped one ambush by chance, Joaths with his Man, *Mithridates* the son of *Ariobarzanes*, having the Kings hand after the custom of *Persia*) that he should never be questioned for any thing he did, undertakes the Trepan, pretends a Rebellion against *Artaxerxes*, keeps correspondence with *Datamis*; and when he had secured his confidence by a long Train of Actions, drew him after much distance to a meeting, whither he sent Ponyards the day before. After mutual search of each other, they confer, depart, and upon pretence of a passage forgotten, meet again; and *Mithridates* under pretence of resting himself, stooped down, and taking up his dagger, killed him. He that never overcame others but by prowess, could never be overcome himself but by Treason.

P p 2

T I M O S

Anno Mundi
3590. Ante
Chr. 370.



TIMOTHEUS.

Timotheus that eloquent Politician, that expert and industrious Soldier, added to his Father *Conon's* glory, the conquest of the *Cynthians* and *Byzantines*, of *Samos*, King *Catis* (whereby he saved and got *Athens* twenty four hundred Talents) his relief of *Sysica*, his assistance of *Agessilaus*; he saying, That he had rather his Citizens should buy Lands with his money, then he carry home: The reducing of *Erethion* and *Cestum*, *Peloponnesus* and *Sparta*, *Corfura* and *Epirum* either to subjection to, or alliance with *Athens*; whereupon an Altar was built for Peace, a Statue for *Timotheus*, inferiour only to that of his Fathers. In his old age *Samos* and *Hellespont* revolt, *Philip* of *Macedonia* threatened

threatens great designs, *Cares* and *Iphicrates* are sent against him, and *Timotheus* to advise them; *Cares* losing some ships by the Tempests, and more by his own rashness (because he would not hoise up in the storm to the main Sea, as they did, watching an opportunity for his own glory) accuseth *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*, whereof the last is banished, and the other fined sixty thousand crowns, whereof his Son paid six thousand to repair that wall his Father had built; the ungrateful people requiring that, and the unconstant no more. A modest and a wise man he was, beloved of all *Greece*, who came to defend *Athens* when accused; yea, even the Tyrant *Jason*, who durst not live without a guard at home, came alone to save his Host *Timotheus*; choosing rather to hazard his life, than fail his friend in time of necessity.

Notwithstanding which civility, *Timotheus* made war upon this *Jason* by the peoples authority, leaving this behind him, That the publique good is more sacred than private friendship. Since whose death, with *Iphicrates* and *Chabrias's* fall, there is not an *Athenian* Captain that deserveth a name:

PP 3

EPAMI-

Anno Mundi
3580. Ante
Chr. 368.



EPAMINONDAS.

E Paminondas descended from one of the most noble and ancient houses of the Thebans, of whom they report this notable thing; that the most part of this noble Lineage carried about their body, even for a natural Birth-mark from their Mother's womb, a Snake; and so did they bear it in their Arms in device of their Escutcheon.

For all he was poor, he obtained the chiefest places of honour in the Common-wealth; for he was one of the best, learned, and most excellent Philosophers in the world, Plato's follower and familiar, and the most renowned man of all the Greeks. He was as virtu-

ously

ously inclined in his youth, as his Father Polymis forward to bring him up, according to the Discipline of the Thebans: he learned of one Dionysius to be very skillful in songs and playing upon Instruments.

Lyfis (escaped from a seditious persons fire) was his good Schoolmaster, who in a short time made him ready and perfect in all Science and Vertue. When he was but fifteen years of age, he gave himself to all manner of exercises of the body, in which he was quickly skillful.

He was naturally silent, and fearful to speak, whereupon Epintharus the Tarentine, having been a long time with him in Thebes, said, He never spake to any that knew so much, and spake so little, as Epaminond.

He never left a company discoursing of Philosophy or State-matters, till the controversy was decided.

He refused money sent to him from Jason King of the Thessalians, and from the Pythagorians by Theanor, in recompence of his courteous entertainment and most noble burial of Lyfis, because he was contented with a poor Estate: whereupon arose a great dispute between him and Theanor, of poverty and riches.

His discourse was excellent, but his life better. He would not be won by Bribes to take part with the Persians, nor not by his dearly beloved a Mycithus.

He taught rich Pelopidas to think it an honour to go plainly apparelled, to eat moderately,

P p 4

a when the colleges & Companies of the Pythagorean Philosophers that were dispersed through the cities of Italy, were banished by the sect of the Cylonians; they that kept still together, met in Council at Metaponto to determine of Affairs: but some seditious persons rose against them, & set fire on the house where they were, and burnt them all, but Philolaus and Lyfis.

a A young man whom Epaminond loved entirely.

ately, to take pains willingly, and to make War lustily.

But to relieve others, and to marry poor Maids, he never spared his friends, but made bold of their goods (which at other times he always refused) and amongst all, of a rich mans wealth, robbed of the Common-wealth he demanded six hundred crowns to help one extraordinary poor. He so abhorred all superfluity and excesse, that loathing their dainties, he left them, when kindly invited, and said of his own Table, *That such an Ordinary never received treason.*

He made himself thus abstemious and poor, that he might reduce the *Thebans* to their former humility and temperance: but naturally he was marvellous high and nobly minded. When others feasted, he fasted; when others sought advancement, he withdrew himself to the study of Philosophy. Noble-minded he was, as appears by his arming of himself to go with the *Thebans* to the *Lacedemonians* for ayd, where he gained eternal friendship of *Pelopidas*. To no bloody conspiracy would he consent: He attained to the highest degree of government, freeing *Thebes* and all *Greece* from the servitude of the *Lacedemonians*. By his wise conduction the *Thebans* defend themselves against *Agefilans*, and are revenged on him; and *Phelidas* rashly charging them, had himself and five hundred of his men slain in the Field. He by his Counsel, commands, Wisdome and Fortune, caused the *Thebans* to wax so couragious, that they again repulsed *Agefilans*.

Agefilans, and triumphed in sign of victory; nothing never known before of them, who always thought it a great glory with many to conquer few *Lacedemonians*. He makes a notable Oration in defence of his Countreys right, that they might not be comprised within the Treaty moved by all *Greece*; all which by the encouragement of *Epaminondas*, they were bold to withstand: and so confident were they of his wisdome and prowesse, that they durst strive for the superiority thereof. Private he was, vain-glory he contemned, more willing to yield his friend *Pelopidas* the praise, than to affect it himself, doing all out of meer zeal to the good of his Countrey, as appears by his sharp discourse and bold retortion of *Agefilans* his words, speaking against all *Greece's* liberry, for which *Epaminondas* nobly stood. It was not in one War alone he was thus victorious, but in many, his very presence encouraging and enlivening his Soldiers; being wont to say, *That there was no death more honourable than to dye in the War*. Where-to he went, notwithstanding the appearance of all bad signes, saying this verse of *Homer*,

It is a happy signe to fight for his Country.

He brought things to passe so cunningly beyond the conception of the Vulgar, that always he won credit in the end. He so often beat the Enemy both by wisdome and valour, and caused the *Lacedemonians* and their King *Clombratus*, together with his supply, to retreat,

treat, that he made the *Thebans* a wonder both to themselves and to all the world, and returned with his whole Army back again as came: And having overwhelmed them nobly as nobly spares his enemies. Careful was he to keep his Army from idleness, which is commonly the undoing of a Countrey. He never feared death when falsely accused, but most handsomly pleaded for himself, even to a wonder to his Judges, who were not able to speak against his worthy acts. The *Thebans* who unworthily accused him, and rejected his ayd, were afterwards glad to crave his help, not able to go backward or forward without him. Who but he was fit to be chosen Captain-General for *Thessaly*, who preferred the safety of his friends before his own reputation? He by his magnanimity and discretion delivered his friend *Pelopidas* out of Prison, who also requested him to release a man of base condition whom he delivered into Prison for a light fault, but *Epaminonda* denied it; yet he he did at a womans request saying, *That Harlots, not Captains, were to be granted such motions.*

Very moderate he was and temperate, and (that which is commendable in a Captain) full of Eloquence. After he had thus in so many Battels, and after the enterprizes of so many wonderful stratagems, brought the *Thebans* prosperity to the height; and in a doubtful fight (beyond the force of a man for victory to his Countrey) trusting himself to the greatest press of the Enemy, received a mortal

mortal wound, to the joy and comfort of his Enemies, but to the grief and sadness of his friends; one whereof weeping, said unto him, *Epaminonda thou diest now, and leavest no children behind thee:* wherunto he replied, *No, I leave two fair Daughters behind me, whereof the one is the victory of Leuctres, and the other that of Mantinea:* And withal afore his death, he left behind him this advice to the *Thebans*, That they should make peace with their Enemies, for they had no more Captains of skill to lead them to the Wars; and so at that instant they pulled out the spill of the Dart stuck in his body, he yielded up the Ghost, without the least token of a troubled minde. Thus did he embrace that blessed death; that fortuning unto him which he often had in his mouth, *That War is the bed of honour, and also that it is a sweet death to dye for his Countrey.*

PHILIP

An. Mund.
3580. Ant.
Christ. 360.



PHILIP of MACEDON.

Philip the younger of three Sons of *Amyntas*, born of his first Wife *Euridice* in *Illyria*, was by *Pelopidas*, with thirty others, chosen Hostage to appease the strife between his eldest brother *Alexander*, and his base brother *Ptolomæus Alorites*. Yet notwithstanding this accord, *Alexander* is traitorously killed by *Pelopidas*, and the other brother *Perdiccas* slain in a great Battel by the *Slavons*; then *Philip* succeedeth in the Crown, which he found in great trouble, having four thousand *Macedonians* slain, the *Hungarians* of one side, the *Athenians* of another, and *Caranus* unto *Antipater*, in whom began another Race.

every way most sadly molested, enough to terrifie any one except *Philip* himself, who courageously taking heart, and by his wife *Perseus* emboldning his souldiers, re-establishing Military Discipline, well-furnishing his Army, giving Orders for their frequent Training and Exercising, most nobly stands upon his own defence. It was he that amongst other things devised how to close his Footmen, and that framed the Square Battel, which ever since was called the *Macedonian Phalange*. *Egeus* (whom the *Athenians* would put in) he gallantly discomfite, taking all the banished men of *Macedon*, that were with him: yet so kind-hearted was he, that he let them and the enemy go with life and goods saved. Hereupon he makes Peace with the *Athenians*, and brings *Hungary* subject unto him, and so overthrew the *Slavons* and their King *Bar-dyllis*, that he left seven thousand of them dead on the ground, the rest escaping by flying; whereupon there was agreement made, with the Restauration of all places pertaining to *Macedon*. After this, the *Amphipolitans* having a long while born evil-will unto him; and whilst he was busie abroad, they doing him much injury at home, he brings his puissant Army, together with his Engines, to the Walls of the City, makes a way to enter, and carefully picks out his Enemies, though using the rest with all civility and kindness. This City stood him in a great stead, being a great help to the conquest he afterward made, and for the furtherance and increase of his greatness

a Seated upon the Frontiers of Thracia, a very commodious place.

b Pydne, Poly-dea, and hereby be made League with the *Olgathians*, winning also *Crenides*, wherein were Mines of Gold.

every

About this time
began the holy
War amongst the
Greeks, which
continued for
ten years.

ness. After these and more brave Exploits, he enters *Thessaly*, which he most nobly sets at Liberty; and keeping the two Tyrants in subjection, shews great Love and Favour to the *Thessalians*. He was one very gracious in his words, and by his promises and gifts won the hearts of all his subjects, and thereby became so great, that his neighbors envied him, in so much that the Kings of *Thracia*, *Hungaria*, & *Slavonia* (being singly unable) joyn together for his utter overthrow; whose designs he so timely prevented, that they were compelled to be subjects to his will.

And further, *Philip* perceiving the people of *Methane* lent their Town to all that would make War against him, went and laid siege afore it, and for all their valiantness at first, brought them to these conditions, That all should go away with one only Gown: which Town he razed even to the ground, and gave the Country all about to the *Macedonians*. At this siege he was wounded with an Arrow, which put out one of his eyes. He conquered the *Bæotians*, and took their City of *Coronea*; and though once overcome by *Onomarchus*, having the greater number of men, yet another time were slain six thousand of his men, three thousand taken Prisoners, and *Onomarchus* himself hanged by the commandment of *Philip*, unto whom the Tyrant *Lycophron* yeilded the Town of *Phares*; and so retired out of *Thessaly*, which by this means was set at Liberty. After this he marcheth with

with his Army towards the way of *Thermopylae*, to make War with the *Phocians*, but stopped by the *Athenians*, and constrained to return back unto *Macedon*, where he stayed not long, but brought the Towns of *Chalcide* in subjection to him; taking by force the Fort called *Gyre*, which so terrified the other small Towns, that they put themselves under his obedience. Passing from thence into *Thessaly*, he drave away *Pytholans*, which made himself Master of *Phares*. He takes the Towns of *Micyberne* and *Tyrane*; overcame the *Synthians* both by Force and money, which did always enlarge his greatness, as much as his force of Arms. Though the *Athenians* envied his greatness; and the Force of *Demosthenes* his Eloquence did him much harme, diversing hearts from him; yet he by his Presents, by his large promises, by the Banquets he made for joy of his victories, so gained the hearts of all his own, and of others too, that he procured friends every where, which studied how to please him, enjoining one another, which of them might do him best service, and find out most means to deliver Towns and Countries into his Hands. The *Bæotians* themselves lifted and puffed up at the Battel of *Lectures*, were glad to receive his aid; neither was a great number of soldiers sufficient, nor could any thing be done without himself in person, who coming, ordered the business as to be ended in one battel: but *Phallemus* General of the *Phocians* was glad to Treat for Peace, and to suffer him

him to go safely with his Army whither he would; which being eight thousand, he led to *Peloponnesus*, and called a Council of the *Bæotians*, in the which it was determined that there should be an Assembly of Parliament of the *Amphyctians* to reconcile this business; where it was ordained, that he and his Race should sit in that Council, which gave him the greatest honor and thanks imaginable: after this he returned to *Macedon* having won him the name of a devout and valiant Prince, and laid the foundation of the greatness unto the which his son *Alexander* came afterwards, being chosen to be Captain-General of all *Greece*, with full power and authority to make War with the King of *Persia*, as he did. He brought his Army into *Slavonia*, spoiled the Country, and took many Towns, the booty whereof he brought to *Macedon*; afterwards driving away the Tyrants which held the Towns of *Thessaly* in subjection, he thereby won the hearts of the *Thessalians*, who willingly entered into Leagues and Alliance with *Philip*, having delivered them all from War, and conquered the *Thracians*, compelling them to pay yearly unto the *Macedonians* the Tenth part of their revenues. Thus waxing greater every day, he besiegeth *Perinth*, and bringing his Engines of Battery to their Walls, battered them all down; yet the besieged nobly withstood him, building Walls within, as he threw the others down; and most nobly went through all dangers for the defence of their Country.

every

they, untill they were rescued by the *Persians*, *Byzantines*, and others.

Now the besieged and the besiegers equally marched, the War was hotter then before; but *Philip*, using his Engines and Rams, made the way clear for them to fight with Swords; which both parties nobly did for the reward of honor and victory; and the besieged lustily endured all pains and dangers, to prevent such great mischief. But *Philip* seeing the *Byzantines* furnishing of them was a great stoppage of his conquest, he divided his Army into two parts, one whereof he sent to besiege *Byzance*, and gave it a most brave assault, to the amazement of the *Byzantines*; whose soldiers, and all preparations for War were in the City *Perinth*. But these being presently furnished with the help of the *Athenians* and others, having most noble *Phocian* for their General, who so valiantly encountered with *Philip*, that he was forced to raise the siege with shame and loss; and was glad to offer the *Athenians* Articles of Peace, which notwithstanding *Phocian's* perswasion thereunto, refused it: *Philip* seeing this, leaved his Army with great speed, marched through the Country of *Elatia*, and afterwards won *Abides*; and lifted up with this prosperity, resolves to go to *Athens*, and makes them repent of the neglect of *Phocian's* Council: but *Dimosthenes* being the cause of this, to repair the fault, he stepped out, and counselled the *Athenians* to seek the Friendship of the *Thebans*, who happily obtained it, notwithstanding

Q q

with-

a The King of Persia being afraid of such a power, writ unto his Lieutenants that were upon the Sea-Coasts, that they should aid the *Perinthians* as much as they could.

b Who sent them the best experienced captains and souldiers they had.

c The Satrapas sent them a great supply of men of war, store of gold and silver, plenty of Corn, of Arms, and of all other necessary Provisions for the Wars.

a Philip placed his son Alexander, coming but newly out of his infancy, in one of the Points of his army, attended upon by the best Captains he had; & he placed himself in the other Point with the valiantest men in his Army, giving order and directions in all things according to time and place. Both parties sharply at it, in a long and doubtfull Fight, Alexander at length desirous to make his father see some proof of his valour, and many other valiant men seeing the courage of this young Prince, following him, they brake into the battell of the Enemies, and there was a marvellous drall slaughter. Philip on the side also, giving charge upon the greatest presse and multitude of his Enemies, set upon them so fiercely, that he put them out of order, and made them flee. b News being brought him one day of three great Prosperities, he lifting up his hands to heaven, said, O Fortune! I beseech thee, send me in exchange of this, some reasonable Adversity against such and such

withstanding all Philip's oppositions to the contrary; who being astonished more than before with these crosses which the Eloquence of one man did against him, he sent again to offer the *Greeks* Peace: but they refusing all conditions, were together with the *Boeotians* most shamefully a vanquish'd in a pitch'd Battell in the Plain of *Caronea*, and abundance of them most wofully slain, and the rest taken Prisoners. After which Battell the *Athenians* were glad to make an eternal League with him, and to choose him Captain-General of all *Greece*; which he discharged with so much wisdom and integrity, even to the admiration of the world. A man he was full of good qualities; and if a vice sometimes overtook him, he presently washed it away with hearty repentance: So meek he was, that he kindly took a reproof of any ones hands that gave it him, as appears by his estimation of *Demades*, who touched him to the quick, giving him this answer, when he foolishly and frankly mocked the Prisoners; O Kings it becoming now thy fortune to play *Agamemnon's* part thou art not ashamed to shew the deeds of Theseus; which worked upon him very much, and suppressed his insolency. So considerate he was, that in b Prosperity he remembered Adversity: So sharp were his sentences, that by all they were admired at. *Lasthenes* having sold him the Town of *Olynth*, complained to him one day, that some of his Minions called him Traytor; He answered, That the *Macedonians* were rude plain men, that called all things by their names. He seemed to repute the *Athenians* happy men, for that they found yearly in their Town ten men to be chosen, and that he to the contrary found but one, and that was *Parmenio*. After he had overcome the *Greeks*, many advised him to put good and great Garisons in the Towns, that they might with more safety be kept under; but he answered them, I had rather be called a long time courteous, than a short time Lord. So kind he was, that he willingly forgave, and plentifully rewarded them that spoke evil of him, saying, This is a better way to regain their minds, than to punish them; which afterwards was found to be so, all the Countreys together always speaking to the praises of Philip. Then said he to them that would persuade him to punish these Backbiters, I am a better Physician for evill speech than you are; it dependeth upon our selves to be well spoken of. Such respect he had to Learning, that he stopped his ears against the counsel of them that would have him destroy *Athens*. So thankful he was, that after every victory he made sumptuous sacrifices unto his gods. Norable he was for justice, transcending for mildnesse, passing all for judgement and discretion: and so courteous he was, that he advised his Son

verfity

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Q. 92

Alexander

a That appears by his notable victories got thereby.

b Amongst the rest, this story is notable amongst his private Policy. Being once invited to a supper by an Host of his, and carrying divers with him as he met by the way, perceiving his Host was much troubled he had not meat enough; he sent privately to tell his friends that they should keep a place for the Tart; which they thinking to be real, deceived their Bellies, & left meat enough to spare.

c Who succeeded his Father. d who was married to her Uncle Alexander King of Epirus.

e Pausanias bearing hatred unto him, killed him, when he (confident in his Subjects fidelity) went to the Theatre alone; but his Guard not far off, pursued and overtook the Murderer, killing him in the place.

Alexander to be so also, that thereby he might gain the love & good will of the *Macedonians*. Politick he was in *a* publick, politick in *b* private; and so famous he was, that he very well deserved to be placed (as he was) in rank with the immortal gods. He was the greatest King in his time in all *Europe*; he died being but 46 years old, when he had reigned 24 years. That he gloried in most, was his skill of Wars, and in the Actions which he managed bravely, preferring them far above all exploits of War. For (said he) in victory all that fight in the *bastel* have their part: but in those things that I have achieved unto, having wisely directed them, none is partaker of the honour but myself onely. He had five wives; the first was *Olympias*, the daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the *Molossians*, of the Line of *Æacum*; of whom were born *c Alexander* surnamed the Great, and *d Cleopatra*. The second Wife of Philip was *Andate* a Lady of *Sclavonia*. His third was *Phila*. The fourth *Mede*. The fifth *Cleopatra*, the daughter of *Hippostratus*; All born of Noble & Royal Families: his Daughters were married so also: And if there was ever any thing in the world that is called noble, or any of Learning, Wisdom or Vertue, they were altogether compacted in this man. Therefore very well did he *e* deserve such a grievous death, that would so grievously kill such a deserving man.

P A U S A -



P A U S A N I A S.

Pausanias the Lacedæmonian was a great man, but unconstant; furnished with Vertues, but Vices evertopped them: he won that famous Victory of *Plataes*, which raised his heart to such a height, that he began to confound the affairs, devising great changes in his brain. Afterwards he expelled the Garisons of the Barbarous people in *Cyprus* and *Hellepont*, which much increased his insolency and ambition. Having taken *Byzance*, he taketh a great number of the Gentlemen of *Persia*, some Kinsmen to *Xerxes*, whom he released, in hopes of *Xerxes* his Daughter, promising his endeavours to bring *Sparta* and all Greece under his power; which the Lacedæmonians

Anno Mundi
3470. Ante
Chr. 478.

demonians mistrusting, accused him of Treason, whereof he was quitted, yet condemned to pay a Fine. He lived after the Lyconian manner, which fashion afterwards he changed, and his Table abounded in all Dainties, after the manner of the *Persians*. He went to a *Colones*, where he plotted all his dangerous practices against his Country and himself; which the *Lacedemonians* understanding, would have condemned him to death, still suspecting his correspondency with *Xerxes*: but their moderation, gravity and justice would not do it, before they were satisfied with a full evidence of his guilt; which they at last discovering out of his own mouth, caused his death.

¶ A place in the Country of Troas.

¶ The Ephores bearing him beg of Argilius (*his man*) not to discover his Letters to *Xerxes*, entrapped him, starving him in *Minerva's Temple*, where he ran from them for Refuge.

MILTIADES.



Anno Mun.
3461. Ante
Chr. 482.

MILTIADES.

Miltiades an *Athenian*, the son of *Cimon*, was one of the chiefest of his City, (as well because of the ancience of his Race, as for his modesty, joyned to the glory of his Predecessors) in whom the Citizens fixed the hope of their future felicity: and upon a time the *Athenians* resolving to send a Colony into *Cherronesus*, thought none fitter to be chosen Captain than he, and were further advised thereunto by the Oracle of *Delphos*. And having arrived there, in a short time he broke the Troops of the *Barbarian* people, made himself Lord of the Countrey, built up some Fortresses, sending thither his People, making them rich, by divers attempts against the self-same Countreymen; and there

a When Darius passing his Army out of Asia into Europe, thought by policy to bring to subjection the Greeks that dwelt in Asia, Miltiades by his Council intervened, desiring not to lose an occasion offered to set Greece at liberty: but Istinus Muletion stood in the way. b Having inclosed it with Trenches, and taken from the besieged all means to come by Victuals or Munition of wars, there was a great fire seen on firm land in a wood, which they saw from the Isle; this made both them that were besieged, and them that did besiege think, that it was a sign of the Fleet of the Persians to encourage the Parians, and to keep them from yielding up their Town; which was the cause Miltiades sodainly returned to Athens with all the Gallies he carried out; fearing Darius to be nigh at hand, c To which they valued the charge of the Army in that journey.

THRA-



THRASYBULUS.

HIS vertues of 1 Faithfulness. 2 Constancy. 3. Noble-mindedness. 4. Publick-spiritedness, was as much above others, as his fortune was below them in the Peloponnesian War: Alcibiades did nothing without him, he all without Alcibiades. He it was that delivered the City of Athens from the subjection of thirty Tyrants established by the Spartans. None would he hurt but those that assaulted him, scorning to strip any of the dead; so obtaining great credit in the City, carefully executing good Laws. Curious was he to keep his promise, contented with a little, * (i.e.) A law to forget injuries passed. and out of his good nature published an * A& of

Anno Mundi
3484. Ante
Chr. 464.

of Oblivion. No great reward would he take, lest thereby he should attract envy; but the crown of two branches of Bayes presented by the Citizens, he willingly accepted of which got him no envy, but glory, having obtained it out of their good will, and not by force. But at last he was by the carelesnesse of his Soldiers sadly killed by night in his Tent by the barbarous people of *Sicilia*, after he had arrived chither with a Fleet against them. An unlucky Fortune! that so took away this mirror of Modesty, and hater of Pride, the lover of Justice, an example of Contentednesse, and the Worlds wonder for Moderation.



Anno Mundi
4333. Ante
Chr. 620.

PRISCIAN.

PRISCIAN

SO much more exact rules of Grammar left this *Priscian* behind him than any other Author whatsoever, that an incongruous speech is reckoned as much a fault against *Priscian*, as against the Latine Tongue. To break *Priscian's* head, and to counterfeit Princes coyn, are equal presumptions against Authority, and injuries to the world.

The King of *Persia* admired his Grammar, and the Kingdom his Philosophy and Cosmography. Two there were of the name; one a Heretick, that lived in the year 383. The other this Philosopher.

To Rome he owed his birth, and to *Cassiodorus* his parts and reputation; his ambition choosing

a Being called
Priscian by the
Cæsarian
Grammarians,
from Cæsarea
a small City of
Palestine,
where Eusebi-
us was Bishop,
called now
Balbec and
Belm.
b which he de-
dicated to
Julius the Ro-
man Consul &
Patrician.
Vid. Raph. Vo-
la. in Anthrop.
& Trithemi-
um,

choosing his *a* surname rather from the place
of his Study, than from that of his Birth,
his name to *Præscio*, which intimated
knowledge; the first whereof made him
Animal, and the last a Man. Three things
he was eminent for; 1. For his *Latine*
Greek Grammars at *Athens*. 2. His Com-
ment upon *Theophrastus* his *b* Books concern-
ing the Sense, the Fancy, and the Intellect.
3. The Translation of *Dionysius Africanus*
his Book touching the Situation of the World
composed by *Augustus* his order for his So-
lary service, who was first designed for an Expe-
dition into *Turcomania* and the *Levant*; after-
wards (if he had lived) for the Empire
the world.



Anno Mundi
3150. Ante
Chr. 810.

HOMER.

WE should be unworthy of the
Labours, as *Pliny* says, if
we came short of the praises
of *Homer*, equally the father of Poets, Philo-
sophers, Historiographers, and Cosmogra-
phers: draw we his countenance, draw we
his spirit, which was so modest, as *Chrysos-
tome* observes, that he concealed his name
Meligenes (his first name *Homer* being but his
Common name, from his blindness) his Mo-
ther *Critheis*, and his Father a *Meonius*, and
his birth-place *Mileum*. So indefatigable a
Student he was, that he lost his sight (a
Rheume falling into his eyes) and so famous a
Poet, that several Cities courted him to their
Schools and Pensions. His first Poems, the
Iliads,

a Meonius was
Criticus her
Guardian; and
getting her with
child, married
her to Phæmion
a Grammarian,
who bred up
Homer.

HOMER.

b The Trojan
war.

Iliads, relate a remarkable and long b War the second, his *Odysses*, describe a sage well-disposed Captain. You will say, could so blinde a man write so good a Poem? Nothing more usual than for nature to supply the defect of the eyes with the accomplishment of the minde. Appius Claudius blinde, yet a great Oratour; Diodorus the nick so/too, yet in the Pythagorean was a good Musitian, and what was more, an exact Geometrician. Cajus Anfidius lost eyes, yet was a sage Senatour, and known Chronicker. Antipater the Syrenian, Alcibiades the Critick, Dydimus the Alexandrian, Ziscaen the Bohemian General, Belas the Hungarian King, and John the Bohemian, were all eminent in their time and way, and blind. Democritus put out his eyes, that he might contemplate with more freedom. Homer's Poems were so much esteemed, that the Greeks admired them, the Indians translated them into their Tongue. Alexander (who lodged his Poems by day in his richest cabinet, and by night under his pillow) said, No Poet should be read by a King but Homer, and beholding Achilles his Grave, thought him happy that he was sung by him, else the same Tomb that covered his body, had interred his memory. Yea, Mahomet the second Monk to preserve some famous Books in the Library of Constantinople at the taking of that place) asked for Homer's Works; and their sakes, notwithstanding his great

a Alexander among other spoils took a rich Cabinet of Darius; and admiring the workmanship of it, asked what might be worthy to be inclosed in it, after several answers the King said, He thought nothing more worthy than Homer's *Iliads*.

that great b Treasure. So compleat an author is Homer, that (as Strabo saith) the poets owe him their Fancy, the Orators their Eloquence, the Grammarians their Rules, the Geographers their descriptions. In word, Politicians, Divines, Lawyers, Mathematicians, Physicians, ascribe him their skill. Every City of Greece would have been his Birth-place, and every one of the world would have been his School. He died at Chios, whether of Age, Maladies, or Sorrow, that he understood not Fishermen that said, Those which we have taken, we have let go; and those which we have not taken, we carry with us. His Sepulchre is shewn to this day in Chios near the Castle of Valizo, and in Samos towards the North, with this Inscription; The great HOMER, that writ of Heroes and Demigods.

Divers Homers there were; 1. Powerful at Smyrna touching the Trojan Wars. 2. Rich at Salamina; and this third (neither rich because a Poet, nor powerful because a Scholar, but wise and prudent) A fourth, an excellent Painter; the fifth, an exquisite Orator at Athens; the sixth, a good Geometrician. 7. A Maonian in Numa Pompilius his time, who was so good a Linguist, that he corrected the Greek Tongue, and so wise a man, that he reformed the Roman Commonwealth. Our Homer's Library was seen at this day at Cordamillum, and his Books will be seen as long as time lasts in the world.

b The Monks told Mahomet there were some of Homer's works since Constantine's time, which the Latines never saw.

a Seven Cities contended for his birth;

1. Smyrna.
2. Rhodes.
3. Colophad.
4. Ithacus.
5. Pylfes.
6. Argos, and
7. Athens.

Anno Mundi
4255. A.D.
306.



CONSTANTINE the Great.

Constantine (justly called the Great for supporting Christs Empire, and enlarging his own, reckoned among the gods by the Barbarians that understood neither his power nor Religion, and among the blessed, and the Heroes by those that were subject unto both) was the Son of Constantine by his devout Helen, whose sacred instructions meeting with his good nature, raised by his sweetnesse in his Fathers affections above his Brethren, and by his liberality and magnificence in his Empire above his fellows. The eightieth King of Gaul and Britain he was by birth, the four and fourtieth Emperour of Rome by universal consent; the people inviting him, first to Maxentius the Tyrant's overthrow

a The sons of
Theodora.

overthrow, and then to his power, wherein he first indulged Christianity; and being (according to a vision) cured of his Leprosie by Baptisme received from Silvester the Bishop of Rome's hands, at last by good Laws established it, bearing the signe of the Crosse in his Ensigns against Maximinius, whose stratagems he discovered in one Battell, whose Army he discomfited in the next. Many Priviledges and Donations bestowed he upon the Church to ennoble its meannesse, and much care he took in two Synods to compose its differences. Maximinus his Sifters Husband, and his own consort in the Empire, upon his Rebellion, he defeated in Hungary, pursued in Asia to a surrender, and saw him for his Treason first banished, & then murdered, An. 324. Byzantium, destroyed by Galienus and Pertinax, he rebuilt, and called Constantinople, from his own name. Its Temples he turned to Churches; and what had been dedicated to the gods, was now consecrated to the true God, his Apostles and Martyrs. Constantine the son of Helen built that City, Constantine the son of Helena 1120 years after lost it. There the Imperial seat was, until Charles the Great (An. 776) divided the Empire between himself and Heraclius. One surnamed the great brought hither the Empire, and one surnamed the great brought it back again. As soon as Christianity had a peace from Heathenism under the Constantines, they by the industry of the enemy of Man-kind war with Heresie, I mean that of Arius; which notwithstanding the good Emperours

b Though Eusebius say he was not baptized till the day of his death at Nicomedia; & some say not at all.

Letters, and the Bishops consultations, so divided the world, that three hundred and eighteen Bishops at Nice in Bythinia, with many Doctors and Deacons, had much ado to compose it. Many were his excellent sayings whereof this one, upon some complaint made of Bishops, *That he would leave them unto the God.* So merciful was Constantine, that he restored *Arrius* upon his submission: so just he was, that he punished him for his dissimulation: so just he was, that upon his Wife's accusation, he executed his son; and upon his own knowledge of his Wives falsenesse, he dispatched her. Learned Books which he read and composed, were his delight; Learned men, particularly *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* whom he conversed with, were his Favorites. Of Divine providence he wrote to the Senate of Rome; concerning Christian Laws, to the Judges of the East; against Heathenism, to *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*; against *Arrius* and *Alexander*, to most Kings and Bishops. He stripped all his other Cities naked, *Troy* of its *Palladium*, and *Apollo's* brazen Image; *Rome* of its *Porphyry* column called *Coclis*, to adorn his new *Rome*; which yet refused him tribute and subjection, untill he overthrew its old Inhabitants, and peopled it with new, viz. *Armenians*, *Georgians*, *Egyptians*, &c. who fled thither to avoyd *Dioclesian's* Persecution renewed by *Licinius*. As he found, so he left the Empire divided between a his three sons whereof the eldest *Constantine* was made *Cæsar* in his tenth year, the second *Constantine*

^a He died with his bowels gushing out at his fundament.

^a Constantine his eldest son had Gaul, Spain, & England. Constantine the younger had Italy, Slavonia, and Greece. And Constantine the second, had the East.

his twentieth, to whom he left a turbulent and short Reign, dying (some say of poyson) at *Nicomedia* in the 287 Olympiad, *An. Dom.* 339. of his life 66. of his Reign 21. *Felician* and *Tactian* being Consuls, according as the strange Comet foretold three years ago, after he remanded *Athanasius* to his Bishoprick. He left his Will with an *Arrian* Priest, being served in State (though dead) untill his return, and then interred in honour.



Anno Mundi
5403.
A. D. 1454.

CONST. PALEOLOGUS.

OF the *Gracian* Emperours *Constantine* the Great was the first, his son *Constantine* the second, *Heraclius* his son *Constantine* was the third, *Constantine* a *Ponticus* the fourth, the wicked son of *Leo* the fifth, *Constantine Irenæus* the sixth, the Emperour and Philosopher
Rr 2
Leo's

^a (i. e.) with the great beard.

Leo's son the seventh, *Basilius Porphyrogenitus* his debauched son was the eighth, *beſotted Monaomachus* *Constantine* the ninth, the religious Duke the tenth, and this *Paleologus* the eleventh and laſt, who is a great inſtance the Empires alter not by fortune or by fate (ſome men who would perſwade themſelves they are as much of Gods Counſel as *Triumpho* of *Camerin* a Retainer unto the Lord *Peter Rubaldius* imagined himſelf of the Pope and Emperours) but by providence: he was the *Constantine* that loſt the *Græcian* Empire as the great one was he that firſt erected it. His Father *Emanuel* is eminent: 1. For fortifying *Greece* with a great wall about *Corinth* and its *Iſthmus*. 2. For his Empires tranquillity and peace. 3. For the Council at *Conſtantinople* to expound that Text, *My father is greater than I*. Great were this *Constantine's* Enterprizes againſt the *Turks* in *Moria*, for which he was called *Draco*; great was his folly in pulling down his Fathers wall, for which he was thought tyrannical and ambitious; and had not the *Stampoldanians* withſtood his younger ſon *Demetrius*, he had loſt the Empire for which he gave *Moria* to his brethren, whom it was wiſhed that every one of them had the Empire, or neither of them had any part of it: Their diviſions making way to the *Turks* invaſion, particularly to *Mahomet* the ſecond, who took *Conſtantinople* in 44 dayes put the Emperour and all his Nobility to death after he had reſiſted five hours nobly his own perſon, craved ayd of all *Chriſtians*

then a embroyled. Cruel was the *Turk* upon the taking of that place; yet not ſo cruel, but that he carefully ſought out, pitifully wept over, and nobly interred brave *Constantine's* body, although the Soldiers fury carried his head upon a Lance, as they dragged our Saviours image through the ſtreets, crying, *This is the Chriſtians Emperour, this is their God.*

a The Emperour then in war againſt the *Swiſs* and the *Hungarians*, the *French* againſt the *Engliſh*, the *Italians* againſt one another, and the *Venetians* coming too late, when the City was taken.



An. Mund.
4496.
A. D. 530.

Cæſar FLAV. JUSTINIANUS.

Aristotle and others diſcourſing rather like Philoſophers than Kings, that Kings ſometimes ſhould be all Sword and Actions, and ſometimes all Philoſophy and Contemplation, write ſo rawly, that they rather excite than ſatiſſie the Readers appetites: here is an inſtance of both; one that

a Being called
Cæsar from the
Empire, as the
Kings of Æ-
gypt were call-
ed Ptolomy; &
Flavius from
his family.

a Though he ne-
ver conquered
France proper-
ly so called, but
only forced
Theodebert
thither out of
Italy.

could prescribe how to govern, and govern as he prescribed, *Justinian*; who was by his Uncle *Justin* raised from a Shepherd to be first his Page, and then his Son, and at last by the vote of the Empire his a Successor. He spake like an Emperour when he said, *That Imperial Majesty should be for War adorned with Arms, and for Peace armed with Lawes; being as just against Vices, as it is valiant against Enemies.* (*Plato and Aristotle could have said no more*) And he did like an Emperor when he governed so: mustering a vast Army under *Morad* to reduce *Dalmatia* and *Salanum*; under *John*, to rescue *Africa* from the Moors to the *Romanes*; and under *Belizarius*, to reduce the *Persians*; who, notwithstanding his service against many Nations abroad, and against the Rebel *Florian*, that else had dethroned *Justinian*, for affecting the Title of *Germanicus*, *Gothicus*, *Francicus*, &c. and the Kingdome of the *Goths*, had his authority taken from him, and his eyes put out. *Justinian* aiming at immortality by Heroick exploits, engageth the *Parthians* in *Greece*, the *Goths* in *Italy*; and the *French* so far, that he was called a *Francicus*. Much honour he got by enlarging the bounds of the *Romane* Empire now impaired more by settling the *Romane* government now discomposed: And knowing that Justice is the foundation of a Commonwealth, and Law of Justice, he compiled as exact a body of Statutes out of the particular Establishments Statutes and Rules of Nations, whereby a man may know how to live honestly, and do no

wrong

wrong, as *Aristotle* did of Philosophy out of the great variety of Books *Alexander* provided for him, whereby a man may learn how to live knowingly, and be subject to no error. A body of the Law, admirable, 1. For the prudent disposal of each part of it to proper cases, with respect to the distinction of times, persons, places, and other circumstances. 2. For its Analogy and Coherence, though extracted from divers Times, Authors and Constitutions. His Method was this; 1. To end endless Controversies, he collected *Theodosius*, *Gregorius*, and *Hermogenes* his Constitutions into one Book called the Imperial Law. 2. To provide for daily emergencies, he employed *Trebonianus*, *Parothenus*, and *Theophilus*, to reduce all Rules, Cases, Judgements, Reports and Precedents to one uniform Pandect or Digest, methodically distinguished into fifty two heads; the first being *Justinian's* own collections, made up, first to 5, and at last into 12 Books, abrogating all former constitutions, correcting all errors, suppressing all controversies, and making the Law a plain and easie rule of good and evill, upon which you may read the Commentaries, observations and insertions of *Azan*, *Alciat*, *Cujas* and others. Of all his works, his new *Matrimony* or *Authenticks* were most weighty. His Treatise of the Incarnation of our Saviour, and other Gospel-mysteries, was most pious. The mixture of the Gospel with his *Codex* and new matter was most remarkable, his reverence to the four first general Councils was exemplary.

R r 4

His

- a 1 Nice.
- 2 Constanti-
nople.
- 3 Ephesus.
- 4 Calcedon.

His prowesse as Emperour, and his piety as a Christian, should compound for his frailty as an *Eutychian*, and his weaknesse as an old man. Honoured he was for what he did himself, renowned (whatsoever *Suidas* saith) for what he did by others; it being no lesse a Prince's glory to employ others well, than to do well himself.



CHARLEMAIN.

Charles the Great, called so, not for killing the Bear of *Poitiers*, but as *Alexander*, for subduing the enemies of the Empire, was born at *Ingelheim*, two German leagues from *Liege*, and succeeded his Father *Pepin* (the first that was called the most Christian King) first in part of *France* and *Aquitain*, and after his brother *Carlo-*

man

the Monk in all. His body was 8 foot high, and well proportioned; his face a span and half long, his forehead one foot broad, his Nose little and flat, the distance between his Eye-brows a span long, the fury of his very looks and sparkling eyes daunted an enemy. Hunting was his recreation; his own game his Diet: his meals were plentiful, his bread and drink sparing: the saying was then, *You must drinke but thrice at Charls his Table*. Two hours he slept at Noon-tide, and then he eat some plums: His cloaths were French; his Seal hung always at his Sword, whereby he said, *He would maintain the Laws he enacted*. Night and day was he in action, night and day was he guarded by forty Gentlemen that stood round about his Bed before midnight, and forty after, with their Swords in their right hands, and a burning Taper in their left. So strong he was, that he could take up an armed man in his hand, stretch out four Horshoes together, cleave asunder a Horse-man and his horse at a blow: so couragious, that in his Fathers life he subdued *Poitou*, *Berry* and *Clermont*, relieved the *Biscains* from the *Sarazens*; and when he was King, defeated the remainder of the Duke of *Aquitain's* Forces; forced *Henault* Earl of *Provence* first to take sanctuary at *Gascoign*, then at his mercy; built the Fort *Fronssack* against the *Sarazens*, revenge his brother's Wives and *Henault's* entertainment upon a *Disier*, King of the *Lombards*, First, by divorcing his sister, and then by making a War, first in *Piedmont*, where

^b This Coroloman retired for devotion first to Rome; & that being too publick a place, afterwards to Mount-Cassin, where he died.

^a Add to this, that *Disier* would have had a share of France for *Carloman's* children.

Disier

Anno Mundi

4736.

A. D. 769.

a which Kingdom had stood 224 years, when Charls set out the bounds of it by the Pau and Rhine Boulo- nois, and be- flow'd it first on his son, and then on his Grand- child.

b whence Bri- gans or Thieves. This Brigandus is mention- ed in the Coun- cil of Theon- vil, and in a Letter of P. Nich. to the Arch-bishop of Bourdeaux. *a* Disier's daughter.

Disier surrendred himself to him at *Pavia* (af- tar a six monthths streight siege) and was ban- ished to *Liege*, Charles his son *Pepin* succeed- ing him in his Kingdom of *a* Lombardy, as *Bernard* succeeded *Pepin*, who with his Go- vernour, according to his Grandfathers order, surprized the *Sarazens* with a booty now ran- sacking the coasts of *Italy*. He knew how to fight his Enemies, and not burthen his Sub- jects: The *Saxons* rebellions he defeated, transporting them to *France*, and the *Abradi- ces* to their Countrey, commanding *Liderick* the Admiral of *Flanders* and *Brabant* to have an eye over them. All men admired his suc- cesses, all Nations courted his protection, particularly *Spain* now infected by the *Sara- zens*, where he mastered, and for terrour demolished and ransacked *Pampelona*, forced *Abutauru* and *Denisturns* to submission, restored *Ibnabal* to his Kingdom, made *Spain* tremble: his name got *Adelphonjus* the chaff, King of *Astria* and *Gallicia*, one victory, and his own Commanders ten, being never defeated but once by *Ganes* his Treason at *Roncevaux*, which yet he revenged at *Sara- gousa*, killing King *Baligant* with his own hand, cutting off thirty thousand *Sarazens*, and ex- ecuting the Traytors, as he did the *Gaseigns* pillaging of his Baggage, and other their out- raggious robberies and sacriledges under *b* *Bur- gundus*, with an extermination, had not the *Saxon* Wars, and the *Britans* disloyalty, which yet he quelled, diverted him. *Tassilon* Duke of *Bavaria*, that had upon his *a* Wives

suggestion

suggestion leagued himselfe with the *Huns* upon the first hearing of *Charles* his approach, forsook himself, and is *b* depofed. All Nati- ons dread him, *Persia* courts him as the King of Kings; the *Grecians* write

b And with his son Theon be- comes a Friar.

The French-man for thy friend may'st take,
But do not him thy Neighbour make.

The Lord of *Huessel* delivereth him the keys of *Aze*, the King of *Mauritania*'s son brings him Presents, the Emperour of *Con- stantinople*'s Son courts his Daughter, as did the King of *Barbary*; the *Scotch* League then began, which *c* continueth to this day. Af- ter many victories, *Charles* is by Pope *Adri- an* first declared *d* Senator, and then Empe- rour of *Rome*, 25 Decemb. 801. All Prin- ces looking on the Solemnities, and all peo- ple crying, *Happinesse, Peace, Long-life, Vi- ctory* to *Charles Augustus*, divinely crowned most great and peaceable Empire; the same day celebrating the Saviour of the World, and the Restorer of the Empire. His prow- els and glory did not swallow up his piety and learning, his piety becoming the most Chri- stian King, whereby he assisted the Pope a- gainst the *Lombards*, and advancing him o- ver the *e* world, He confirmed his Fathers Donations, and enlarged them with his own of *Ravenna*, *Corfica*, and *Lyguria*. There are three remarkable instances of his piety; the first is, his orderly house, where he had no Buffones to tickle him, but Readers of all

c Therefore the Kings of Scot- land adds to their Arms a double streak of Gules, with Flower-de- Lucas, to shew that the French Alliance doth much conduce to the support of of that King- dome.

d A Senatorship being a capaci- ty for the Em- pire, as the Kingdome of the Romans is now; The Pope crowns the Em- perour to this day.

c In a Council of 130 Prelats.

a Thither he sent Joh. Mailras, a Scot, & companion of Duns Scotus, and his own Tutor Alcuin, who was one of those two Friers who cried in the streets of Paris, that they had knowledge to sell, and demanded but meat and cloib for it.

b He corrected the Teutonick Grammar, inserting into it the Acts of Kings, & imposing it upon all his subjects.

c Vix. 3 Spiritual Dukes, the Arch-Bishop of Hindes, the Bishops of Laon and Langrist. Three Spiritual Counts, the Bishops of Chaulons, Moion, & Beauvais. Six secular ones; the Dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Guyenne; The Counts or Earls of Flanders,

Tholous, and Champaign.

good Books to instruct him. The second was charity in relieving the Captives under the Saracens with money, and the poor of Germany and France with Hospitals, having twelve poor men always of his Train. 3. His thirty Churches largely privileged and endowed, twenty Cathedrals built, and four Universities erected; 1. Padua, 2. a Pavie, 3. Bulloign. 4. Paris, upon his Tutor Alcuin's motion. His daughters were brought up to housewifery and sewing, his sons to Arts and Sciences: And though some think that contemplation weakneth Princes, none more studious, yet none more active than this Prince: All Arts did he learn and correct; all Laws did he reduce to a Method and digest, except those of France, whose mutinous humour could not bear an alteration. It was he (as Paulus Æmilius and Gaguinus write) that instituted the twelve Peers of France. Much was this Emperor wronged by those that writ Fables of his Journeys to Jerusalem, and more by those that writ lies of his ambition: 1. in building a Bridge from the Rhine to the Danow, a noble and a publick-spirited act. 2. In setting the two-headed Eagle in his Arms, though it be no more than his successors have done, he never attempting any thing (notwithstanding fair opportunities offered him by Hirena her marriage and otherwise) against Greece since the agreement with Nicephorus the Emperor. Of Prodiges, there can be no judgement made without a revelation, but especially of that Story of

St. Denis his saving this Emperour by ballancing his vices with Timber and Stone, as the Devil told Turpin Arch-Bishop of a Rhemes. Notwithstanding all cavils and surmisals, we leave Charles truly Great for raising the Crown of France above the grandeur of his Predecessors, for setting the Pope in his chair, restoring the Western Empire, and enjoying it peaceably with all the Kingdoms of Europe, by awing the world with his Prudence, Justice, Dexterity and Valour, until he dyed of a Pleurisie January 8. 814. the 71 of his Age, the 46 of his Kingdom, the 13 of his Empire, being buried at Aquisgrane in Germany with this Epitaph, viz.

a See the like story of Will: Le Allemand in Peter the Abbot of Clunie's second book of Epistles.

SUB HOC CONDITORIO SITUM
EST CORPUS CAROLI MAGNI,
ATQ; ORTHODOXI IMPERATORIS,
QUI REGNUM FRANCORUM
NOBILITER AMPLIAVIT
ET PER ANNOS xlv. FOELICITER
TENUIT. DECESSIT SEP-
TUAGENTARIUS, Anno Domini
DCCCXIV. Indictione VII. Quinto
Calend. Feb.

Many were this noble Prince his Vertues, but his meeknesse and gentlenesse exceeded them all.

T A M O M-



TAMOMBEUS.

Anno Mun.
5480.
A. D. 1514.

Grand Cairo now called *Midser*, neither so populous nor so large as *Musla* makes her, and fame reports her, was governed by *Soldans* from *Hannibal's* time the *Admiral* in a continued succession, until the *Mamalucks* or *Slaves* first made that Kingdom Elective in *Piperick Soldan* the great builders time, and continued it so until *Selim's* time, who overcoming *Campson* for favouring the King of *Persia*, the *Mamalucks* and *Arabians* their Confederates, chose *Tamomby*, a man as valiant as successful; who no sooner heard of *Selim's* approach with a great Army, and a greater resolution, but he with greater encamped in his way before Grand Cairo, fortified himself with Artilleries, Trenches, and

a All by the *Arabians* *Charadinchis d'E-mir Quiber*, that is, Great Lord, or Captain of the sea.

and *Palizadoes*, prepared a Battle for Life and Empire: the *Turks* Drums and Trumpets raze, and their strength forceth the *Mamalucks* to the very City; 24000 fall, the streets run with blood, and are thronged with Carcasses; the people throw stones, timber, scalding water, and other instruments of fury for eight hours together; *Selim's* Cannons roar, his shots flie thick, the fire threatens a desolation, and the afrighted multitude cry out, Long live great *Selim*, Favourite to the great God, whom we humbly beseech to cease his fury, and to have pity upon his poor Slaves, who do submit to his greatnesse and mercy. But *Selim* must revenge his friend *Ganus* his death, must beat *Tamomby* out of his Trenches, pursue the Nobility to the Pyramides, and their Master to a vaulted cave, where to the regret of *Aegypt* and *Arabia*, when most of his Guard fell honourably, because they would not live unworthily, he and the rest were led to *Cairo*; where being inhumanely tortured thrice to confesse his treasure, and strictly examined by that *Selim*, whose breast possessed not either the Royalty of a King, or the humanity of a man, after a resolute carriage that became a King, under such ignominy as became not a man, He was led through the street on a Camel, and not hanged, as *Jovius* and *Munster* write, but butchered in the Shambles, April 13. in the year of our Lord 1517. and of his age 65.

a who was killed with an iron mortar cast upon his head.
b Where there are seen this day several idols in mummied bodies, about which there is great difference between *Wicaden*, *Thevet*, and *Munster*.

A T A B A -

Anno Mundi
5471.
A. C. 1526.



A T A B A L I P A.

a A people that
lived by the Ri-
ver Maragnan.

A *Tabalipa* descended from the *Jugala* a noble and powerful, a warlike and cunning people, near *Cusco* or *Tichior* (a Lake so called from its Lead and other Metals) boasted himself, and indeed was a *Canibal*, first to the Christians, and then to his own brother *Atoco*, whom he murdered, and succeeded at *Cusco* his Royal Court in the middle of *Pern*, as *Rome* is the Emperours, *Constantinople* the *Turks*, *Tauris* the *Sophie's*, *Cathay* the great *Chams*, and *Cairo* the *Sultan's*. He enlargeth his Empire as far as the *Sea Su*, and the great Ocean: but (misfortune being the great mans lot as well as the mean ones) the *Spanyards* at *Nomberto de Dios* under *Pisarr*, courted him with Pro-

sent

ents, and drew off half his People with insinuations: and then he swore those *Mustangs* for *Spanyards* should by the Sun be cut off, if they came further into his Dominions: But *Pisarr* understanding his Army could not come together in haste, what with the dreadful representation of his power, what with his richly harnessed and capparisoned horses, what with his *Maxime*, That their united power might keep under the world; First, he got footing into his Territories, and then discovered his nakedness, his wooden Swords, Clubs, Bowes and Arrows; skirmisheth their Wings and Rear, and drawing them on by a seeming flight, so frighted them with his Horse, so amazed them with his Ordnance, that they take the Mountains, and leave twenty thousand at least behind them; the *Spanyards* sparing not a man, but *Atabalipa* and six of his Council taken in the rich Tent near the River *Obelcaion*; whose two rich Pearls joyned together with two Emralds already given, nor his ten millions of gold promised (to raise which, he rifled his very Temples) could not save him from being bound like a slave three days and nights to a Tree, that he might confesse more money, where (having denounced the judgements that befell the two *Pisarr's*, (the one whereof was in the same place beheaded, the other killed, from the just God they worshipped) he was strangled by a *Morim* Slave, by the Monks and Bishops judgements, lest his Subjects might rescue him, for murdering his Brother, and spoyling his

S f

Countrey

Country, in the 52 of his age. Vertue
 loved, though he was cruell; honourable
 buried he was, though hated: he had
 two Daughters, of two hundred and twenty
 Wives. Envy and Malice was his portion
 when alive, and honour when dead; his foe
 acknowledging with Hanniball, That it was
 better to kisse a dead Enemy, than to fight
 live one.

Benzonii Hist.
 Nov. Mund.



JOHN GUTTENBERGH.

THe Ingenious Art of Printing, where
 by two may dispatch more Books in
 a day, than many could write in
 year; and the tryal of the Printers Inke, was
 invented at a Mentz, 1442. by John Gut
 tembergh, a Germane, and well descended
 Knight (as something like it was forty years
 before

a called Mo-
 guntia, in Ger-
 many.

Life of JOHN GUTTENBERGH.
 by Comrade at Rome, and two yeares
 (before here) and perfected by Mantel, Pres-
 sheffee, Flach, Froben, Peter and
 So rare was that Mystery then, that
 was honour and profit to professe it; so
 common is it now, that it's neither: and those
 men are the onely persons that have
 served the Publick, and undone them-
 selves, for want of a firm Charter and Pri-
 vilege. China may boast of Writing, and
 of Hieroglyphicks, but neither have
 to arrogate to themselves the Art of
 Printing, since there is no mention of that Art
 in Paul the Venetian's description of that
 country, and there is no use of it, as Mer-
 chants and Travellers attest now. The Turks
 in Decree 1484. banished Printing, as they
 had done Learning. As Pallas was the God-
 dess, so the Germans are inventors of Learn-
 ing and War-instruments; their Swartz in-
 venting Powder, and their Guttembergh Prin-
 ting: but as the Jewes for Learning, and Han-
 niball for Victory, so they for invention are
 ingenious, and happy in contriving, slothful
 in perfecting and polishing; they having but
 the happinesse of designing, and other people
 the honour of compleating most of their My-
 steries. For spreading the Law of God in the
 world, for expelling Barbarism, suppressing
 ignorance; for communicating, illustrating,
 and ennobling the Arts and Sciences; for re-
 viving Learning from the corruption of Monks
 and other Transcribers, this Art is eminent,
 the Professors of it. Minutius at Venice,
 S f 2 Froben

Froben and Perin at Basil, Plantin at Antwerp, the four Plantin's and two Stephen's at Paris, Griphius and Tournes at Lyons, and other exquisite Artists who improved it and Learning, had much honour and applause throughout the world, which admires them for helping Memory, restoring Time, preserving Records, discovering the World, propagating Learning and Religion above Barbarism and Infidelity, sublimating Mankind, civilizing the Earth, refining the rude and untaught, publishing Lawes, recovering Philosophy, Oratory, History, and whatever Learning had perished else by time and neglect: reviving the Dead, setting before the Ages past, whereby we may manage the Ages present, and judge of those to come.



M. TERENTIUS VARRO.

A General Learning looked on by some as mis-becoming our search, and by others as unattainable by our industry they saying with that grave Philosopher and excellent Physitian, *That life is short, and one science long: and so confining all mens industry to parts within the leuell of few mens weakness and stoaks*) may by argument be proved, and by this great instance evidenced within a mans souls capacity. *Terentius Varro* born at Arbois in France, having left Books of all Arts, and Observations upon all, which poster hath so learnedly collected, and St. Augustine as learnedly celebrated, being the best demonstration of this Maxime, That one man may be very well versed in several Sciences.

MARCO

a Lib. 6. de civ.
Dci.

ces. *who dived into the surmises of the Gods head more profoundly, saith the same a Angustine? who found them out more learnedly? who considered them more seriously? who distinguished them more subtilly? who discoursed them more largely and diligently? in a style rather strict to profit, than free to please.*

In his Works put together by holy Angustine, sublime Escala, renowned Victor, whose memory ought to be acknowledged and revered by all those who affect either knowledge or vertue, we have exact Mathematicks, deep Philosophy, useful History, well studied Antiquity, regular Grammar and Poetry, experienced Husbandry, universal Law: In a word, the lineaments and rudraughts of a most compleat Library.

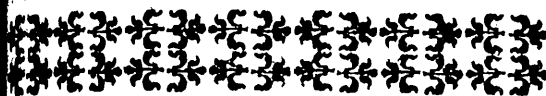
Of the practice, not the nature of friendship, he said, what others observed, That the rich mens friends stand by the barn to gather the Corn.

a The sentence of Slaves in the Civil Law was this, that all persons reduced to a servile condition are dead.

Of Slaves, who are said to be a dead in law he said, That they had more of life than the Masters, because commonly more chearfull; and more of men, because more rational. Being of opinion that Slaves (being not such by nature but custome, though used like Instruments rather than Servants by their unnatural Masters) should be rather perswaded to duty by milde and humane usage, than compelled by stripes and wounds: civil Heathenism moderated slavery, Christianity hath excluded it.

Varro his modesty refused honour, his great experience deserved it. Malice did not

more reproach him when alive for his misfortune at Cannes, than Envy it self honoured it for his behaviour at Rome.



Anno Mundi
3439. Ante
Chr. 209.

ARCHIMEDES.

Contemporary with Sulpitius Gallus, Onias the High Priest of the Jewes, Aristobulus the Jew, Ptolomy Epiphanes first King of Egypt.

Archimedes was such a great Geometrician and admirable Contriver, that amongst all he became a Proverb for Skill: for when a thing was well and exquisitely done, they used to say, *Archimedes could not have done it better*; and withal herein he was honoured with Cicero's approbation. In honour of him was erected an immense

menſe Statue by the Inhabitants of Sicillie. He brought many marvellous things to perfection, even too long to relate; amongſt which we finde, that the onely Engines and Instruments which *Archimedes* did make, were ſufficient to defend the place for a long time againſt all the Assaults of the *Romans*, reckoning theſe not as his Maſter-piece, but onely as Geometrical Toyes and Paſtimes. And more, when all humane force was not able to draw a great Ship out of the water, *Archimedes* alone drew it on Land, as if it had ſailed on the Sea. He by his invention ſo overwhelmed the *Romane* Army beſieging *Syracuse*, by wonderfully drowning them in the Sea, and on Land cunningly deſtroying them by his crafts, that *Marcus Marcellus* was forced to ſeek out another way, and to alter the diſpoſition of the Camp, to his own peril and conſuſion. The *Romans* were ſo terrified at his Inventions and Engines, that they fled at the very ſight of a chain or a Bar-pole let down from the walls of the City.

The noble General *Marcus Marcellus* having at laſt aſſaulted *Syracuse*, would not let *Archimedes* (though an Enemy) loſe the reward of his honour, by giving commandment that none ſhould kill him upon pain of death. But he ſtill buſie in deſcribing a Figure, and therefore not attending to a Soldiers queſtion (not knowing him) was unluckily ſlain by him. There is nothing now remaining for his honour, but a noble Funerall.

which he loſt not; *M. Marcellus* vouchſafed his care herein. So *Carneades* would neglect his meat, and *Democritus* with *Archimedes* their wealth (that chain of their Soul) that they might ſtudy. Of his Books there remain none but that fiſh of the *Cylinthus* tranſlated by Pope *Nicholas* his command, And of his ſayings, but that, Give me a place to ſet my foot, and I will remove the world.



DIOGENES.

Diozenes (if we chooſe rather to reflect upon his internal then external parts) was one worthy of great honour, being the ſole Philoſopher who did lead a free and careleſs life without any goods or eſtate. He was born at *Synope* of *Iceſius* an Uſurer, who put him for a while to School: but at laſt driven

Anno Mundi
3598. Ante
Chr. 350.

driven out of his Countrey, retired himself unto Athens, where he learned Philosophy of Antisthenes; wherein he made so good progresse, as that he became one of the most excellent Philosophers of all Greece. He led his life strangely in the greatest poverty, contenting himself a great while with a Tub for his habitation, the entrance of which in the Winter he did turn towards the South, and in the Summer towards the North. He asked Alms, carrying a stick in his hands, and a wallet on his shoulders. He was so great a lover of Philosophical faculties, that his Master threatening to beat him out of doors with a stick, because he took no Scholars to teach; Diogenes proffering his head unto him, said, *Strike on I pray, for you shall not finde any stick hard enough to drive me out of your School.* Looking on Physicians and Philosophers, he said, *Amongst all the creatures, man ought to be most circumspect.* And meeting Soothsayers, & Fortune-tellers, than whom nothing more vain he reproved their vanity one day by drawing a multitude to hear him whistle, where not a man would hear him discourse. He admired the Grammarians for understanding *Ulysses* his errors, better than their own; Musicians, for tuning their Instruments, not their passions; Mathematicians, for being wiser afar off, than near home; Oratours, for the pains they took rather to speak than do well; and at all men, for striving for every thing but vertue. He asked a confident Astrologer, *how long since it was he came from Heaven*: and another who had

written upon his door, *Let no evill enter here*; He asked, *Which way shall the Master meet?* Free he was in his speech, free in his actions: One day he would needs sit at the *Barre*, because it was the safest place in the *Green*. He praised a fat Cittern-man, because he was made for a Musician, rather than a Thief. Being asked what was the greatest misery in the world, he answered, *being old and poor*; And whether he had any servants to carry him to his Grave, he said, *He that wants my house will do that.* Give me a blow on the head (said he another time) upon condition you give me a helmet.

Plato told him, If he courted *Dionysius* he need not wash Herbs: he answered, *If you wash herbs, you needed not court Dionysius.* I pray shut the gate (said he at Mynd) lest the City run out of them, Being asked whence he was, he answered, *He was a Citizen of the world.* Upon a handsome man's unhandsome expression, he said, *Are not you ashamed to draw a leaden sword out of a silver sheath?* To him that denied motion, he said nothing, but *Walke*. When *Alexander* asked him what he wanted, he said, *Stand not between me and the Sun*; and that with that content and satisfaction, that the Emperour professed, *Were he not Alexander, he would be Diogenes.* Knowledge, which he said was for action rather than contemplation, he commended as correction to the young, comfort to the old, riches to the poor, and ornament to the rich. Adding, *that a rich ignorant man is a golden sheep.* In the

Summer

Summer he accustomed himself to endure heat in the Sun, and in the Winter to endure cold in the snow.

When he saw a boy drink out of his hand, he threw away his wooden dish, and said, *Why should I trouble Art, when Nature furnisheth me?* He said, *I am called dog, because I make much of those who give unto me; I bark at those that deny me, and I bite the harsh and froward.* When his friends replied, *If he would not be buried, the beasts would devour him;* to that he answered, *Lay my Tick by my side.* And when they laughing, said, *The dead can neither see nor feel;* he replied, *Nay then, what care I?* Singular he was in leading his own life, singular in bringing up others, particularly *Xenades*, and *Corinthians* children, whose slave he was. Their exercise was manly; their task, in Learning his and other mens sayings, strict; their diet sparing; their care of time, in making themselves ready as they went along the streets, whereby he gained his Scholars affections, and their Fathers respect, as much above his condition, as his condition was below his merit; in whose house he died, and was buried according to his desire with his face upwards: All his friends joyning for his magnificent Tomb in *Crete*. His course diet, and cold rheum thereupon, made him to weary of his life, that with his Cloak he smothered himself to death,

ARISTO.



ARISTOTLE.

Aristotle, excellent in all Sciences, Scholar to *Plato*, and Tutor to *Alexander the Great*, hath been the Author (whether out of ambition or otherwise) of very many good and incomparable Books, always bringing to perfection what he had begun. His Rhetorick and Poetick instructions clear and copious, his Philosophy rational, his Metaphysicks abstruse, his Logick useful and practical, and all his writings tend to make man as like God, as can be, in those two particulars of *Contemplation* and *Action*. Other Philosophers delivered the Material cause, but he the Form, the Efficient, and the End. *Pythagoras* begun Philosophy mystically, *Plato* increased it clearly, *Aristotle* perfected it

Anno Mundi
4684. Ante
Chr. 515.

it compleatly, surpassing them all in the Doctrine of Principles and Properties, especially that of Privation; wherefore he was called the first Naturalist; not but that others had begun, but that he went on in Philosophy with a method more orderly, a distinctness more particularly, with conclusions more satisfactory than any that wrote before him. But his knowledge was bounded by nature, so that notwithstanding the suggestion of a Jew his Scholar, and Plato, who had conversed with Moses his Writings, his Master, he was so obstinate in his first conceptions, that he would upon no second thoughts either own the immortality of the Soul, or the beginning of the World. And however rash posterity censure him, his natural Philosophy discovers him not more knowing in the nature, then his moral discourses confessed him prudent for the government of the world: Having left behind him in his *Politicks* for Kingdoms, in his *Oeconomicks* for Families, in his *Morals* for Schools, the exactest rules for quietness here in the exercise of vertue, and happiness hereafter. In a word, that man hath crowned himself, Philosophy, and the expectation of the world: so famous, that Philip made him his son's Tutor; so wise, that Plato made him his own companion: so well did he discharge his Trust, that Alexander thought himself happier to have Aristotle for his Master, than Philip for his Father, receiving but his being from the first, and his well-being from the second: And that with respect to his memory, he

built Miezar for his School, and Stagyræ, because it was his Birth-place. But our Affections are mutable as our selves. Alexander's love was not so great to him in his 20 years repulse in his Court, as his hatred upon one years absence; When fearing Socrates his fate for too free a discourse of the gods, he retired to Ealæ, a City upon the banks of Euripus, to which he threw himself for anger he could not apprehend the reason of its flux and reflux, being 73 years old, and saying, *Seeing I cannot comprehend thee, comprehend thou me.* There were seven excellent Scholars of his name, whose Books adorn the Greek, but not the Latine Libraries; but none of them excell him, whom no Meteor in the Ay escaped, but he described; no Star in Heaven, but he discovered; no principal quality or temperament in the Earth, but he reached: so that no wonder Philip stamped Coyns that bare his name, whereof some have been presented by Sultan Solymán and his Bashaws, to most Lords and Ambassadors of Christendome. Take the great Philosophers Dimensions in this great Character.

Stay Traveller, yet stay not here,
For to go further do not fear.
'Tis the world's end, hast thou not heard
Aristotle lies here interr'd?
Not whole, nor half, nor the least part
Of so great wonderment of Art.
Call him interpreter o' th' Pole,
Natures Corridor and large scrole.

What

What more I might, or cannot say,
Conceive, which I think no man may.
But he, compares him to God's mind;
Who's all to each in every kinde.
'Mongst gods he was a man mortall;
'Mongst men, like God that can do all



SALADIN.

Anno Mundi
5137.
C. N. 1170.

Saladin Sultan of Egypt, endowed with a surpassing profound prudence and judgement, was the son (as some think others the Nephew) of Syraon King of Egypt. He spared neither gold nor silver, to gain such men as he conceived might be useful to him; yea, conforming himself unto the fancies and humors of those whom he stood in need of: as cunningly bringing his intentions about, he disguising himself, went through

out all France and Italy as a Merchant, informing himself of the Christians forces and designs, thereby ouing them of all the Territories and Dominions in the Levant. Being sent for unto the relief of the Damascens, in little space of time he made himself Master of the whole Province, usurping the same against his Master Melech Sali. Moreover he made himself Lord of Bosra, of Molbec, which formerly was called Heliopolis, and of Camelias. And lest the Christians should rush in upon him, whilest he gained the Territories belonging to the Heir of Naradinus, he made a league with them, which lasted onely until such time as he had fortified himself. For in 1176. in Decemb. he pitcht his Camp before Jersalem, where Baldovinus the fourth of that name King of Jersalem had a Garison, and was present in person to defend the place; and here Saladin was clearly beat, losing the best part of his Mamaluks, himself running away: But he suddenly charged them again so furiously, that Baldovinus narrowly escaped death, which overtook the Commanders of the Knights Templars. And taking the Castle which Baldovinus built on the River Jordan, killing or enslaving all he found there, demolishing the Fort quite to the ground; Saladin breaks his Truce which he made with the Christians, by siding with the Tripoli; and fighting a dubious fight with Baldovinus, was at last worsted. But being vexed at this, he besieges Barut: but finding the King at his heels, he invades Mesopotamia; and on the

other side the Christians invaded the Territories of *Damas*, and endeavoured to repulse their enemy, who strove to root them out of *Palestine*. To which end, that *Saladin* might be the better opposed, an Inspection was made of all the wealth which the Christians had in those parts, and a Tax was laid on those that were worth one hundred Besants. *Saladin* was one who made a very slight account of his promises, thinking himself no longer obliged to keep the same, then his Avarice, Ambition, and his own conveniency gave him leave. He was so perfidious, that when he could not down-right for shame break his Truce, he would invent some other way to bring it about. But at last he died, to the joy and repose of Christianity, in year 1197. and his Son reigned in his stead. He desired that he might not be solemnly buried, but that his Priest should read these following verses;

* A black mourning vestment
carried on the
top of a Lance
before the corps.

By several Trophies and a Kingdom gain'd,
My self till this time have I thus maintain'd
And being call'd to submit to the grave,
This onely * Vestment I reserved have.

S A P H O



S A P H O.

Contemporary with Xenophanes the Philosopher,
Thogonus and Pindarus the Græcian Poets,
Lucretia the choice Roman Matron.

Amongst so many men and women most skilful in the noble Art of Poetry, *Sappho* (born at *Lesbos*) may justly challenge to be put in the forefront; being so excellently versed in this Science, and thereby gaining such a renown, that the *Romanes* erected a Statue of *Porphyre* to eternize her memory. She excelled all Poetesses in the opinion of *Strabo*, which was likewise confirmed by *Eustathius*. She was expert in all sorts of Verses, specially in the compounding of *Lyrick* verses.

T t 2

Anno Mundi
4684.
A.C. 515.

It is to be noted
that she was not
that unchaste
Sappho called
Erexcea, famous
in the art
of Poetry, whom
Lesbos also
bred.

ses, evidenced in several Epigrams, Elegies, and other Pieces translated out of Greek into Latine, besides many which were lost by the destruction of *Lesbos*, *Italy*, and several other ways. She invented *Sapphicks*; so called, of her name. Who her Father was, is uncertain, by reason of Writers mistakes; but *Cleus* was her Mother. She had three Brothers, *Larygus*, *Eurygus*, and *Cheranus*; the first whereof she loved and cherished: but *Cheranus* associating himself with *Rhodopa* the *Thracian* Whore, gained her hatred, against whom she wrote several *Invectives*. She was called *Mascula*, the reasons whereof are uncertain, and therefore thought by some that another *Sappho* Eretria was so called. But the dexterity and vivacity of her wit was admired by all, as well as her profound knowledge wherewithal she was endowed; neither was she thus judged to be, by mean and ordinary judgement, but by that of the divine Philosopher *Plato*. She was married to *Cercola*, or *Cercylla*, a man wealthy, honest and confederate, by whom she had one only daughter named *Cleis*, by her Grandmother's name. During her Husband's life she was not accused of the least misdemeanor: but becoming a widow, she is suspected by reason of a love she fell in with a certain man called *Phaon*, whom mistrusting that he did not bear a love equal to hers, she cast her self headlong from the top of a rock into the Sea.

ARTIM



ARTEMISIA.

Anno Mundi
3586. Ante
Chr. 376.

Artemisia was the Wife of *Mausolus* King of *Caria*, and of old *Halicarnassus*; a Country before it was inhabited by the *Gracians*, rude, barbarous, and of no esteem. Burials were much honoured by the Ancients, as appears by the holy Writings, by many ceremonies used of old, by which the *Romans* thought it to want a disgrace the *Romans* thought it to want a burial; yea, it was such an infamy, that it was appointed to some notorious Criminals as a punishment; and so much honoured by them, that having burnt the body to ashes, they reserved them in Urns made rich and very costly. Other Nations had all their particular and solemn ways of burying their dead. The *Sophagians* did cast them into the Sea. The

Hircanians purposely keeping dogs & birds to devour them: The *Tyberians* hanging their old cloaths on Gibbets. The *Messagetes* and *Trogodites* did (that the worms might not do it) eat their dead themselves. By the *Seythians*, the best beloved in their life-time, were interred amongst their dead. The *Egyptians* and *Syrians* (observing a greater humanity to their dead) did as much as in them lay to preserve their dead bodies from putrefaction and rottenness, shutting them up in certain small chests, after they had embalmed them with Myrthe, Aloes, &c. But *Artemisia* bearing a greater love to her Husband than all this, buried him in her own body: daily drinking a certain quantity of his Ashes amongst her Wine, all the rest of her life-time sorrowfully mourning for his death: but not contenting her self with all this, she employed the four rarest Architects of all *Greece* to build him a Sepulchre, called after his own name *Mausoleum*, which was one of the seven wonders of the world, four thousand men labouring in it daily. To make her love surer to appear, she spared not riches to reward him who would deliver her Husband's praises in a funeral-Oration. She herein was president to Posterity to follow her example: which *Porcia* the Daughter of *Cato*, Wife to *Brutus* did, swallowing hot burning coals at the news of the death of her Husband. In like manner *Agria* the Daughter of King *Adriastus*, and the Wife of *Polianus* the son of *Edipus* the King of *Thebes*, hearing that her Husband

Husband

Husband was slain in a sally which he made against the Enemies who besieged the City, went undauntedly to the Battel, and by night finding her Husbands body, weeping, brought it to the City; and having burned it to ashes, whereof she drunke every new Moon, vowed at the same time a perpetual chastity, thereby imitating *Artemisia* her glorious resolution. *Artemisia* was not onely admirable in this, but in her noble conduct in the managing of a War, whereof she gave a proof by gallantly resisting the *Rhodians* invading her Territories, whom she defeated two several times, withal gaining their Island; in testimony whereof a Statue was erected to her honour in the City of *Rhodes*. So *Semiramis* Queen of *Assyria* amongst other noble attempts withstood *Staurobales* King of the *Indians*, who thought he might daunt such a feminine frailty with threatening words: but she returning to him this answer, *The effects of a Combate are deeds, not words*, *Staurobales* fought and vanquished him. But to come to *Artemisia*, she was with a great deal of reluctancy perswaded to put off her mourning habit, assuming her regal Robes and Ornaments: but not contented by reason of her still remaining grief, she committed the care and charge of her Kingdom to her most trusty Council, from which she banished her self: she still carrying a noble spirit, she ayds, and valiantly assists the *Persian* Emperour *Xerxes* against the *Gracians*, her former and rigid enemies, where she so bravely behaved her self,

T t 4

self, that *Xerxes* (overthrown and vanquished) fetching a deep sigh, said, *Viri quidem extiterant mihi fœmina, Fœmina autem viri*. My men this day have stood me in no better stead then women, and the women onely have behaved themselves like men.



HISMAEL SOPHI.

Hismael Sophi, the son of *Sesaidar*, Grandchild of *Assambey*, or *Usam-cassar*, a man of extraordinary courage and valour, was by a lawful right King of *Persia*. He hearing of his Fathers death, fled with his two Brothers to save themselves, whose lives were envied and sought for; the one into *Natolia*, the other to *Aleppo*, and the third, being *Hismael*, to *Arminig*, who found an unexpected good reception by the means

means of an uncertain Priest of *Armenia*, who beholding his phyliognomy, found so great hopes of his excellent Graces and Perfections, that he took pains and care to bring him up: But he obtained the Crown of *Persia* with a great deal of difficulty, whereof there was always great hopes, if he could but escape the pursuits of *Amelus*, from whom he was carefully kept by the Priest, upon confidence of no ingratitude when he came to possess his Crown; neither hath he deceived his expectation, for he respected him and the Christians for his sake, though he himself by no means could be brought up to any Religion by reason of his youthful wildnesse and ambition. Not enduring to stay with the Priest, because of his strictnesse in point of his education withal in Christianity, he retires to *Chilon*, and lives with a Goldsmith, much devoted to his Fathers family; and by his dexterity under-hand made his friends understand secretly, living at *Ardovil*, the earnestnesse of his desire to recover his liberty. *Hismael's* first exploit was the surprising the Castle *Maumataga*, which he nobly possessed, deceiving the enemies hope, who expected the folly of his youth to go another way to work his own destruction: He managing his Affairs so well, that in a short time he followed with five or six thousand *Sophians*, whereas at the taking of *Maumataga* he could hardly muster two hundred. With these Forces he advancing to *Sumachia*, nobly took it (well rewarding the Soldiers with the spoils thereof)

Anno Mundi
5345.
A.D. 1478.

thereof) to the great displeasure of *Amulut* who was well assured, that so soon as the *Sophi* should gather strength enough he would fall upon him; for *Hismael* valiantly defeated him by the help of *Alexanderby*, *Gurgurambey*, and *Mirzambey*, Kings of *Iberia*; in which rout *Amulut* very narrowly escaped death, by saving himself in *Tauris*, which was also taken four dayes after by the *Sophi*: all which victories he knew not how to use, abandoning himself to all kinds of cruelties and inhumanity, not favouring the milde and sweet disposition of a *Persian*.

He caused the fruit of women's wombs to be plucked out, three hundred common Strumpets to be beheaded, and four hundred of *Amulut's* followers to be killed; which two last we cannot altogether impute to his inhumanity, being sometimes acts of goodness and discretion. He is accused of cruelty towards the brut Beasts (which was never accounted laudable) killing all the Dogs in *Tauris* (a token of his brutish severity.) He spared not his own Mother; but upon a bare suspicion of her procurement of the miserable death of his Father, by reason she married a Noble present at the Encounter of *Derbecus*, most miserably beheaded her; which cruelty of his gained him a great deal of homage and subjection: but *Muratcan* the Sultan of *Begadeth* proclaimed open enmity against him, pretending a right to the succession as heir to *Usuncassan*, whom young *Hismael* (not twenty years old) overthrew near *Tauris*, where

where of thirty thousand enemies, not one escaped him.

Yet a *Durbeth* was last; Sultan *Calib* Lord of *Asanchiffe*, notwithstanding his seeming subjection and relation, was displaced, and *Ustagiulu Maumuthey* was preferred to his place and Alliance. It was this Prince his policy to displace his Favourites before they could settle their interest and correspondence to displace him. Careful he was to divide his Court by policy, and recover his right by Arms in *Aldubia*, and elsewhere, engaging the *Egyptians* and *Turks* not to intermeddle in these Wars, which were rather private quarrels, than publick engagements. Many Towns he won by his own prowess, much cruelty he acted with his own hands: *Murashan* Sultan of *Babylon* he pursueth to *Alex*; where had not he broke down the Bridges, he had been cut off to a man. *Sermandoli* King of *Servan* gave him his wished-for opportunity to over-run his Countrey, and awe his Neighbours, except a *Jeselbas* Cham of *Tartary* and *Usbeck*, who put some stop to *Hismael's* growing state, untill they were overcome and beheaded in *Carasan*, and their ungrateful children, upon whom he had bestowed their Dominions in *Tartary*. Sultan *Selim* with the *Inhabitants* of *Mountbichi*, taking the advantage of the *Tartarian* Wars to invade him, had been cut off but for *Sinombey* *Bashaw's* valour in fighting, and prudence in retreating.

Anno 1534. *Soliman* had swallowed up his Country

a *Durbeth* is a Province now annexed to Persia.
b He was Brother-in-law to *Hismael*.

a He was so called from the green Turban which the *Tartars* wear, as the *Persians* do red, and the *Turks* downwhite.
b Called *Curdas*.

Countrey by his power, had not he saved it by his policy, always skirmishing the enemy, but never fighting them until he had drawn them to a narrow passage; where his charge upon them in the Rear, and the surprize of *Tauris* in the Front so amazed them, that they fled, with the losse of half their Army; which though improved to 50000 men fifteen years afterwards, gained nothing upon the Sophi, by whose stratagems they fell, and by whose wiles they were famished.

Subtle was he in making divisions between *Solyman* and his son, vigilant in improving them, quickly did he reduce revolted *Carassons*, prudently did he settle it; uniform in the habits, Turbants, and in the exercise of Religion: so much was his successe above the greatest man, that his people followed him as a god, crying *Schiach, Schiach* (that is) in *Persian* a God, a God. *Sophi* he was called modestly, because he did all *a well*; and *scheech*, arrogantly and ignorantly, because a Prophet, and the Father of Sophians. Some attribute his death to the destiny of the Wood-Servane, others to his eagerness and passion in prosecution of his enterprizes; however, his friends bewailed him, and his very enemies honoured him, the great Turk himself being close mourner for his death.

a Sophi in Arabick signifies well.

GEORGE



GEO. CASTRIOT.

When the succession of eight *Ottoman* Princes, with their several Councils, Enterprizes, and Successes had enlarged that growing Empire beyond the bounds of *Asia*, so that it aspired under *Amurath* the second to a fifth Monarchy, to which it was making it's way through the ruine of some petty neighbour-Territories, when it pleased the most high God, who ruleth in the kingdoms of men (who permitted these barbarous people to punish our sins, that we

we

we may know there is a God ; and yet check
 eth them, that they may know themselves to
 be but men) to raise up one *George Castriot*
 Prince of *Epirus*, better known by the name
 of *Scanderbeg*, to be at once his Buckler to
 protect his People, and his Sword to avenge
 him of his Enemies. This Prince (whose former
 Actions may be patterns to our present
 Enterprizes ; while what he hath done against
 that dreadful Infidel, is before our eyes to
 direct us what we may do) was the valiant
 son of a weak Father, *John Castriot* Prince of
Epirus, but a vassal of *Turkey*, who in the great
 invasion upon *Europe*, 1422. being not able en-
 ough to oppose the Turk in his passage, nor
 honest enough to be trusted by him when he
 had passed him, bought his sad peace, more
 miserable than his neighbours honourable
 War, at the dearest rate of his four Children,
 whom he pledged to his barbarous Master
 who (notwithstanding the fairer conditions
 and usages promised) circumcised the youths,
 and brought them up in the *Musulman's* irre-
 ligious Religion : and when their fathers death
 opened his way into the Kingdom, poisoned
 the eldest three, reserving this youngest's
 beauty for his lust, and his valour for his ser-
 vice ; wherein he quitted himself to honoura-
 bly, that he gained not onely the foresaid
 name of *Scanderbeg*, or Lord *Alexander*, for
 his prudence and activity, but the great Title
 of a Provincial Governour at 18 years of age,
 and of General at 21, for his resolution and suc-

cesses ; in which two commands he behaved
 himself so well, that (which is not ordinary)
 he was at once great in *Amurath's* favour, and
 high in the peoples affection : This brave
 Prince (this *Moses* saved by the *Pharaoh* of
Adrianople, to overthrow himself) having
 lived long enough under the *Turke* for
 his own honour, for the peoples applause,
 his Matters service, and too long for his poor
 Countreys misery, leaves the dalliances of
 the most rich Court, the favour of the most
 mighty Prince, the hope of the greatest Em-
 pire, and the command of the most vast Ar-
 my in the world, and chooseth most heroickly
 to suffer the hardship then threatned the peo-
 ple of God, whom he favoured all along, and
 assisted with secret intelligence to *Huniades*
 at the great battel of *Moravia* ; at which bat-
 tel, or at the next under *Canabiza*, being not
 any longer safe among the *Turks*, nor service-
 able in that capacity to the Christians, he fled
 to them after this manner.

When by his instructions (as aforesaid) to
Huniades, the *Turks* were disordered, he with
 his Cozen *Amesa* and other *Epirots* to whom
 he had unbosomed himself, to the number of
 300, withdrew ; and having their eye upon the
Bashaw's Secretary who commanded in chief
 in that Fight, followed him in his Retreat, put
 all his *Turks* to the sword, carried him away
 with them to their Quarters, and there ex-
 ported from him an Order in the *Bashaw's*
 name to the Governour of *Croia* chief City of
Epirus,

Epirus, to deliver up that charge to *Scanderbeg*, who by vertue of it possessed the Garifon and sent the Governour with his Family to *Adrianople* the night following, making way to 3000 *Epirots*, who resolved to live and die with him for their own and their Countrey liberty in the same place: and putting all the Turkish Soldiers and others to the sword, except them who to save their lives would save their souls too, and become Christians.

The *Epirots* having thus recovered their noble Prince, and he his ancient Kingdom or at least the most considerable place in it. He no sooner invites, than his people come in multitudes, that wanted onely Leaders and discipline, to be armed, to attend his person in his service, and therein their own safety and liberty; and the muster at *Croia* amounts to 12000, who with their noble Caprain march to subdue such strong holds as held out for the *Turks*; as first to *Petrella*, a place well fortified by nature, and as well furnished by the Inhabitants, whither *Scanderbeg* sends by a subtile messenger the dismal news of the late defeat in *Hungary*, the weak and perplexed condition of *Amurath* the Sultan thereupon the sad fate of *Croia*, the unanimous revolt of the *Epirots*, and at last the fair Conditions and Terms they and other Governors might have if they yielded to *Scanderbeg*: which relation the Governour considers, and finding it confirmed by the sad tidings the *Turks* that fled brought with them out of all parts (for

now all the *Turks* in *Epirus* were put to the sword) he yieldeth up the place upon conditions. Such as would go with him (for most stayed with *Scanderbeg*) might be conducted with all they had out of *Epirus*. In like manner did he take *Petra*, *Stellusa*, and all the other holds of *Epirus* in two monerhs time (and time was precious with him) save *Sfeli- grade* an impregnable place; to the Governour whereof was offered the choice either of perishing as they of *Croia* did, and as the Governor of *Stellusa* was like to do before his eyes (for *Scanderbeg* brought him thither in chains for terrour, to hang him before the gates.) Loth was the Governour to hazard himself, loth to displease the people: he entertains the Princes Messenger civilly, and turns to the people wittly, and asketh them, *What shall we answer these our Enemies?* Whereupon an high-spirited Soldier draws his sword, and tells him that that was their answer; that they would not imitate others weaknesses, but their own valour, and dye willingly with them that died at *Croia*. With which answer, applauded by all the Soldiers, the Governour dismissed the Trumpeter.

Scanderbeg smiled at the answer of the common Soldier, and said, *He is certainly a valiant soldier, if his actions answer his words: but if my force fail me not, I will make him happy among the happy ghosts of them of Stellusa*: and immediately they of *Stellusa* that did relent were baptized before their faces, and they who persisted in their wilfulness were

hanged: but the resolved Garison of *Sfellgrade* holds out notwithstanding. Wherefore *Scanderbeg* considering the season of the year, withdrew to *Croia*, and left three thousand men under *Moses Golemus*, a most valiant Captain, to keep the *Turks* in until he might more conveniently reinforce the siege. Thus that gallant man recovered his whole Kingdom of *Epirus* in two months time; during which space he slept not above two hours in a night. So valiant was he, that he killed three thousand *Turks* with his own hand: so noble, that he bestowed his Revenue and his Spoils among his Soldiers: so resolved, that he fought with his Arm bare, and that with such fierceness, that the blood oftentimes burst out of his lips.

But it was not enough to secure his own Dominions now rescued from the *Turks*, who might again invade them; therefore he is beforehand with them, and makes an incursion into the very heart of *Macedonia*, both to terrifie his Enemies, and enrich his Soldiers: for it was observed in those dayes, that the spoyl of *Amurath's* Dominions, was the reviving of *Scanderbeg*.

Being 33 years old, he went to the City of *Allessia*, where he made a League and Alliance with the *Albanian* Princes; which City was then under the Dominion of the *Venetians*, and in it was held a Diet of all the principal persons of the Country, being assembled there at his request; and among others there was *Paul*, and *Nicholas Ducaginus*, *Peter Spaurin*,
Lech

Lech Dufmanius, *Lech Zacbarius*, *Aranith Smyno*, afterwards Father-in-law to *Scanderbeg*, *Andrew Thopia*, and the magnificent Rectors of the *Venetian* State. At which Assembly *Scanderbeg* made an eloquent speech above an hour in length, which was very pleasing to all those which were present, who having highly praised the wise advice of this great Prince, every one put himself in a posture to reach out a helping hand to restore him to the possession and enjoyment of those Countreys, Territories and Dominions which were unjustly detained from him by the *Turk*. And he on his part ceased not to be active every where to besiege, force, and constrain those which endeavoured to continue their obedience to the *Turk*. But as he with all eagerness pursued his design of making himself Lord and Master of all *Albania*, Intelligence was sent him by a Spy he left at *Andrinopolis* with the *Turks*, that *Ali Beg Basha* (accompanied with 60000 Janizaries, Archers, and Musquetiers, and 40000 Horse) advanced towards him: wherefore he was not at all discouraged, although at that time he was but newly declared King of *Albania*, and his forces far inferiour in number. But with great chearfulness of heart, as he already held the victory assured, being followed by 15000 *Albanians*, and 12000 other Foot, he bent his March towards that place, where he presumed he might encounter the *Turks*, and made all possible diligence to advance his Army so neer that of *Ali Beg* the *Turkish* General, that they might be necessitated

ted to fight ; and charged them with so great fury and violence, that he soon put them to a miserable rout. Every one wondered how in so short a time so great an execution could be made, in regard the Battle lasted but from Sun-rising until the third hour. In this Battle were taken 24 Colours, 2000 *Turks* were made Prisoners, and 22000 slain upon the place : of the Christians side a great number were wounded, and about an hundred found dead. *Ali Beg* General of the *Turkish* Forces saved himself, and returned into the City of *Adrinopolis*, called by these barbarous people *Hedrea Valdom*, where *Amurath* was, who had well-nigh caused him to be put to death, reproaching him that his Army was betray'd, as well as that wherein *Castriot* dealt falsely with him : to whom this poor old man with cries and sighs replied in these words, *Vallabe et billabe benea : Verraim bernignisterce*, which signifies, O Sir ! by the grace of Almighty God, I confesse all that thou sayest for the present. As if he meant, I have nourisht and brought up a man, who now takes up Armes against me, and torments my soul. But that which troubled this poor *Turk* most of all, was, that a Peace being concluded between him and the King of *Hungary* for ten years (by the mediation and practice of *George* Despot of *Servia* and *Rascia*, which is the upper *Myfia*, by the *Turks* called *Segoria*) and though respectively sworn to by them upon the holy *Evangelist* and the *Alcoran*, yet he much doubted it would not be of any long continuance, as in effect

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effect it was soon broken. And moreover he having newly received this rude overthrow, there came sodain news that the King of *Caramania* or *Cilicia* was preparing a strong and powerful Army, therewith intending to invade the *Turks* of *Natolia*, called great *Turkie*; which perplexed him very much, being thereby necessitated to go into *Asia* with the Reliques of his routed Forces, to secure that Country. And on the other side the *Hungarian* threatening the same danger with the *Caramanian* and *Albanian*, it behoved him to look about him. And hereupon he thinks fit to send an Ambassador to *Scanderbeg*, presenting him rich gifts, endeavouring thereby to hinder the *Albanians*, who were as yet but newly flesh'd as it were (with the *Turkish* blood) from advancing further, and from irritating the *Ottoman* fury ; desiring his friendship, and that he would abstain from all enterprises that tended to his prejudice. *Amuraths* Letter being read, dated from *Andrinople* the fifteenth of *June*, in the year of our Lord, 1444. Five dayes after *Airadin* the *Turks* Ambassador was returned with an answer bearing date *July* 12. of the same year, wherein *Scanderbeg* utterly refused the Truce; which Letter *Airadin* brought to the *Turke* as he was a hunting, and by word of mouth delivered to him all the rest of *Castriot's* deliberations ; wherewith this poor Infidel was so ill satisfied, that he could not contain himself from crying out before his *Basha's* in this sort, *Senicq guna scytban honuar* ; as if

he would say, *I think Scanderbeg is possesst by the Devil, that he so little regards my power and greatnesse. But Amurath being a man experienced in affairs, knew well enough in case he should seem to be discouraged, there needed nothing else to make all the rest Cowards; and therefore to expresse his cheerfulnesse he smiled, playing with his Beard, and spake again these words; Thou covetest, O unhappy man! thou covetest some memorable death; believe me, thou shalt have it! we will assist, and without thy command will be present at the Obsequies of him who was nourished by us, but now become our utter enemy, and will accompany thy funeral-pomp to the Grave, for fear thou shouldst complain in hell, that thou comest not thither honourable enough.*

And however his countenance was composed, he had sad apprehensions to himself aside, and thought no other matters; which occasioned him a long time to remain in a musing doubtful posture: and at last understanding that Scanderbeg had disbanded many of his Forces, keeping the Field onely with some few light-Horses, without any body of an Army, he sends for his Bashaw Ferise, appointing nine thousand chosen horse, encouraging them with large promises, in case they could conquer the *Albanians*. Ferise discharged his duty with all diligence, approaching secretly to the Frontiers of *Macedonia*. And though he marched towards the *Albanians* more like a Thief then a Warriour, yet he came not before the newes of his approach,

approach: Castriot being advertised thereof by a Spie who came to him from the Sultan's Court, and so possiessing himself of a streight and narrow Valley, called *Mœrea*, the onely passage for the *Turks*; it served for a burying place for most of *Ferises* Army, who were so furiously charged by the *Albanians*, that the Bashaw himself was forced to flye, leaving the best part of his Forces either dead in the field, or prisoners. Ottoman finding himself so rudely dealt withal by the *Albanians*, sends Mustapha his Bashaw with 25000 men into *Epire*, expressly charging him to be wary, and not entangle himself in the Ambushes of the *Albanians*, but onely pillage and lay waste the Countrey. Scanderbeg advertised (by some horse he had sent forth to that purpose) of the spoil Mustapha made throughout all *Epire*, takes horse immediately; and being followed with 3000 horse onely, and 4000 other good Soldiers, led them as privately as he could between two Vallies where the enemy was to passe; who as soon as they came neer the place, separated & dispersed themselves into several companies: the Christians falling upon them in disorder, soon made their way to the *Turks* Trenches, instantly gained them, and made so great a slaughter, that none escaped, save onely a few that followed the flying *Mustapha*, preserving their lives by the sharpness of their spurs. So Scanderbeg recovered not onely the pillage they had taken from him in *Epire*, but also all the spoils of the *Turks*, who had no liesure to save their baggage, being

ing so closely pursued by *Scanderbeg*. But this overthrow did not discourage *Amurath*, who commanded *Mustapha* to raise new Forces, forbidding him to spoil the enemies Country, or engage in a Battel with *Castriot*, but onely to hinder his advancing towards them: which fell out happily for this *Christian Prince*; for soon after he had a War with the State of *Venice*, by reason of the succession of *Lech Zabary*, which shall be declared hereafter, because I intend not here to make a diversion, and to omit the happy successe which *Scanderbeg* had against *Mustapha* the Bashaw, who seeing the Christians warring among themselves very furiously, thought during their disorders to fish in their troubled waters, and obtain the fruit of a Victory, which he earnestly desired, and was very much hoped for by him; whereupon he so much importunes *Amurath*, that he obtains order to begin a new War with the *Christians*, in which he was no great gainer; for *Scanderbeg* quitting *Dadine*, charged that *Pagan Army* so furiously, as that tenthousand of them fell upon the place, 82 were made prisoners, and fifteen Standards taken; on the *Albanian* side scarce three hundred men were lost. If this signal victory much puffed up the hearts of the *Albanians*, *Amurath* (that plodding blade) was the more dejected, who could not so well disguise his intended enterprize of setting on foot a mighty and powerful Army against *Castriot*, but that it took vent, and was discovered (by his nearest and greatest Favourites)

to *Scanderbeg*, who hereupon slept not in security, but gave a general order to raise instantly the forces of his whole Countrey, and to fortifie and strengthen the Fortresses, Cities and Garisons throughout all *Epire*.

In the mean time the Great *Turk* transports all his Army into *Europe* by long marches, computed by some to be 150000 fighting men (to wit) 90000 horse, and 60000 foot; others reckon them but 120000 in all, deducting 20000 horse, and 10000 foot.

In this Equipage he comes to besiege *Alba*, and other Cities, upon which he gained nothing but the diminishing of his Forces; which though daily recruited by the new supplies which came to them, yet so mouldred away, that the poor old *Ottoman* ashamed of the loss of so many of his men, was constrained to retreat, quit *Epire*, and in all haste march away; whilest *Scanderbeg* with all might and main pursued them, and gleaned up and destroyed such a multitude, as the shame thereof made the Great *Turke* at last so impatient, that he commanded the Bashaw of *Romania* to stay behinde with 30000 Horse to secure the safe retreat of the residue of the Army. But *Amurath* had scarce taken up his Quarters in his own Countrey, when news was brought him that *Scanderbeg* had laid siege to *Sfetigrade*; whereupon he determines to return by the same way he came, and sends *Sebalias* to besiege *Croy*, and he and his Son *Mahomet* invaded *Epire* about the end of *April*, and came himself in person before *Croy*, and held it

it besieged above four months, in which time a very great number of his Forces were lost. He endeavoured to batter it with thirty pieces of Cannon, and other warlike Instruments and Engines, but could do little execution, the place being very strong on all parts, and replenished with a lively fountain of water within, and another in the side of the hill behind a Rock. Nor must I forget to tell you that at the end of four months, a general assault was given by the enemies, and maintained so furiously on each part, that lasting but five hours, four thousand men remained dead upon the place; although the *Turks* power, strength, and cunning, could not gain the place (as I have said) but after all this, the said City rather lifted up her head against the Ottoman fury as *Victrix*.

Nor will I derogate from *Uranocometes*, but allow him all the honour due to his great deserts: and as this Governor appointed by *Scanderbeg* to command *Croye*, was vigilant and dexterous to oppose *Amurath*; so his Prince was not asleep in creating other employment for his Forces elsewhere; for as *Ottoman* had given a very hot Alarm, *Scanderbeg* with a party of his choice Horse falls so desperately upon the Enemies Tents at the siege, as that *Amurath* could not at that time compass his designs, nor take the place, although he dispatcht away *Seremet* with four thousand Horse to repulse *Scanderbeg*; and *Mabomet* likewise, though in vain, pursued him with all possible speed, conceiving so great a hatred against

him, as that after the death of his father, he abated nothing of his pernicious and ill affection towards him.

And though death prevented the malicious designs of *Amurath*, yet it could not make any alteration in the heart of his Son *Mahomet* the second (and not the first, as by mistake it slipped some hands) who took *Constantinople*, and was thereby the more enraged against the Christians than before. However, the state of affairs at this time so distracted him, that he was constrained to send Ambassadors to desire a Truce, which was refused him, and an answer was returned to *Soygas* the Deputy, who was sent to conclude the Peace, that he should be gone presently: as for *Castriot*, he would not make any peace or agreement with the Infidel, unless he restored those Cities which *Amurath* had unjustly usurped. In the mean time *Mahomet* retires, and was a long time before he could settle himself in his Fathers Dominions, and therefore could not for that time do *Castriot* much harm. And *Scanderbeg* being willing to have an Heir to succeed him (and being thereunto requested by his Subjects) took to his lawful Wife the most vertuous and fair daughter of Prince *Aranith Conyno*, called *Dameca*, with whom he could not live long in quiet: For so soon as this new *Turke* was seated in his Fathers Throne, he began to threaten *Castriot* our Christian Prince, being not able to endure he should have such Dominion over *Croye* and the rest of *Epire*. Nor did

did I here intend to have set down the undertaking of *Scanderbeg* to assist *Ferdinand* the son of *Alphonso* King of *Naples*, had not the several Historians who have written thereon omitted how he did redeem this poor King who was reduced to that misery and non-plur as that he was imprisoned in the Town of *Bary*, by the siege which the Count *Pecevin* had laid laid to it; who made as sure of him, as he had been already intangled in his Net. But as soon as the arrival of *Scanderbeg* was known, Duke *John* of *Sore*, and the Count *Picevin* packed up their baggage, raised the siege, and in great haste marched thirty miles from thence to avoid the fury of that Fleet and those which accompanied *Scanderbeg* who had so good success in repulsing *Ferdinand's* enemies, that to him alone belonged the honor of recovering of that Kings Crown. But the affairs of his own Kingdom wanting his direction, he was constrained to quit all and to return to *Croze*, neer unto which the Christians had erected an inexpugnable Fortress (sufficient to hinder the passage of the Infidels) upon an exceeding high Mountain called *Modrica*; and having furnished it with Victuals, Artillery, and Munition, made such opposition against the attempts of the enemy, that it secured the Passage; whereupon *Mahomet* fainting under so many attempts made upon him, dispatches away a famous Captain named *Sinam*, with 25000 Turkish Horse against *Scanderbeg*, to surprize him of a sodain, thinking the War of *Naples*, from whence

hence he was but lately returned, had made him secure and carelesse. But *Scanderbeg*, who always slept with his eyes open, had opportunely since his arrival sent his Spies abroad, and renewed his Intellegence with those neer the Sultan, whereby he had timely notice to prepare himself, and to get the first into the field: But he kept himself private and close, expecting the advance of the *Sanjac Sinam*, and then marched the whole night towards him; during the obscurity whereof, and contrary to the knowledge of his Adversary, with eight thousand fighting men, Horse and Foot, he possessed himself of the Mountain *Mocrea*, and there resolutely expected *Sinam*, that being the Avenue through which he was of necessity to passe; and falling upon him unawares, defeated him with all his Army; where the slaughter was so great, that two parts of three fell upon the place, and all the Ensignes and Baggage became a prey to the Christians; and all the General could do, was to save himself in this desperate fight, by avoiding it with extraordinary speed. And already *Afraw Beg*, or according to others, *Amesa Beg* was advanced already on this side *Ocride*, accompanied with thirty thousand fighting men; but *Scanderbeg* being accompanied onely with four thousand, encountered him in so opportune a place, that he soon vanquish'd them: the Guards on each side of this Turkish General were smitten down to the ground, his Horse hurt, and himself wounded in the right arm with an Arrow, knew no better way at last

last to save himself, then to make tryal of *Christian Clemency*, as well as of the *Martir* fury of an Enemy. Before whom being brought, together with divers other Captains, the tears standing in his eyes, and his hands lifted up to heaven, he spake in the manner to *Scanderbeg*, That being in the service of the great *Turkish* Emperour, his honour obliged him to serve him faithfully, and therefore implored his mercy, favour, and clemency: whose speech took so well with *Scanderbeg*, that he pardoned them all, and gave them their lives, paying 10000 Ducats for his own, and 4000 Ducats for the ransom of the rest; which was performed accordingly. I know many have accused *Scanderbeg* for being so easily perswaded by the *Turks* and blame him that he knew not how to use his advantage against the *Sfetigradians*, who indeed surprized him at that time.

But here we are not upon the same terms the Victory was already in *Scanderbeg's* hands whose humanity becomes so much the more to be admired, as being exercised against a Capital Enemy, whom we can seldom spare when he is once intrapped. But he shewed far greater mildness towards the *Venetians* with whom (to his great regret) he had a sharp and hard War. But in regard it would have been accounted a folly, and have proved a great disparagement to lose a mans right so want of looking after it, he would not therefore seem easily to quit the succession of the which he pretended was fallen unto him by the death

death of *Lech Zachary*, and wherein the *Venetians* opposed him, by reason of an agreement made between them and the Lady *Besse*, the Mother of the deceased party. Notwithstanding which, *Scanderbeg* claimed, that there being no Will, he ought to succeed *Zachary* who was murdered by *Lech Dulagin*, the son of the Lord of *St. Paul*) and seemed to have the best Title, as lawful Heir to the Estate. But after a great contestation, they resolved the sword should decide the quarrel on both sides, wherewith he pressed them so hard (although he abated very much of the rigour he exercised towards the *Infidels* and *Turks*) that the *Venetians* had no other expedient, but to desire a Peace with him, which yet they would not conclude but upon their own conditions, though they were reduced to such extremity, as that if *Scanderbeg* had not condescended, they had in all likelihood been destroyed: but he considering, That the virtue, valour, and magnanimity of a valiant Warriour, appears not in being cruell to an enemy, chose rather to mitigate the appetite of revenge, by mildness and kinde usage; and therefore yielded freely to forego that which might have belonged unto him, although it was against his custom to quit any thing to *Infidels*, appeared clearly in the encounter with the Tyrant *Sebalie*, who besieged *Bellegrade*, where he defeated 24000 *Turks*, took 6000 prisoners, and set at liberty four thousand *Christians*, who were detained by the *Balkans*, *Moyser*, *Affam Beg*, *Isaac*, and *Sinam Beg*, and

and put to death more than 50000 of his enemies ; and almost as many more two years after, under the command of *Bashaw Balaban*.

These and the like valorous exploits pleased so well the most part of the *Christian Princes* that they were thereby provoked to take up Arms against *Mahomet* : and Pope *Pius* piously moved, seeing the affections of this noble Captain, to the utter extirpation of the Infidels, stirred up all Christian Kings, Princes, and Potentates to arm themselves against the *Turk* : And knowing that there could not be an abler Captain chosen to that purpose than *Scanderbeg*, to curb and tame the *Barbarians*, elected and named him the Captain of the League, with promise to make him King not onely of all *Albania* or *Epire*, but also of *Macedania* ; which holy undertaking was interrupted by the death of *Pius*, and Pope *Paul* the second ; although our *Albanian* King travelled since to *Rome*, to summon the Pope to joyn in a design so profitable for the safety and enlargement of *Christendome*.

Finally, finding himself frustrate of the success he expected from the Kings and Princes on this side, he went to *Lissa* upon the River of *Claro*, to consult of the Occurrences of the War with the Deputy *Provedor* of *Venice* where he was seized on by a deadly Fever, and feeling himself stricken by Death, he made his Will, and recommended his little son *John*, his wealth and Countrey, to the care of the State of *Venice*, who in remembrance and gratitude for the advantageous peace he had

freed

freely granted them, created him and his posterity (after they had cast lots) with an universal consent to be Citizens of *Venice*. A few dayes after he departed hence to the other world, in the sixty third year of his age, and fourth of his Reign (for he began his Reign the 28 day of *November*, in the year 1443. and died in the year 1467.) His body was interred in the Church of *St. Nicholas* in *Lissa* with great Pomp and Magnificence ; whose bones rested enclosed in this place in peace, until *Mahomet* came into *Epire* some four years after, to assault *Scutari*. So great a reverence (saith *Paulus Jovius*) had the *Turks* themselves of this Heroick persons valour and conduct, that after his death, having made themselves Masters of all *Epire*, at last seized upon his Sepulchre at *Alesha* ; which having found, they worshipped and adored it, pulling out his dead bones, which they carried about them, thinking themselves invincible, and safe in Battle, if at their going to fight they had the least piece of a relique of this invincible Captain hung at their neck in gold or silver. And indeed his actions are incredible : as that wilde *Savage Bull* of an extraordinary fury and greatness, committing a thousand spoils and murders in the Countrey of his Sister *Mamiza*, whose neck he quite cut through with one blow of his Scimiter on horseback. That monstrous Boar of *Apoville*, which had wounded so many of King *Ferdinand's* Courtiers, which Beast he assaulted in the same manner, and with like dexterity he

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cut

cut off his head in the open field before the King as they were a hunting. And it is also reported of him, that after the encamping of *Ballaban* before *Croye*, there being brought to him chained and fast bound together, *Joanina* and *Heder*, the Brother and Nephew of *Ballaban*, their fight (putting him in remembrance of the cruelties acted through *Ballaban's* occasion, upon the person of *Moses* and his companions) put him in such a vehement passion of anger against them, that he had no patience to suffer others to fall on them, but in great fury fell on them himself and at one blow hewed them both through the body with his Scimiter, which was a Damasked one, of an excellent goodnesse, two of which he always wore in one Scabbard both which were often broken or spoiled in one Battel. And *Mahomet* having heard of the excellency of such a sword (which would cut asunder Gintlets, Helmets, and other strong Armor) as they were once in a Treaty, sent to desire it for a present; and the *Sultan* causing tryal to be made thereof by the best Arms of the Court, and the strongest of his men, and no such miracles proceeding from it as was boasted of, he thereupon caused it to be returned to *Scanderbeg*, saying *That he gave him no thanks for such a Present when he could buy as good and a better for his money: and that he would no longer believe that which was reported of it.* But *Scanderbeg* having made more extraordinary proofs thereof in the presence of the Messenger, sent him

word

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That the vertue was not altogether in the sword, but in the Arm, which he reserved to himself, which he employed against his enemies.

And though I do not much value the Prophecies and observations, which many men as were adored at some *Nativities*, yet I will not conceal what was prognosticated of the Prophecy that should accompany this famous Person; his Mother dreaming, as soon as she was conceived, that she had brought forth a Serpent of that bignesse, that it covered all *Epire*; and stretching out its head over the Dominion of the Turk, it swallowed them up with its bloody Throat, dipping its Tail in the Sea that looks toward the *Christians*, and especially towards the *Counties of Venice*. I know many will be apt to be encouraged upon this relation, to flatter themselves with hopes upon the like Predictions; and others too *superstitious*, will endeavour to unfold the secrets that lye hid under the shadow of such a *Dream*: for my part, I shall acknowledge, that by the effects, the advertisement which nature gave, was not altogether frivolous; whereby every one might know, that this *George Castriot* should be eminent in Arms, Warlike exploits, a scourge to the *Turks*, a successful Captain, and a true Defender of the *Christian Faith*, ever retaining an honourable esteem of the *Venetian State*. In a word, the experience and progresse of his whole life manifestly verifie this *supernatural Prophecy*.

X x x

phesie

phesie. From his youth he applied himself much to the Bow, with other Military exercises, and acts of valour, that no Historian makes mention of his equal; neither could any famous Captain ever compare with him in Warlike Exploits.



T A M B E R L A I N, the great
Scourge of the T U R K S.

TO raise the drooping thoughts of Christendom, with seasonable discourse of those several Champions who have in every age checkt the growing power of the Turk, though as threatening and terrible at this time, we have elsewhere expressed the admired Carriage and Conduct of Count *Ernini*, and in brief recounted the known

Cl

tions of *Scanderbeg*: and to make the number compleat, added here an account of great *Tamberlain*, who weakned the *Grand Seignior* so much Eastward, as those brave persons have done Northward: a *Triumviri* these, that are not to be parallel'd, three Heroes that have outgone Antiquity, and out-reach'd Posterity. The first an *Heathen*, born to punish Infidelity; the second a *Papist*, born to vindicate Christianity; the third a *Protestant*, born as some think to reform the world. The first informs us how *Turkie* may be perplexed by Divisions and Invasions: The other two have taught us how it may be lessened by resolved Defeats and Oppositions. Here we may see what may be done in *Asia*; here, what may be done in *Europe*. *Serini* hath instructed the world what resolution and prudence; *Scanderbeg*, what correspondencies and activity; *Tamberlain*, what number and cruelty may be exercised against that overflowing power and people. Concerning which *Tamberlain*, whether we consider the commencements which gave life to the Sovereign Empire of this same furious rage of *Tamberlain*; or whether we delight our selves by observing the means whereby he served himself up unto the height of glory: We must needs confess (although we were never so void of reason and judgment) that it is scarce possible, lesse credible, that so despicable a vessel should contain so great a stock of admirable Actions, and that thence a branch should have sprung, which did subvert the

X x 3

Turkish

Turkish Monarchy, and several other *Potestates*, as the sequel of this present discourse will manifest. As to his Off-spring, Historiographers do much vary about the truth of it. Some say he came from the midst of the *Parthians*, a People very much redoubted in the *Romanes* times, though but slenderly famous. Others say he was a *Turke*, a *Scythian*, a *Zagataean*, a *Tartarian*, because it is apparent he was born at *Samercand*, which is adjacent unto the River *Taxartes* hard by the Country of *Zagatai*. And as there is some difference concerning the place of his off-spring, so we shall meet with a far greater concerning his qualities and extraction. Some deriving his descent from *Ginges Cham*, and make him to be *Zain Cham*, the third Emperour, who usually is called *Bactri*. Others suppose him to have been an inconsiderable person, of a base extraction, but who afterwards caused himself to be reputed *the greatest and most powerful Prince of all the East*, in so high a degree, as that he termed himself to be *The wrath of God, and not a man*; in regard whereof, some do compare him to *Hannibal*, taking it for granted, that the earth never bore a more fierce, obstinate, and self-willed man than this same *Tamberlain*; and that none ever punished thefts and plunders in such manner as he did, although himself was the greatest Thief and Robber, and the most detestable (as to his Actions) which ever any History did set forth, or could produce. And on the contrary, he was again so excellent

Personage

Personage (as to his *Intellects*) that by his audacity and assurance, he facilitated those things which all others judged to be impossible. Moreover, he was so highly befriended by Fortune, that he never attempted any thing, but he came off with credit: Nor did he ever wage War, but he remained Conqueror. However some do scruple the meanness of his birth, not judging it possible that so inconsiderable a man as he is said to have been, should attain to such a pitch of greatness, as to shake the *Turkish Empire* which was so long a settling: But since I finde that the generality is of that opinion, it will not be unbecoming my joyning with them therein, and to say that he was the son of one called *Sangali*, a man who was none of the wealthiest in the world, in so much as that *Tamberlain* was constrained (in relation to his Fathers profession) to keep Cattel and Herds in the Fields: but he had not long followed that Vocation, when as entering into a certain Treaty and League with the rest of the Shepherds of that Countrey, they chose him to be their King, and did enroll and list themselves under his command. Finally, some others do conceive him to have been a poor Soldier, but a subtle and circumspect man, who wanted no wit, being of a lively and quick spirit. To which they add, that being got up on the top of a Stable-wall, whence he had a minde to have stolen some horses; and perceiving that the owner had discovered him, he flung himself down the wall, and in the fall hurt his thigh, by reason

X x 4

whereof

whereof he ever since remained lame. However he performed gallant Actions; and he was mightily praised for the equity, policy, and good discipline wherewith he maintained his Army: So that had he not a little too much slackned the reins of his Cruelty and Ambition, he doubtlesse had excelled all the Warriors that ever were in the world; for no Chieftain had ever attained to the practical part of ranging and disciplining an Army so exquisitely as he did: And should I relate the severall orders which he caused his Soldiers to observe, it would be an endless work; I shall only tell you in what manner he prevented the coming of any Spies into his Camp, and how they were presently discovered; for which cause he built a house without his Camp for all strangers that arrived, who were there lodged and treated, having any buisness to communicate unto him; whereby he prevented their sneaking into his Camp, and their prying into, and discovering what was done there. Every morning the Watch word was distributed, and each man was to repair to his Quarters: And if any one was found out of his Rank, or gadding abroad out of his Quarters, he died without mercy: so that there was no shelter or safety for Spies.

I shall omit the several manners of repartitions of his Quarters, and under what penalties he caused his Military orders to be observed, since the reader may be better satisfied therein by several other Pens who have most amply written concerning this famous Captains deeds,

deeds, and shall proceed more particularly to describe his life.

Now by his robbings and thieveries, he had well thrived, that at last he was not a little troubled how to preserve that which he had unjustly acquired. And therefore he took two puissant men among the *Massagetians* to be his Associates, viz. *Chaidaren* and *Myrxeus*, who being gained by the Presents which he gave them, came unto his relief with their forces, and with this support he fell upon the *Tartars*, overcame them, and defeated their Cavalry; which gained him such a repute, as that the Inhabitants of *Samerchand* furnished him with Gold and Silver, and Forces to go through with his undertakings. So likewise the King of the *Massagethans* made *Tamberlain* General of all his Forces, to his own ruine; for at the taking of *Pogdatus* a City in *Tartary*, *Tamberlain* (on purpose to usurp his Kingdom) did cause a Fig to be given him, and after his death married his Widow: And immediately after made himself King of *Samerchand*, and of the *Massagets*; harbouring a design in his head at that very time to conquer the Empire of *Asia*; whereunto he was much solicited and egged on by *Chaidarus*, who brought *Myrxeus* in disgrace with *Tamberlain*, to whom he had reported some words which *Myrxeus* had unadvisedly spoken of *Tamberlain*, whilest he was only General of the *Massagets*, which cost *Myrxeus* his life. Afterwards he began a war against the *Hircanians* and *Caducians*, whom he

he conquered. And because the *Arabians* did ravage the neighbouring parts, and gave relief unto the *Caducians*, he thereupon took occasion to invade all the Nations which were subject to the Sultan of *Persia*, of *Baldacia*, *Damacia*, and of *Ægypt*. However, though he could not conquer them, after he had well nigh tired them out, he agreed a Peace with them, conditionally that they should furnish him with Forces to serve him in his wars and to pay him an annual Tribute as a sign of their submission.

But whilst he was busied thus, tormenting some, and undermining others, flattering himself with the vain hopes of the great Conquest he should make, he was called home again by the troubles which were arisen in his own Countrey. For the great King of *Cassatay*, who is one of the nine *Indian Hordes* and the Sovereign of all the *Tartars*, had made a pretty spoyl through all *Tamberlain's* Countrey, who in the beginning thought to have thundered him out again: but finding with whom he had to deal, apprehending lest if he should exasperate the great *Cham* of *Cassatay* too much, it might endanger his possessions, was constrained to come to a Treaty and to demand a Peace; which was granted him, conditionally that *Tamberlain* should do him Homage, and should pay a yearly Tribute for the *Massagetes* Countrey which he held. Nor need we to doubt but that *Tamberlain* might have withstood the great *Tartar*, but that he was loth to diminish his For-

ces.

ces, with which he was resolved to wage War against the *Ottoman* Family; being spurred on thereunto by the great Ambition he had always to undertake some considerable expedition or other against his Neighbors. Wherefore being entered *Cappadocia*, he besieged the City of *Sebastia*, and fought against it with so much dexterity, as that the *Turks* being discouraged, and having lost all hopes of being relieved, had not the heart to defend themselves against the *Scythians*, *Persians*, and *Bactrians*; who having taken the Town, put all to the Sword whom they found in the place, so that it is said there dyed that day above 120000 souls, besides some persons of quality which were taken, and amongst the rest the son of *Bajazet*, the first of that name, who by his Father had been put into the City of *Sebastia*, the better to provide for its defence; but he had not long kept it, before *Tamberlain* made him passe under the mercilesse cruelty of his most impious rage. After which he sent Ambassadors unto *Bajazet*, commanding him to render unto all those whom he had dispossessed, whatsoever he had most unjustly detained from them (which was but a meer pretence in *Tamberlain* to pick a quarrel with *Bajazet*) as also to pay unto him vast and excessive Tributes. Nor will I here venture to contend whether *Tamberlain* had just cause to war against *Bajazet*, as being a Tyrant; for all the world knows this *Tartar* made use onely of this cloak or pretence the better to colour and disguise his designe

signe against this poor *Turke*; who although he was called *Temis Cuhlu*, which in the *Tartarian* Language signifies a *Fortunate Iron*, because he was not onely happy in his enterprises, but as valiant at his Sword; inasmuch as that he made a great part of the World to tremble: So on the other part *Bajazet* was surnamed *Lelapa*, which signifies a *Furious Wave*; and *Hildin*, which signifies *Boisterous and Impetuous*. Notwithstanding *Tamberlain* did make him know, that his *Fortunate sword* did not apprehend the being shaken or broken by the *Turkish Waves* and *Thunderbolts*; but that to the contrary his name *Lelapa* was rather to be stiled a *Whirl-winde*, not by reason of *Bajazet's* vertue and valour, but because of his passion and hastiness, whereby those fortunate enterprises were dissipated and confounded, which he might have carried on gloriously, had he suffered reason to have been his guide. And it even fell out so; for *Bajazet* returned a very smart answer unto *Tamberlain*, and unadvisedly tainted the *Tartar's* Wives honour; which words cost him dear. For as *Tamberlain* did not bear any good will to *Bajazet* at all, so his Wife being enraged at the indignities which were put upon her by the *Turk*, did so highly incense her Husband, as that he was not to expect any peace with his Wife, unless he pursued the *Turk* with Fire and Sword.

Wherefore *Tamberlain* assembled a formidable Army of *Tartarians*, *Scythians*, *Persians*, *Armenians*, and *Bactrians*, amounting unto the

the number of 800000 fighting men, and passed through the Provinces of *Lydia* and *Phrygia*; which caused *Bajazet* to raise the siege of *Constantinople*, and to march into *Asia*, to hinder the *Messagetan* from coming into his Countrey, resolving before *Tamberlain* should have time to proceed, he would encounter him, and fight him in *Armenia*, or upon the banks of *Euphrates*; and although they fought each other, yet they could not meet a long while. *Bajazet's* Council in the interim were of opinion, that he should do well to treat with *Tamberlain*, seeing he was not strong enough to resist him, and would not dispend his Treasury to raise new Forces. After which the *Turk* having intelligence that *Tamberlain* marched into *Bythinia* to besiege *Pruse* (heretofore called *Bruse*) the chief City of the Countrey, and the Royal Seat, he resolved to fight him in that place. And both Armies joyned Battel in the Mount *Stella* (where *Pompey* fought with *Mithridates* in the year 1397.) and the *Turk* chancing to be worsted, there were above two hundred thousand of them slain in the place, and an infinite number taken. Now *Bajazet* perceiving the day was lost, began to acknowledge his errour when it was too late; wherefore he resolved to repair the faults the best he could, and save himself by flight, being mounted on a Mare which was as swift as the winde. But the misfortune of his disaster following him, he was pursued by the *Tamberlainists*, who overtook him, by the fault

fault which *Bajazet* committed in letting his Mare drink, who thereby became so heavy and replenished, as that she could not make so much way as she did before; besides all which, this poor King being troubled with the Gout, which had disabled his hands and feet.

The *Tamberlainists* having seized on such a rich booty, as also on all the *Bashaws*, *Beglerbegs*, *Aga's*, and *Sangas* of the King of *Turkie*; he was brought unto *Tamberlain*, who taking him by the shoulders, said these words, *Thou disloyal Coward, thou art now my Slave, and thou shalt receive the reward of thy desert.* *Bajazet* being full of amazement, answered him, *I pray you Sir, kill me*: but the Conquerour replied, *Let's go, let's go, there is no man can save thee.* Whereupon this miserable captive forgetting the miserable estate wherein he was, returned harsh language unto his Conqueror, and with injurious terms began to inveigh against *Tamberlain*, reproaching him with his base extraction, and with his former profession of Theevery. So that it was a wonder this *Zagathean* did not cause him immediately to be slain; for on a less occasion he caused his great friend *Myrzo* to be put to death, because he onely had adventured to say, that the Principality of *Samer-cand* was too well settled, to fall into the hands of so inferiour a fellow, and so inconsiderable a Robber as *Tamberlain* was; although these words were not spoken in his presence, nor after he had attained to that

dignity

dignity. But it seems he reserved the venting of his choler upon *Bajazet*, because he would not put him to death before he had observed all the formalities of Justice. And truly the Captive King had some reason to rail at him: for immediately he caused him to be set upon a Mule, and in a way of derision to be led through all the enemies Camp, and afterwards caused him to be tyed in golden chains, and to be put in a Cage, carrying him up and down wheresoever he went; & when he got on horseback, he caused him to kneel down, setting his feet upon his neck and shoulders, making him his footstool (as formerly *Sophorus* the King of the *Persians* did unto *Valerianus* the Emperour of *Rome*) and fed him onely with crumbs of bread and broken morsels, which he flung unto him just as if he had been a dog. However *Bajazet's* courage could not hereby be abashed, as it appeared when *Tamberlain* caused that *Sultane's* which the *Turk* loved best (and who was taken with the Kings children and all *Bajazet's* Concubines in the *Seaglio* of *Truse* or *Bruse*) and made her serve him at Table: At which sight, the miserable Captive flew out into howlings and roarings, reproaching the Conquerours baseness and pride, in making so little esteem of the King's race; for this Lady was the Daughter of *Aleazer* King of *Servia*. Moreover these conquests so puffed up this *Tartars* heart, as being not able to contain himself within any compass, he had designed to passe into *Europe* to conquer it; but his death put a period to all

all his ambitious enterprizes, in the year of our Lord 1403.

He died as he lived, with thoughts full of Conquests and Victories: his ambition is as wide as *Europe*, while his body is confined to a Grave-pit; his success was great, and his minde greater; he attained much, he aimed at more; he was born a Beggar, but with a King in his belly; his temper was as rude as his Countrey, his education as little as his hopes, and his Manners rough and unheeded as his Calling. He was the most ambitious man that ever was heard of, and who would by no means be rendred civil nor familiar. Whereof a certain *Genna*-Gentleman, who was one of his great Favourites, can give a testimony; who essaying to break him of his rudeness and inhumanity wherewithal he treated those which he had overcome, he answered him, *How now thou Dog? dost thou think I am a man? I am the wrath of God, and the ruine of mankinde.* Nor have scarce any exceeded him in cruelty; Two examples whereof I shall set before you: The first was, when he caused that most barbarous inhumanity to be exercised at *Damas* on the Maidens and young children, who came out of the City to meet him, clad in white, and bearing Olive branches in their hands for a token of Peace and submission; this unworthy and cruel Tyrant set his Cavalry to massacre and trample under foot all that flower of youth, and taking the City, he put all the Inhabitants thereon to the sword. The second was the impiety

which

which he committed against the Spittle of *Leers* which was adjoining to the City of *Seffa*, where by reason of their not communicating with the rest of the people, and so consequently were not in a capacity to prejudice the *Tartar*, and whereby they might have promised themselves a priviledge of security, yet he caused them to be inhumanely massacred, alledging, *That they infected the City.* But for all this, I must not rob him of that honour which he acquired for his strict observance of Justice, even against his own Soldiers, who as soon as they were taken in any offence, were most severely punished; which we may observe by the sentence which he caused to be inflicted upon one of his Captains, who walking on the Coast of the *Caspian* Sea, three leagues from *Tamberlain's* Camp, and espying a very fair Maiden who went to draw water, he ravished her; whereupon the said Maiden, together with her Father, complaining to *Tamberlain* that she had been violated as she was going to fetch water, by a disloyal and perfidious *Tartar*, and desiring him to do her justice; he returned her a most gently and gracious answer, that he would most severely punish him: and so he did; for as the *Tartarian* Histories relate, he caused him to be impaled, or spitted on a stake alive. Finally, lest the Reader might be mistaken, and might conceive, that in my description of this *Tartarian* Emperors life, I was ignorant that he was called by another name besides *Tamberlain*; I would therefore desire him to

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take

take notice, that I have called him so, to follow the general denomination of him in this manner, that so all men might know of whom we do write these praises. For according to the *Tartarian* appellation, he was called the great *Tamirrhame*, although others baptize him *Tamir Langue*; and these latter, as far as I can conjecture (by the several comparisons which I have observed) do come nearest to the truth at least do approach very nigh to the definition of the condition and qualities of the said *Tartar*, whose true name was doubtless *Tamir* and by reason he was lame, they added the quality of *Langue* thereunto, which in the *Tartarian* language signifies no other thing save lameness; and so called him *Tamir Langue*.

Lame he was in his body, and crooked in his mind; weak in his Limbs, but strong in his Spirit: *Limping* as he was, he would have over-run *Europe*, if he had lived but one year longer. The *Turk* was not a greater scourge to *Christendom*, then he was to the *Turk* whom when he had whipped sufficiently, God dealt with as he will with all the Instruments of his wrath: *When the Child mends, burn the Rod.*

OCTAVIUS



Anno Mundi
3998. Ante
Chr.

OCTAV. AUGUSTUS.

Contemporary with our Saviour.

HE was stiled by the name of *Augustus*, i. e. worshipful or sacred, which they thought to be a name of reverence and Majesty, because all consecrated and hallowed places were called *Loca Augusta*. That month which was by them called *Sextilis*, because it was their sixth Month, is called *Augustus* in honour of him, and things of greatest honor are called *Augustissima*. *Julius Caesar* was his great Uncle, but his Father by adoption. He was called *Octavius* from his Father, and *Augustus* from his victory. A man most nobly descended; for riches, honour, friends, Empire, fortunate victories, almost

X y 2

almost adored; for bodily good things, and comely stature. Of most amiable visage, and that also Majestical by his bright and shining eyes. Wherein also (as he would have men believe) was seated a kind of Divine vigour, and he joyed much, if a man looking with upon him, held down his face as it were against the brightness of the Sun; therefore a certain Soldier turning away his eyes from beholding his face, and he demanding the reason why he did so, he answered; *Quia fulmen oculorum tuorum ferre non possum.* He made his Mother's Funeral-Oration at twelve, and had a Soldier's Present from his Uncle at sixteen: he studied at *Apollonia* till 23. when *Theogenes* cast his Nativity.

His hair was somewhat yellow, and his body freckled with spots, which his flatterers would have the world believe were in form like Sars. Many that came to kill him, were diverted by the very sight of him.

He was indeed somewhat low, nevertheless of a comely stature, five foot and nine inches, the just measure (saith one) of our late famous Queen *Elizabeth*, who as she matched that Roman Emperor in happiness, and duration of Reign, so did she likewise in the stature of her body. Cities were called *Cæsarea* in honour of him. He as heir to *Julius*, against his Mother's advice, took upon him the government with *Antony* and *Lepidus* first, and then with *Antony*, and at last alone, marrying to the best Families in *Rome*. *Augustus* the founder of the Roman Empire (for his Father *Cæsar* was but

Metator,

Metator, rather than *Imperator*; the chalker of it out, than the setter of it up) this great man would not be called Lord. Upon the same day that our Saviour was born, he forbade them by Edict to call him Lord, that all Lordship might be ascribed to him. The Princes which followed him (though good) refused not that title. He was no Soldier; his recreation was Tennis, Coaching, Fishing, and constant study, insomuch that he would have a book, even when under the Barbers hands: he never spake but what he premeditated.

In his time our Saviour was born: He consulting with the Oracle of *Delphos* about his Successor, received this answer;

*Hebraeus puer injungit, Divum dominator,
Hacce domo fugere, & rursus me inferna
subire.*

Ergo tacens aris posthac discedito nostris.

Whereupon *Augustus* coming home, in the Capitol erected an Altar, and thereon in capital letters caused this inscription to be engraven, *Hac est Ara Primogeniti Dei.*

He is mentioned in the Scripture, *Luke 2.* 1. There came an Edict from *Augustus Cæsar* that all the world should be taxed. i. e. all the Provinces subject to the Roman Empire, for the *Romanes* called themselves Lords of the whole world.

He made not war upon any people without just and necessary causes: his saying was, *That neither Battel nor War was to be undertaken, unless there might be evidently seen more hope of*

gain than fear of damage. He likened such who sought after small commodities with great danger, unto those that angle with a golden hook; which if it be broken off, no draught of Fish whatsoever is able to make amends for the losse.

He was so troubled and astonished at the relation of a Foil and Overthrow of *Varus*, that for divers months together he let the hair of his head and beard grow still, and wore it long, yea, and other whiles would run his head against the doors, crying out, *Quintilius Varus*, deliver up my legions again.

He deemed nothing less becoming a perfect and accomplished Captain than temerity, or rashnesse; using this speech, *That is done soon enough, which is done well enough.*

He was so exceedingly delighted with that proverbial saying, *Festina lente*, that he would not onely use it frequently in his daily Colloquies, but would insert it often in his Epistles, admonishing by these two words, *That to effect any enterprize, both the speedinesse of Industry, and the slownesse of Diligence should concur.*

The City being not adorned according to the Majesty of such an Empire, and subject to the casualties of Deluges and Fires, he beautified and set out so, as justly he made his boast, *That whereas he found it built of Brick, he left it all of Marble.* He had a ready, fluent, and eloquent speech, such as well became a Prince.

Seeing upon a time a number of Citizens clad in black, assembled to hear a publick speech,

speech, he with great indignation cried out, *Behold, the Romans, Lords of all the world, and long-rob'd Nation.*

He never recommended his sons unto the people, but with this clause added thereto, *If they shall deserve.*

He gave charge to the Prætors of *Rome*, not to suffer his name to be worn threadbare.

He would never lye awake in the dark without one sitting by his bed-side.

Macrobius writes of him, that he carried such an entire and Fatherly affection to the Common-wealth, that he called it *Filiam suam*, his own Daughter; and therefore refused to be called *Dominus*, the Lord or Master of his Countrey, and would onely be called *Pater Patriæ*, the Father of his Countrey, because he governed not *per timorem*, sed *per amorem*; not by fear, but by love.

He would not lightly depart forth of the City, or any Town, nor enter into any place but in the Evening, or by Night, for disquieting any person in doing him homage by way of dutiful attendance.

The beginning of friendship between him and *Cinna* was strange; *Cinna* had conspired against his life: After *Augustus* had discovered to him all his conspiracy which he knew, he said, *I have given thee thy life twice; first as an enemy, then a Rebel, and now I give thee the Consulship. Let us now be friends, and henceforth strive, whether I have with a better faith given thee thy life, or thou owest it to me.* *Augustus* had not thenceforward in all *Rome* a

greater friend than *Cinna* while he lived ; and when he died, *Cinna* made him sole heir. *Vide Senec. l. 1. de clement. c. 9.*

This was duly observed, that how often so ever he entred *Rome*, no punishment that day was inflicted upon any person.

He was grieved himself when he pronounced a grievous sentence ; and he thought himself punished when he punished others.

He would not sodainly entertain any league of friendship with any, but was a constant friend to those he loved.

Late ere I love, as long ere I leave.

When he gave commandment to take tribute of the *Jewes*, he would not suffer it to be taken from them on their Sabbath, but caused them to delay it till the next day.

He slept but upon a low bed, and the same but meanly spread, and laid with coverlets. He seldom wore any apparel but house-wives cloath, made within the house by his Wife, his Sister, and Daughter. He loved women and play ; his hours for meat were uncertain, his feasts noble.

He was a man of very little meat, and fed for the most part on cheat bread and small fishes ; he slept onely in the day.

He caused the bones of *Thalrus* (who had opened a Letter committed to his trust) to be broken, to the terrour of such untrusty Attendants.

By one speech he did appease a tumultuous Army : *Audite juvenes senem, quem juvenem senes audierunt* : Ye young men hearken to me

me now old, whom old men have hearkned unto when young.

He had a special care to express his minde and meaning most plainly, and reprehended *Marcus Antonius* for writing such things, that men did rather wonder at, than understand. He took great care of his pronounciation, inso-much that he had about him always a man to frame his voyce ; he was the first Orator that penned his Speech, or spoke by an Herald : his speech was as well couched as his life.

It was elegantly said of him, *I hate alike as departing from the mean, both Antiquaries, and affectors of Novelties.*

He did not so much observe Orthography, i. e. the form and precise rule of writing set down by *Grammarians*, but seemed to follow their opinion, who think men should write according as they speak.

He could not away so much as with the Winter Sun-shine, and therefore at home he never walked up and down in the Air without a broad-brim'd hat upon his head.

In general Salutations he admitted the very Commons, entertaining the suits and desires of all comers with so great humanity, as that he rebuked one of them merrily, because in reaching unto him a supplication, he did it so timorously, as if he had been reaching meat to an Elephant.

He won the Soldiers with gifts, the people with provision of victuals, and all with the sweetness of rest and peace.

He said of *Tiberius*, O unhappy people of Rome,

Rome, that shall be under such a slow pair of jaws! By this enigmatical Speech he compared the state of the people of Rome unto the miserable case of one, whom some savage and cruel beast hath gotten between his teeth, not devouring and dispatching him at once, but there holdeth and cheweth him a long while in exceeding pain; alluding to the secret malice and dreaming nature withal of *Tiberius*.

To express the speedy expedition of a thing done hastily, he used this proverb; *Quicker (would he say) than Sparages can be fiddens.*

Beholding certain rich strangers and foreigners at Rome carrying Whelps of Dogs and Apes in their bosoms, and making much of them, he did ask, *Whether women did not bring forth children in their Countreys?* Hereby giving a worthy and Princely admonition to them, who do consume and waste upon Beasts, the natural affection and love due to men.

When he purposed never to do what he was requested, he was wont by way of proverb to say, *That he would do it, ad calendus Grecas, i. e. in our English proverb, at latter Lammas, never.*

He was so much afraid of Thunder and Lightning, that he ever carried about with him for a preservative remedy a Seal-skin; yea, and whensoever he suspected there would be any extraordinary storm or tempest, he would retire himself into a close secret room under ground, and vaulted above head.

In his time Wars ceased, and Learning chiefly flourished. The Temple of *Janus* was then

then shut in Rome, Peace being generally through the whole world.

Our Saviour was born in the 42 year of his Reign, say *Epiphanius* and *Eusebius*, 41 say *Justinian* and *Irenaeus*.

Receiving a challenge from *Anthony*, he returned him this answer, *That if Anthony had a disposition to dye, or were weary of his life, there were ways enough else to death besides that.* Thus the challenge was rejected, and yet his honour untainted.

He was very pleasant, and had both an excellent dexterity in breaking of Jest, and was very patient likewise in bearing of flouts. He made himself merry with reproachful speeches touching himself, therein manifesting his clemency, and also his wisdom.

When he had by Proclamation promised a great sum of money to him that should bring in that famous Pirate *Corocota*, and put him in his power; he knowing the Emperor's mild and temperate vein, took the boldness to come himself, and told him he was *Corocota* which came to submit himself, and demanded the sum promised to him that should bring him in; *Augustus* both pardoned him, and gave him the money.

Macrobius reporteth of him, that when he heard that at the commandment of *Herod*, all the children of Syria under two years old were slain, and that in the stir his own son was also slain; *I had rather (saith he) be Herod's wife than his son.*

He commanded *Herennius* a dissolute young man

man to depart out of the Camp; and when he submissively intreated him not to send him home, alledging that he could not tell what to say to his Father, he answered, *Say, that I displeased thee.*

When *Pacuvius* did *petere ab eo congiarium*, and said, That it was commonly spoken among men, that he had given him a great deal of money, *Sed tu, inquit, noli credere.*

Galba, who had a crooked back, pleading before him, and often saying, *If you finde any fault in me, correct it*; *Augustus* answered, *I can but admonish thee, I cannot correct thee.*

Being entertained by one at a Banquet very meanly and sparingly, after all was finished he departed, and at his farewell onely whispered this in his ear, *I did not think we had been so familiar.*

When one tilled the place where his Father was buried, he said, *Hoc verè est monumentum Patris colere.*

He was cholerick by nature; but his patience in hearing bitter Jests deserved much to be commended. A certain Countrey-man came to Rome, who did much resemble him in outward feature, insomuch that all mens eyes were cast upon him; and *Augustus* hearing of it, caused him to be brought before him asking him this question, *Whether his Mother had ever been at Rome?* the young man answered, *No, but his Father had oftentimes,*

He sitting between *Virgil* and *Horace*, being asked by one what he did? answered, *Sed inter suspiria & lachrymas; per suspiria intelli-*

This counsel was given him, that when the objects and occasions of Choler were in his eye, he should not be moved before he had pronounced over the letters of the Alphabet.

gens Virgilium suspirabundum, & per lachrymas Horatium lippientem.

He hearing that a certain Gentleman of Rome (who was deeply indebted) did sleep most securely, desired to buy the Bed whereupon he rested; it seeming a matter of much marvel to him, that one fallen into so deep arerages could take his rest so well.

When a Soldier bragged too much of a great scar in his forehead, he asked him if he did not get it when he looked back as he fled.

He wrote a Tragedy ealled *Ajax*, which afterwards (because it displeased him) he blotted out with a sponge. Therefore when *Lucius* a writer of Tragedies, asked him what his *Ajax* did? *Cæsar* very wittily answered, *In spongiam incubuit*, alluding to the argument of the Fable; in which *Ajax*, when he knew what things he had spoken and done in his madness, lying upon his sword, kill'd himself. Besides the pretty allusion unto the fabulous History of *Ajax*, *Torrentius* hath observed in the word *Spongia* a double signification, viz. a *Sponge* called *deletilis*, which Writers had at hand, either to wipe and wash out what misliked them, or to blur and blot the same; whereupon *Martial* saith of it, *Utiles hee quoties scripta novare voles*: and also a *Sword*, which addeth the better grace unto the conceit, considering that *Ajax* fell upon his own sword.

Having conquered his Enemy, and returning home victorious, amongst others that came to congratulate his happy conquest, there was one

one holding a Crow, which he had taught to say, *Ave Caesar, Victor, Imperator*: God save the Emperour and Conquerour. He wondering to see the Bird so officious, gave a great sum of money for him. His fellow work-man, to whom none of that liberality came, affirmed that he had at home another Crow for *Caesar*, which he intreated he might bring; being brought, he expressed the words which he had learned, *Ave victor, Imperator Antony*. The Emperor being nothing provoked therewith, thought it sufficient to bid him divide the donative with the other. Being saluted likewise of a Parret, he caused him to be bought. This example allured a poor Cöbler to try whether he could teach a Crow to use the like salutation; but he being at great expences in vain, was wont often to say, *Opera & impensa perit*, *All my pains and charge is lost*: but at the last the Crow began to utter the same salutation; which *Augustus* once hearing as he passed by, he answered, *Satis domi saluatorum talium habeo*, *I have such saluters enough at home*.

The Crow remembered to add that which he had heard his Master complaining, say, *Opera & impensa perit*; at which *Caesar* laughed, and gave more for him than any of the rest that he had bought.

He wrote a bitter Satyre against a Poet, but he wiped his lips, and replied not, saying, *Periculosum est in eum scribere qui potest pro scribere*.

Suetonius writeth of him, that he loved the expressi-

expressions of the good will of his friends, and especially such as appeared by some Legacy given at their death: but yet whatsoever it was, he would return it at one time or other to their children with advantage.

He wished three things to his Son; the favour of *Pompey*, the boldnesse of *Alexander*, and his own fortune.

He was not without his vices, being very impatient, secretly envious, and openly factious, very desirous to rule, and much given to dicing.

Though he was a man severe enough, yet he did not know the exceeding wantonnesse of *Julia* his own daughter, and her open and audacious boldnesse: but *Suetonius* seems to be of a contrary opinion, for he saith, that he was much ashamed of her, & that once he thought to put her to death. And when a freed woman of his named *Phoebe*, one that was privy to *Julia's* lewdnesse, knit her own neck in a halter, and so ended her days, he gave it out, *That he wished with all his heart he had been Phoebe's Father*.

Out of great indignation against his two Daughters, and *Posthumus Agrippa* his Grandchild, whereof the first two were infamous, and the last otherwise unworthy, he would say, *that they were not his seed, but some impostume broken from him*; and he used this verse of them,

O utinam aut coelebs mansissem, aut prole carerem!

He

He was almost peerless in his Government; yet there are to be found so many misfortunes in his life, that a man cannot easily discern whether he was more miserable, or more happy.

So often as he heard of a man that had a quick passage with little sense of grief, he wished for himself and his such *Euthanasys*, such an easie death. He being at the point to dye, thus addressed himself; called for his Looking-glass, commanded to have his hair and beard combed, his riveled cheeks smoothed up; then asking his friends if he had acted his part well. *Cum ita responderint, vos omnes igitur, inquit Plaudite.*

Aulus Gellius mentioneth, that he sent a Letter unto his Step-son to this effect; *Rejoyce with me my son, for I have pass'd over that deadly year and enemy to old age, three-score and three, in which number the seventh and ninth do concur.*

He lived fifteen years after Christ was born, and died in his 76 year.

He was beloved of his people, for they erected a Statue to *Musas* the Physician, who in a sickness recovered him, and placed it by *Æsculapius*: and the Senate much honoured him being dead, by consecrating Temples to him at *Rome*, and in other famous Cities; and all the people much lamented his death, using that speech, *Would he had never been born, or never dyed.*

Paterculus said of the *Roman* Empire after *Augustus* his death, when there was such hope of

of enemies, fear of friends, expectation of trouble in all; Such was the Majesty of one man, that his very presence took away the use of all Arms.



Anno Mundi
4036.
Post Christ.
69.

S U L P I T I U S G A L B A.

Contemporary with Ebion, Josephus, Clemens
Bishop of Rome.

Phicrates would have his Soldiers voluptuous, that they might be coverous, and and resolute to maintain it. *Paulus Æ-*
milus would have his entirely submissive, that they might be unanimous to obey him. *Plato*
judging, that it's not enough to have a wise
Captain to command, unlesse you have a so-
ber Army to be commanded. *Romes* licenti-

a As Dionysius the Tyrant called Phere-nus the Stage-Tyrant, because he ruled but ten months.

b i. e. 35 l. 105. 6 d. a man to the Soldiers o-ver all the Pro-vinces, and 7500 Dra-chma's, i. e. 150 l. a man to those of the Guard.

c Out of whose house he came to be Consul.

ous Army after Nero's death was but a dread-
full tumult ; and *Alexander's*, saith *Demades*,
but an one-eyed *Polyphemus*. The *Roman*
Empire being divided into four parts, fell not
so much through the Emperours ambition, as
the Soldiers insolency and covetousnesse, who
made four a mock-Emperours in ten months,
Rome even in its extremities having this
comfort, that it saw one Tyrant debauching
the Soldiers to kill the other, and a third to
murder him. *Nero* now ready to run away,
being slaughtered by the Guard upon *Galba's*
promise of *b* 1250 Drachmaes a man, and
Galba himself slain upon non-performance of
that promise. He was the richest *Cæsar*, of a
private man, much honoured for his extradi-
tion from the *Servii*, and his alliance with *c* *Li-*
via. More for his own merit ; 1. In neither
complying with, nor betraying *Junius Vindex*
his *Gaul*-treason against *Nero* (as others did
who were Traytors to themselves as well as
unto him) 2. For enfranchising all the Sol-
diers ; by which kindnesse, enhanced with *Nero's*
cruelty, he attained to the Empire. 3.
For suppressing *Nymphidius*, who in his Mo-
thers right, and with his Legions assistance
had a design to succeed *Cæsar*. 4. For refu-
sing to be served with *Nero's* moveables
5. For fairly disposing the other Captains
Verginius, *Titus*, *Junius*, so that they were
in suspence between their envy of his prefer-
ment, and their own hope of succession. 6. For
his renown with the Soldiers, who upon the
one word of *Antonius Honoratus* the Tribune

in a high mutiny (*Shall we kill Galba after Nero?*) spared him in the great Palace, and
saw *Nymphidius* in a Soldiers Cabin.--- Emi-
nent his Vertues, and as eminent his Vices ;
1. His illegal murder of all *Nero's* friends
and servants, especially the old Consul *Ter-*
tullian, and the excellent Orator *Ciconius*.
2. His ominous cruelty to *Nero's* rabble,
who pressing something insolently to be legi-
slated, were by his Horse beaten before him
into *Rome*, which he entered in blood. 3. His
vice to get money, by recalling *Nero's* pro-
pitiations upon the common stock, to
which he made way by paying the Musicians
out of his own coffers.

He succeeded *Nero* ; both *Suetonius* and
Tacitus accurately describe him, and his age
and nigardnesse, being much despised, there
was great licentiousnesse and confusion ;
whereupon a Senator said in full Senate, *It*
is better to live where nothing is lawful, than
where all things are lawful.

He was of full stature, his head bald, his
eyes gray, and his nose hooked ; his hands and
feet by reason of the Gout exceeding crook-
ed, insomuch as he was not able to abide
upon the one, or to hold his books with
the other.

There was an excrescence or bunch of flesh
on the right side of his body, and it hung
downward so much, as it could hardly be
supp'd up with a trusse or swathing-band : yet
had a great wit, though a deformed body,
a good Instrument in a bad case.

Being with general applause and great good liking placed in state, he behaved himself under expectation; and though in most points he shewed himself a vertuous Prince, yet his good Acts were not so memorable, as those were odious and displeasing wherein he did amisse.

He obtained the Empire with greater favour and authority than he managed it when he was therein; so that he overcame Nero by his good name, and the good opinion men had of him, and not through his own force and power.

He seemed more than a private man while he was private, and by all mens opinions capable of the Empire, had he never been Emperour.

He lived in honourable fame and estimation in the Reign of five Emperours. He was in greater prosperity, and lived more happily under the Empire of others, than in his own. His house was of an ancient Nobility, and great wealth. He neither neglected his fame, nor yet was ambitiously careful of it: of other mens money he was not greedy, sparing of his own, of the common a niggard.

As he sacrificed within a publick Temple, a Boy among other Ministers holding the Censer, suddenly had all the hair of his head turned gray. Some made this interpretation of it, that thereby was signified a change in the State, and that an old man should succeed young, even himself in Nero's stead.

He was of a middle temperature, neither

to be admired nor contemned; rather void of all parts, than furnished with good.

In the Palace, *Julius Atticus*, one of the Will-men met him, holding out a bloody sword in his hand, with which he cryed aloud, he had slain *Otho*. My friend, quoth *Galba*, who did thee? A man of rare vertue (saith *Tacitus*) to keep in awe a licentious Soldier, whom neither threats could terrifie, nor flattering speech corrupt and abuse: thence it was a usual speech through the Camp.

*Learn Soldiers service valorous,
Galba is here, and not Getulicus.*

For eight years space (before he was Emperour) he governed a Province of *Spain* valiantly, and with an uneven hand; at first sharp, severe, violent; afterwards he grew to be slothful, carelesse, idle.

Being entreated for a Gentleman condemned, that he might not die the death of ordinary Malefactors, he commanded that the Gallows should be whited, or coloured for him; as if the painted Gibbet might add solace and honour to his death.

When there was a question made of an heiress before him, whose it should be, arguments and witnesses being brought on both sides, he decreed it, that she should be led with her head covered to the place where she was wont to be watered, and there being uncovered, he judged her his to whom she went of her own accord.

Among the liberal Sciences, he gave himself to the study of the Civil Law.

He cryed to his Soldiers, *I am wholly devoted unto you, and you are wholly devoted unto me.*

His severity which was wont to be highly commended by the voyce of the Soldiers, was now displeasing to them, who were generally weary of the ancient Discipline, and so trained up by *Nero* fourteen years, that now they loved their Emperors no lesse for their vices, than once they revered them for their virtues.

His hardnesse towards his Soldiers caused him to fall; for a large Donative being promised to them in *Galba's* name; and they requiring if not so much, yet so much at least as they were wont to receive, he wholly refused the suit, adding withal, *That his manner had ever been to choose, and not to buy his soldiers.*

A saying no doubt fit for a great Prince in a more vertuous age, not so in those seasons for him, who suffered himself to be sold every hour, and abused to all purposes.

He was killed by the wiles of *Otho*, in the Market-place; the Soldiers flying upon him, and giving him many wounds, he held out his neck unto them, and bid them strike hardly, if it were to do their Countrey good.

He dyed in the 73. year of his age, and 7th month of his Empire, and Reigned seven months, and so many days.

S A L V I.



S A L V I U S O T H O.

Contemporary with Galba.

Anno Mundi
4036.
Post Christ.
70.

THe very first morning of his Empire, his Complement to *Marinus Celsus* was, That he should rather forget the cause of his imprisonment, than remember his delivery: -- And his noble answer, That he could serve Emperours that did not prefer him, and be imprisoned by those he had served: Discourses that equally pleased the People and the Soldiers, as did his first actions; 1. In establishing the Consuls. 2. Promoting the Senators. 3. The restoration of Estates. 4. The punishment of lewd

Z z 4

Cigellinus.

a while when the
Sergeant came
for him, desired
leave to be
trimmed, & so
cut his throat
with his Razor.

a Cigellinus (whose very Lusts were competent torments.) Galba rather received the Empire offered to him, than took it from another. Otho being stirred up with an ardent desire of ruling, used ill means to compass his design.

He was of a mean and low stature; he had feeble feet, and crooked shanks. He wore by reason of his thin hair a Perruck, or counterfeited cap of false hair, so fitted and fastened to his head, that any man would have taken it for his own. He was wont to shave, and besmear his face all over with soaked bread; this bread was made of bean and Rice-flour, of the finest Wheat also; a depilatory to keep hair from growing, especially being wet and soaked in some juyce or liquor appropriate thereto, as the blood of Bats, Frogs, or the Tunie-fish; which device he took to at first, when the down begun to bud forth, because he would never have a beard.

He was of a noble house, but ever given to sensuality and pleasure from his Cradle; insomuch as his Father swung him, and that soundly for it. He used night-walking; and as he met any one either feeble or cup-shotten, he would catch hold of him, lay him upon a Soldier's Gabardine, and so tossle and hoist him up in the air.

He spent his tender years without regard of his honour, his youth afterwards in all dissolute disorder.

He repaired often to his Glass to see his face, that he might keep it clean.

He

He was one of Nero's chief Minions and favourites, such was the congruence of their humours and dispositions.

He was in grace with Nero through emulation of vice.

He was privy and party to all his Counsels and secret designs; to avert all manner of suspicion, that very day which Nero had appointed for the murdering of his Mother, he entertained them both at supper with most exquisite Dainties, and the kindest welcome that might be.

He subscribed Nero's name unto his Letters Patents, till the Noble-men of Rome misliked it, yea, and was called Nero himself.

He strove by gifts, and all other means to oblige the Soldiers unto him before he was Emperor, and to win their hearts by fair promises; he protested before them all assembled together, that himself would have and hold no more than just that which they would leave for him. One calleth him the Roman Absalom. He worshipped the people, dispensed frequently his courtesies and plausibilities, crouched and accompanied himself to the basest Routs, that thereby he might creep into an usurped honour: And so he did afterwards, saving the eighty Senators lives that supped with him (whom the Soldiers would have fallen upon, saying, *They had all his enemies together*) with tears and gifts.-- When Crispin went out with his Commission, he gave 1250 Drachmes a man. The Soldiers onely trusted him, because he trusted none else; therefore

therefore they cried to *Celsus*, *Gallus*, *Spuria*, and *Paulinus* their Captains, that they would have no Commander but the Emperour.

All of them together put up a Petition to him, and besought him to command their persons, whilest they had but one drop of blood left in their bodies to do him service. But amongst others, there was a poor soldier drawing out his sword, said unto him, Know O Cæsar, that all my Companions are determined to dye in this sort for thee; and so slew himself.

A man in prosperity uncertainly carried, and governing himself in adversity.

At the same time that he was created Emperour in the City of Rome, *Vitellius* was proclaimed Emperour in Germany.

Two of all mortal men the most detestable creatures in slothfulness, incontinency, and wastful life, fatally elected to ruine the Empire; of the one side, an ill minde in a man of nothing; and of the other, an ill minde joynd with courage and edge.

The drowlie pleasures of *Vitellius* were feared lesse then the burning lusts of *Otho*. *Vitellius* in excessse of Belly-chear was an enemy to himself; *Otho* in riot, cruelty, audaciousnesse, reputed more dangerous to the State.

It was hard to judge which of them two was more licentiously given, most effeminate, least skilful, poorer, or most indebted, before he was Emperour. A great and miserable City,

City, which in the same year supported an *Otho* and a *Vitellius*.

At that time the image of Victory in the Capitol let loose the reins of her Horses, and *Cæsar*'s turned from East to West, --- and *Tyber* over-flowed its banks. He was civill to *Nero*'s friend *Vespasian*, whom he made Governour in his absence; nor was he cruel to *Vitellius* his, as *Dolabella*, &c. whom he onely removed and secured. *Vitellius* his Army was more expert, and better trained, but disobedient; and *Otho*'s Prætorian bands more soft and effeminate, but submissive, especially when *Vitellius* his Soldiers reviled them at *Placentia* for Stage-players, until they prayed to *Spurina* command them to any pains or danger, which they undertook with success to save that most flourishing City of Italy. *Vitellius* his Captains displeased the soldiers with their *Gauls* Vestments and manners, and *Otho*'s pleased them with their *Italian* Garb and complaisance: *Otho*'s Commanders were stay'd and wary, *Vitellius* his rash and heady, ever and anon caught in a Ambascadoes, and accused of evil practices.

We may learn by *Otho*, that the fortune of a rash man is *Torrentis similis*, which ariseth at an instant, and falls in a moment.

It was his own speech; Others have kept the Empire longer, none have ever so valiantly left it.

He thought it a part of dastardy to speak too much of death.

When he saw his side the weaker, and going to

a Especially *Cecinna*, whom nothing would satisfy. b As at Cremona.

to the walls, he counselled his Soldiers to provide for their safety, by hying them to the Winner,

After he lost the Battel at *Bebriacum* because he would not stay for the rest of his Army at *Mysia*, and because his Soldiers were too hasty; he slew himself with his own hands, but slept so soundly the night before, that the Grooms of his Chamber heard him snore.

Many of his Soldiers who were present about him, when with plentiful tears they had kissed his hands and feet as he lay dead, and commended him withal for a most valiant man, and the onely Emperour that ever was; presently in the place, and not far from the Funeral-fire killed themselves. Many of them also who were absent, hearing of the news of his end, for very grief of heart ran with their weapons one at another to death.

Most men who in his life-time cursed and detested him, when he was dead highly praised him: so as it was a common and rife speech, that *Galba* was by him slain, not so much for that he affected to be Sovereign Ruler, as because he desired to recover the state of the Republick, and the freedom that was lost.

He died but 37 years old, saith *Plutarch*; 38 say *Eutropius* and *Suetonius*, and was Emperour but three months, *Plutarch*; three months and five days, *Terullian*; four months, *Aurelius Victor*. He dyed in the 59 day of his Empire, saith *Eutropius*; 95 saith *Suetonius*.

THE



The Life of EVAGORAS, by

a XENOPHON in Greek, and by ^{a But annexed} R. V. in English. ^{to Plutarch in}
^{the Basil-Edition, 1565.}

E *Vagoras* had his beginning from the most noble half gods, that is, from those that were begotten of *Jupiter*. For *Æacus* born of *Jove* (whence that Family derives it's name) begot *Telamon* and *Peleus*. One whereof was a Soldier under *Hercules*, and thereby procured himself much honour. *Peleus* amongst other exploits fought so courageously against the *Centaur*s, that *Mercur* gave him his Daughter *Thetis* to marriage for a reward of his Victory. *Ajax* and *Tencer* are born of *Telamon*, and *Peleus* of *Achilles*: but *Achilles* was far more eminent then all, though
next

next him *Ajax* overcame the rest with ease. For all this *Tenace* was not look'd upon as one basely born; or in any thing inferiour to the rest. For when *Troy* was destroyed and overwhelmed, he sought the Isle *Cyprus*, where he built a City, and called it after his own Countreys name, *Salamin*. Those that truly descended from him by a direct line, still obtained the Kingdom by inheritance, until at last a certain man of *Phœnicia* sayling into *Cyprus*, was received into favour and dignity by him that then enjoyed the Kingdom: but this man fil'd with ingratitude, and forgetting the kindness done to him, throweth out his Patron, and usurpeth the Kingdom; in the time of whose Reign *Evagoras* was born. Concerning whose birth, all Divinations and Oracles I shall wave at present, not that I desire there should be no credit given unto them, but that my unwillingness to feign any thing of him may thereby appear; forasmuch as any thing of that nature which is worth the noting, I shall deliver in silence. When he was a Childe, he was beautiful and comely, withal strong and continent; but when become a man, he added fortitude, wisdom and justice to his youthly disposition. Neither was he thus virtuous after an ordinary manner, but was therein so egregiously eminent, that those that then bare sway, wondering at his virtues and noblenesse of spirit, were not a little afraid of the pregnant hope of his Principality. For they were verily persuaded, that a man endowed with his parts and ingenious dispositions, could never be contented

contented with a private life: Yet they had such confidence in his sweet behaviour, and good conditions, that they could not believe that he would ever rise up against them.

Neither were they deceived in their hopes; because God had such an eye to his goodness, that he obtained with ease the Kingly dignity without any hurt at all. For when a certain great man in the City hugely desirous to usurp, had kill'd the King, he thought that he could hardly misse of the Kingdom, if *Evagoras* did not stand in his way, and therefore sought opportunity to take his life after the same manner; who to avoid his plot, fled into *Sicily*.

Neither was he (as usually banished men are) daunted in spirit, but retained so much of his magnanimity, that he upon no hand thought to live without the enjoyment of the Kingdom: yet he thought it a base and ignominious thing to implore the help of his fellow-Exiles to the revenge of this Crime; though never so hainous.

Therefore having procured no more than fifty men, he was resolved either to lose his life, or enjoy his Kingdom; whereupon seeing those Associates of his bearing such an affection towards him, and ready to perform all his commands, he presently judgeth himself to be mightier then the enemy. So coming into the Isle of *Cyprus*, marcheth into the City by night, and presently breaketh in violently into the Court, whereupon a great Tumult was raised; and although he fought alone

alone against many, and with few against all, yet never gave over till he revenged himself of the Tyrant and his enemies; and having enjoyed the Principality of the City, restored to his kindred their former honours. Had he done nothing that is honourable, besides what is now made manifest, no King or Tyrant ever gain'd a Kingdome with more justice and honour. There are some who admire *Cyrus*, who with the *Persian* Army overcame the *Medes*, and took their Kingdome: but he confident of his valour and noblenesse of spirit, hazarding all dangers (which *Cyrus* never durst undergo) came off always Conquerour: And while he manageth all his actions with piety, and justly slayes his enemies, *Cyrus* achieveth all manner of mischief; so that whosoever compares both their valours together, shall finde *Evagoras* worthy of greater praise. For if we lay aside all envy and partiality, we shall judge and confesse that a man never obtained a Kingdom with more justice and piety. Therefore if there is any thing amongst divine or humane more ancient than the Kingdom, who is to be compared with *Evagoras*, which gained a Kingdom with so much credit? Who is a Rhetorician therefore, or a Poet, or a great Discourser, he shall finde his stile and language worthy of all noble acts? He excel'd in wisdom by nature, still adding to its growth by art; never thought it fit to do any thing rashly, or without considerable premeditation; for he said, *That all things were well, if the Kingdome might be governed*

governed by a well-advised soul. For they never had cause to repent, by whose diligence all things did thrive. Therefore in well-fearing; and in managing his businesse with prudence, he brought about all actions into such ripenesse and maturity, that he so won to himself the heart of every one of the Citizens, that neither right nor wrong could persuade them to a bad opinion of him, or keep them from the divulgation of his praise. He was one who had no respect to persons, but used discretion in punishing according to the nature of the crime. Seeing therefore him governing with no less justice than piety, strangers referring themselves unto him, appeased him as soon as the Citizens themselves. Neither could any one say that ever he wronged any man, but after just examination, exercised judgement upon Delinquents, encouraging those that did well with gifts. When any poor man stood in need of a Counsel, he performed towards all with righteousnesse and judgement. He was of such a good nature, that he not onely willingly suffered himself to be overcome by his friends, but likewise overcame his foes. Reverence was given him, not because of his rigid countenance, but because of his good life and Majestick behaviour.

He never stained his credit, or broke his promise: and besides, he was not wont to glory in his fortunes, but would rather take delight in what his goodnesse and valour had procured him. Some he received into favour,

our of his own free will, and others he brought to obedience by his magnanimity and courage. He was never known to be feared because of his cruelty; neither was he so subject to his passions, but over-ruled his appetite with discretion. He was most patient to labour, though very desirous of due and lawful recreation. He was not in the least below the valour of a King, and not onely glorious at home, but abroad also. He brought decent and civil customs into the City, which before was polluted with too many and superstitious Ceremonies. He so walled the City about, and honoured it with a Port, and made it so strong, even beyond the ability of any *Gracian* City to vanquish; that that which at first seem'd so base and contemptible by all, might be the terrour of the whole world. Moreover he did all things with so much consideration, that it was a great doubt, whether he reigned with more justice than circumspection. Therefore who is able to finde a Language fit for the expression of these Exploits. For there can be no small conceit of his good behaviour and sanctity, when so many of the *Gracians*, eminent for goodnesse and learning, came over to *Cyprus*, not onely to view his good customes, but also that they might see before them his judicious way of governing his Kingdom, for imitation. One whereof I'll prefer before all, which is *Conon*, who because of the eminency of his vertue, sometimes governed the *Gracians*; and going to *Evagoras*, did not blush to give him counsel in

to the calamities of his City; which he not onely then excellently brought about to the *Athenians*, but divers times after to the *Gracians*: For at that time the *Athenians* obeyed the *Lacedemonian* government; and they thus puffed up with pride, purposed to themselves all *Asia*: but *Evagoras* and *Conon* transcended all other Governors both in counsell and confidence, having discomfited the *Lacedemonians*, the *Gracians* and *Athenians*, by the leading of the one, and the aid of the other, are restored into the greatest part of all their former glory: whereupon the *Athenians* not forgetting such a courtesie, set up two statues in memory of them both. A little after, *Cyrus* considering, and poyssing *Evagoras* in his excellency and valour in point of that War, feared him as one most fortunate and invincible. Nevertheless having procured a Navy, fiercely and violently breaks into *Cyprus*. But *Evagoras*, though weaker by a great deal, yet so brought it about with prudence and policy, that he was more admired in this, than in all the rest of his managements. While he was left alone, he was contented with his own: but being forced to War, there stood but little between him and the enjoyment of the whole world together with *Cyrus*. He destroyed *Phœnicia*, invaded *Cyprus*, and made *Sicily* revolt from their King. What will you have more? he so overwhelmed the *Persians*, that in deploring their own calamities, they were put in minde of his valour: For all these noble Exploits amongst

mongst the *Lacedemonians* for three years space, yet the conquest of *Salamin* with his fifty fellows is far more honourable; which *City Artaxerxes* could not overcome before with all his wealth. But what means shall we use whereby *Evagoras* his excellency may shine forth, but by declaring the so many thousand perils he put himself to? If Writers who so extol'd some of the *Græcian* Heroes for the conquest of one *City*, should write of his praise, without violation to truth they should finde him to go very far beyond them all. For, though he was Governour but of one *City*, he was not daunted to wage war against all *Asia*. And to say the truth, who ever did bear such chances, and undergo such dangers? What private man ever so religiously dethroned a Tyrant as he did, and so manfully and strenuously restored his own Family into their own glory and former honour? Who but he could make a barbarous, weak, and mean *City*, civil, warlike, and full of glory? He revenged the injury of the rejected King, that the memory hereof is like to be talked of unto all ages. He so excelled all other Governours in that War against *Cnidos*, that after it was done, they all desired with one consent he might be head of all *Asia*. But in short he caused the *Lacedemonians*, striving for the Empire of *Asia*, to be in danger about their own very soil. He restored the *Grecians*, and so increased the strength of the *Athenians* that in a short while they might be stronger than those to whom at first they made obeysance.

Whence

Whence, if we well consider the weight of the War, and the preparation against the *Lacedemonians*, and how the Kingdom was obtained, and the great wisdom that disposed all these things, we shall make a stand to judge which of these is the greater: So that, if a man ever was gifted with immortality, we shall think *Evagoras* worthy of such a great reward. Whereas many of the half-gods were molested with troubles, he was not onely admirable in his beginning, but still stood sound in his goodnesse: For coming from such a noble Stock, he still remained worthy thereof to his Posterity, being so transcendently and excellently endowed with the parts both of body and soul.

Lastly, in his still commendable old age, he did not know by experience the sicknesses as that Nation usually did; nevertheless yielding to nature's fatal stroke, he left many children endowed with several virtues, as well as famous names; he left one Emperor, and the other King, and in like manner left his daughters in the honour and Majesty of Queens. Therefore if ever any one was to be extolled by a Poet, this deserves to be placed amongst the immortal gods, or at least amongst their begotten.

Anno Mun.
3967.
P. C. 20.



L: ANNÆUS SENECA,
by Will: Williams.

SENECA the youngest of three brothers, his rich, but private Father, (the 26 by succession of the *Annæan* Family) brought up to his own studies of Philosophy and Eloquence, first at a *Corduba* their birth-place, and then at *Rome*, where they were first Students, and then Prisoners; at what time *Tiberius* his tyranny and his *Sejanus* put the Empire into a disorder, and *Spain* to a Rebellion:--- *Cneius Domitius* that took our *Seneca* entertained him as his friend, and not as his prisoner, persuading him with arguments of advantage to stay at *Rome*, rather than compelling him with those of force, at once to advance their Studies and themselves. *Seneca* and his Nephew *Lucan* are contented to

to hear *Pomponius Morvillus*, *Julius Higinus*, *Cestius* and *Afinius Gallus* for Rhetorick, and *Socio Alexandrinus*, *Photinus*, &c. for Philosophy. The gravity whereof set off with their sententious style, rayed them in the beginning of *Caligula's* Reign, from the privacy of the School, to the more publick way of the Senate, where his Prudence and Eloquence gained repute indeed, but that danger withal which they must look for that use a freedom of speech under so sottish a Tyrant as *Caligula*; who aiming at an Empire of Eloquence as well as power, made it death for any man to be an Orator.

His wit profited others more than himself (who said, *He was born when men must be silent*) untill *Claudius* his time, when he had some years of fame and security, until impudent *Messalina* that did all at that time, banished him to *Corfès* as too familiar with her Rival *Agrippina*, whom she was resolved to dispatch.

Here he stayed, at once studying and supporting himself with Philosophy for two years, enjoying as quiet a minde as that he writ of, until *Messalina* dying as she lived, and his *Agrippina* succeeding, first to her Table, and then to her Bed, promoted her son *Nero* in power and alliance, and called him home to her sons tuition, and her Husbands Prætorship. In which place he was not onely to instruct the young Prince, but to comply with his Mother, now equally intent upon enriching her self, and crowning her Son.

A a 4

Unwilling

b He saved Domitius Afer, because he said he was astonished at his speech.

c Marrying him to *Claudius* his daughter *Octavia*.
d When it was told her that he should be Emperor, but he would kill her; Let me dye then (said she) so I may reign.

a A City in Andalusia in Spain. Vide 109. Ep. ad Lucil.

e who when
they joyed him
of his son,
asked them
whether there
could come any
good out of him
& Agrippina.
Vide Tacit.

f Seneca saith
of Nero, that so
good he was,
that when a bill
came to him of
any mans death,
he would say,
Would I had
never learn'd
to write.

Unwilling he was to exchange the Liberty and Peace of his study, for the slavery and disorder of the Court, and to improve his cares with his greatnesse, but that the hopefulness of Nero's youthfulness (in whom none spied for twenty years any untoward inclination, but his e Father and his Tutor) encouraged him to a charge pleasant enough at first, until Agrippina's ambition brought him into many strange Counsels, whereof he understood not the depth. Wherein yet at last finding her and her son, now having ripened their design, grown past all rules and government, (Claudius being poysoned, and the whole Court in blood) with Burrus his assistance, he pleased Nero to Eloquence and Vertue, allowing him his more innocent, but low toys, as fidling, dancing, &c. but intimating their worthlessness in a Prince, whom nothing became but what was great, and just. So that (notwithstanding Agrippina and her Minions dissolutenesse, abating the use of women to be granted young Courtiers) none spake better, or governed himself and the Common-wealth wiser than Nero did, than whose first five years no government f better.

Great was Seneca's esteem for this with the people, greater with the Prince, who bestowed on him three thousand Sesterrians, i. e. seven millions and fifty thousand crowns, part whereof the wary man laid out on his Pleasures, Gardens, Buildings, &c. other part for his profit in Usury, foreseeing in Nero's untowardnesse, and Agrippina's dissolutenesse, a change

change of affairs, against which he prepared himself by those considerations he hath bequeathed to posterity touching an happy life; thoughts these, that the envy of the Courtiers, the outragiousnesse of Nero, the jealousies between him and Agrippina, the poysoning of young Britannicus, made but too seasonable, especially since Agrippina her self had been put to death at a Supper, had not Seneca perswaded his Pupil, That none (much lesse a Mother) should have been sodainly condemned: -- who yet was but reprieved to a more horrid execution, to which Burrus and Seneca after an hours amazed silence, for fear of the like, consented.

Seneca upon Burrus his death (now but a single Virtuoso against this wretched rabble of flatterers) did afterwards run into so many Enormities, that he craved a writ of Ease (such a he said as Agrippa and Mecenas had a in his speech to Nero. of Augustus) to retire to that contented life which he had described, and from which he was taken: and when the crafty Tyrant denied it for his interest and b reputation, in so fair b Nero kept Seneca as a Cloak. words, that Nero thanked him, he made the City a solitude, and bad adieu to all converse and business.

Whereupon the Tyrant's excesses, and his Minions jealousies growing weary of this grave man, he is trappaned into Piso's conspiracy (whom yet he would not speak with) and upon his answer that Nero knew he was a free-man, by Tigillinus and Popæa's advice he hath an order to dye (and it was a favour he should

c For then his estate was not forfeited, and his body was buried.

should die by *c* himself) and this order he received with such a resolution, that being denied time to shew the Tables of his Will, he told his friends he left them (if they had nothing else) his example and his Philosophy to direct and support them, chiding their easie passions, and discourging his Wife *Paulina* to an equal resolution for death; untill *Nero* (ashamed of nothing but that she should dye) flattered her to live, leaving her old Husband; trying in vain to dye by bleeding his decrepid veins, until after some incomparable discourses that envy hath bereaved us of, he called for poyson; and shutting himself up in a Stove, died (as *Lucan* did a while after) and was buried according to his own will, without Obsequies, having been Prator, Quæstor, and Consul to two Emperours, Tutor to a third, likely to be the fourth himself: and what was more (notwithstanding the violent temptations of *Nero's* time, and the slanders of the succeeding ages) a Philosopher as well in deed as in name, enjoying a great, contented, and quiet soul, above those fears or hopes, those joyes or sorrows that exercised the rest of man-kind, and an even minde in all conditions, such as became the chief Latine Stoick, a manly sect, born to command rather than to obey, who set up *Cato* for the Idea of *Perfection*.

Clear he was in *rational* Philosophy, grave in *morall*, and solid in *natural*; more intent upon things than words, upon Realities than Niceties, and what might settle, and not perplex

plex the minde; which he would have framed to reason rather than opinion, and fixed in the pursuit of the chief Good, with this consideration, *That nothing can prejudice the good man but himself.*



HANNIBAL.

Contemporary with Marcellus, Q. Flaminius, Polybius, Scipio, Fab. Maximus.

Of all the brave Captains that in the second Punick War left behind them a great renown deserved by great actions, *Hamilcar* is the first for conduct and valour; whether we respect his successes against the *Romanes* mischievous inroads into Sicily, or against *Vetheon's* insolencies in Spain;

Anno Mundi
3700.
A.C. 240.

a where he died
the 9th year of
his abode there.

b called so
from Hamilcar
who was first
named Barcha.

c when but nine
years old.

d The Baroini-
an Family.

a Spain : or against what was more dreadful, the Soldiers insurrection at home. His Son-in-Law *Hasdrubal* is the second, and with the b *Baroinians* factious interest his Successor. The third is *Hannibal*, inured to the Discipline of War at nine years old in Spain by hard service ; than whom, 1. None more ready and watchful to contrive. 2. None more resolved and industrious to execute. 3. None more valiant and invincible to go through all pain and danger. No Soldier did more, no Captain commanded better ; he deserved the General's place while *Asdrubal* lived that sent for him out of Spain ; he had it when he died, much for his Father's sake, more for his own (though but twenty six years old) who was as implacable an Enemy of Rome by the oath his Father gave him in c Spain, as the Carthaginians were by the loss they had sustained in Sicily ; inheriting at once his Father's success and resolution against that growing City ; his Enemy, his Interest, his Father's hatred and his own : his d Family and his youth prompted him to things great and unusual. The *Saguntines* Newters formerly, but now Parties with Rome, he would set upon to begin the War with the *Romanes* : but he was first to subdue the *Olcades*, the *Vacceans*, and the revolted *Carthaginians* ; which he did thus : Stealing over the River *Tagus* silently, and as in a fright, and leaving the passage unguarded, he (the subtlest and most effectual Stratagematist of that age) trepanned the Barbarous multitude, whom he cut off at their

their landing first with his Horse, and then with his whole Army, so that the whole e Countrey yielded to him, save *Saguntum*, who sent to Rome (a name more potent than his whole Army) whence instead of relief, we have Embassies, first to *Hannibal* to raise the siege, who would not f admit them : and then to *Carthage* to disown him, where (his faction that was for War prevailing over grave *Hanno's* that was for Peace) they were flattered, to the expressible misery of that place ; which hath taught Commonwealths to look to the end rather than the beginning of matters ; always promising grave consultation before rash action. Resolved are the *Saguntines* to hold out to extremity against their mortal Enemy, until after eight months siege *Hannibal's* hundred and sixty thousand men sacked the battered Ruines rather than the City, with that spirit that became him, who by that one action was at once to awe the Countrey, to encourage and enrich his Soldiers, to buy off with gifts his Adversaries at *Carthage*, and with their consent to go on with the tide of this success against his enemies at Rome, who upon their Ambassador's report of their bad, and *Saguntus* worse usage, to recompence their repented delay, intrusting Spain with P. *Cornelius*, *Affrick* and Sicily, with T. *Sempronius*, both Consuls sent g to expostulate the breach of Peace, and denounce War as bravely, as the *Carthaginians* replied unadvisedly. *Hannibal* was no sooner advertised of these transactions, than he judged it

e About Ibe-
rus, Herman-
dice, Arboz-
cole, great and
rich Cities.
f See Livy,
though Polybi-
us say he made
them a slender
answer.

g The noblest
Citizens.

scato-

h At new Carthage.

sonable according to his first design, to march into *Italy*: In order whereunto his Ships are furnished, his Confederates are b mustered, the Frontiers of *Affrick* and *Spain* are Garrisoned; the first with twelve hundred Horse and thirteen thousand Foot, all *Spaniards*, the second with four thousand *Africans*; both places with Hostages as well as Soldiers. *Hafdrubal* commands *Spain*, *Hannibal* *Carthage*, now as confident after its successes under the conduct of *Hamilcar*, *Hafdrubal*, and *Hannibal*, as after its conquest along the *Mediteranean* in *Africa*, from the i *Philenians* unto *Hercules Pillars*, and in *Spain* to the k *Pyrenean hills*. From new *Carthage* the well-appointed Army (after great encouragements from the plenty of *Italy*, and as great promises from the General's bounty, and the *Gauls* friendship) marcheth along the Coast to the River *Iberius* (*Hannibal* dreaming in the night what he thought of l by day, even victory foretold him by a young man, & ruine prognosticated his enemy by a great Snake) and thence obliging the *Gauls* as he went over the *Pyrenean hills* to the River m *Rhone*, he met with the *Volsi* (a people neither to be awed nor cared for by his force or his friendship) in arms upon the passage; whereupon he commanded *Hanno* privately, but at some distance to waite over; who no sooner appeared in the Rear of the *Barbarians*, but they seeing *Hannibal* ready to attack their front, fled for life, and left the Coast clear to the *Carthaginians*; whose *Numidian Scouts* meeting with *Scipio's* Ro-

mane

i Not far from the great Syrtis.
k Which divide France from Spain.

l What we most imagine in the day, we dream in the night.

Cic. de som.
Scip. En. de Homero.

m Which riseth near the Rhine and Danube; & running 800 furlongs, falleth to the Lemano, or Geneva lake: Thence running west, & increasing with Arar or Saone, it falleth to the Sea between the Caurians and the Volsi.

mane Forlorn, were defeated after a smart Skirmish, to the number of five hundred. Whereupon *Hannibal* after some debate, whether a present Battel, or go by to *Italy*: Upon the *Boyan* Ambassadors perswasion, he pitched upon the latter (those *Boyans* in the mean time drawing the *Roman* Ambassadors to a snare, and the *Insubrians* to a revolt, and infecting *Manlius* because the *Romanes* had peopled a *Placentia* and *Cremona*) and marched along to the b Island between *Arar* and *Rodanus* to the *Allobroges*, the *Castinians*, and the *Vocantians* Countrey over c *Durance* (composing differences in his way) and thence not without great difficulty and greater losse, even thirty thousand Foot, and most of his Horse over the Alps (making his way through the Enemy with his Sword, and through the d Rocks with Fire and Vinegar) to the Valley of *Turine* with an hundred thousand Foot, twenty thousand Horse, say some; too many considering his losses: twenty thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse, say others; too few considering his Exploits: fourscore thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse saith a third party, and most likely as a mean between both. From *Turin* with the Auxiliaries of discontented *Liguria* and *Gaul*, he proceeded to the *Insubrians*, where P. C. *Scipio* with wonderful speed came from *Marsalia* over Po and Tesein up to him; and after a dangerous Skirmish in the view of each others Camp (where the Consul was hardly rescued by

a And made them Tributaries.

b Where Lyons stands, built by Planchus Munatius.

c A River that falls from the Alps with a swift, various, and unpassable stream into the River Rhone.

d It should seem the mountain Genua between the River Druentia and Turin.

by his son, afterward called *African*, from the *Numidian Horse*) observing *Hannibal's* advantage in Horse, encamped with most security to his Foot, and stole with *Sempronius Longus* to *Placentia*, whither *Hannibal* follows him close to an engagement, being not willing to delay the War for e fear of the *Gauls* ficklenesse, who had sodainly closed with him out of some vain hopes, and might as sodainly leave him out of as vain fear, turning all their malice (if the War continued longer in their Countrey) upon him the Author of it. By his Spies he understands, That *Sempronius* (what with the encouragement of a small Skirmish with one of his Troops, and what with the ambition of engrossing the whole honour of a Conquest now *Scipio* was sick) was notwithstanding all *f* diswaives, as eager for a Battel as he could wish him, and sets his Brother *Mago* in Ambush between both Camps among Furz-bushes, commands a party of *Numidians* to the Enemies Trenches, who drew out first sixty thousand Horse, and at last the whole *Roman* Army to pursue them, till they came to his main Army in Battle-array, where the Light-horse skirmish first, next them the men of Arms; the Legions holding out against the *Carthaginians* foot, but the Knights being broken by their Horse and Elephants; yet the *Romanes* bearing up against the extream cold, the Famine, and Enemy, until *Mago* surprized them out of his Ambush. Whereupon seeing the *Cinnomant*

And for lack of victuals.

From hazard-
ing the Com-
mon-wealth in
one battle, when
all Gaul was
against them.

nians yielding to the *Carthaginians*, they flee, and hardly escape tenthousand of fifty thousand, with their rash Consul to *Placentia*. After this victory, which cost *Hannibal* half his Army, and all his Elephants, he destroyed the Countrey, dispersed the People; and finding the *Gauls* so weary of the War, that they had laid an *g* Ambush for him, he hasteneth over the *Appennines* into *Thuscany* along the Champaign and Marshes of *Arnus*, where he lost many men, and one of his eyes, what with the ill Ayr, and what with indefatigable watches; where having notice of *b* *Flaminius* his hasty nature and approach without the *Senates* consent to *Aretium*, to anger him to a Battel before his Fellow Consul could be with him, *Hannibal* layeth waste all *Fesula-Aretium* to the Lake *Thrasymene*, and the Mountains *Cortoneses*, where he layd an ambush of Light-horse for the Hot spur, and seconded it with his whole Army. The rash man seeing the ruines on all hands, draws up against all advice to the Streights of *Thrasymene*, where the *Carthaginians* brake out on their Flank, Rear, and Front with so furious, but unexpected assault, that after three hours valiant engagement, and the General's *i* death, they fled to the Mountains, leaving behinde them twenty one thousand slain, and *k* as many *l* Prisoners to *Hannibal's* mercy, who to make his goodness seem equall to his greatness, counterfeited a kindnesse, distant from his nature, at once the most subtle, and most

g which he escaped very narrowly, when he was beaten back by a tempest to *Placentia* upon his first attempt to pass the *Apennine* hills, *h* who succeeded *Sempronius*; and being made consul by the People, grew very insolent.

i who was slain as he went from rank to rank by one *Ducarius*. *k* *Vide* *Plut.* in *Fab. Max.* *l* whereof four thousand were those slain by *Flaminius* to assist his colleague.

Bbb

cruel, and dismissed them without ransomes. Upon this defeat, (when the private and publick sorrows were over (sorrows whereof they died in the City, for those that fell in the Field) and reason of State was able to observe the tottering condition of the Empire now sinking with its little losses) the last remedy is pitched upon, and *Fabius*, afterwards surnamed *Maximus*, is notwithstanding the Consul's absence, in that extremity voted Dictator by the people, as *M. Minutius* is made General of the Horse by him. The grave man, after Orders given at Rome, marcheth towards *Hannibal* with *Servilius* his Legions, and two more added to them. *Hannibal* having in vain attempted *Spoletum*, coureth through the Marches of *Angona* to *Apulia*:--- The Dictator follows him; but (their late misfortunes having taught the Romans that it was victory enough not to be conquered) notwithstanding all his stratagems, would not engage him: he moves up and down for an advantage to no purpose; and at last upon some of the Prisoners intelligence whom he had so lately enlarged, that he might take *Capua*, he moves towards *Cassinum*; but the Guide mistaking the place for *Casiletum*, he had been shut up by *Fabius* between the Mountains, had not he escaped by the stratagem of the Oxen and Torches (related in the life of *Fabius*) over the Tower of the Baths to *Alba*, and (after a shew, as if he would march to Rome) to *Apulia*, where

where he took the rich City *Laurinum*, but received also in *Fabius* his absence from the Lieutenant-General *Minutius* a brush, that to desponding Rome was equal to a victory: a successe that did *Minutius* more harm than good, considering, That being made upon this in a transport of the Multitude equal with the Dictator in power, and looking upon himself as Superiour in successe, he had perished in the *Carthaginians* toyl, had not *Fabius* come to his rescue, with more respect to the publick good, than to his private injury:--- and with so much successe, as advanced his reputation with his followers and enemies so far, that *Hannibal* said he had conquered *Minutius*, but *Fabius* conquered him: But new Consuls being with much canvassing chosen, with larger Commissions, and greater Armies than the Dictator had, *Hannibal* observing the grave warinesse of *Æmilius*, and the ven-erous rashnesse of *Varro*, drew his Forces for fear of a Mutiny, from *Clerennum* to *Can-*nu:-- Hither the Consuls follow him, but with different resolutions; The one being inclined to weary and famish his mixt Army with delay (a policy that if hearkned to, had overcome *c Hannibal* without a stroak: The other regarding neither his advice nor authority, when his time came that he was to command (for they did it by turns) having d ha-rangued his Soldiers, passed *e Ausidius* by break of day, and hung out his Scarlet-coat of Defiance. *Hannibal* glad of the occasion,

B b b 2

draweth

a For lack of
victuals.
b The warmest
place in *Apu-*
lia.
c whose Army
being of so ma-
ny countys,
could not have
kept together
long.
d Against *Æ-*
milius his
flaath, which
pruned them up.
e A River that
did divide the
Apennine hills,
running from
the Se-side of
the mountain
to the *Adria-*
tique.

draweth up in Battel-array, but with the Winde and Sun, and the *Romanes* against them. *Hannibal* placed his *Affricans* in the Wings, his *Gauls* and *Spaniards* in the main Body, his Light horse in the Forborne, his men of Arms in the Front, and all in so narrow a compasse, that they must either fight valiantly, or fall by the Sword on the one hand, and be drowned by the River on the other. The *Roman* horse were worsted, but their Foot stood to it with courage & success, untill the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* retired; and they (whose very fortune ruined them), pursued them (as the sly Adversary expected) untill they were enclosed by the *Carthaginian* Wings, together with the five hundred *Numidian* Horse that slyly revolted to the *Romans*, and were placed in the Rear to overthrow greater than ever they suffered in either *Punick* Wars, as where the Consul *Æmilius*, with *Cn. Servilius* fell, f fifty thousand men were slain, fourteen thousand taken prisoners, and the enemies own cruelty said it was enough: -- And *Varro*, cowardly *Tudicinus*, with ten thousand men escaped to *Cannussum*, and yielded themselves to *Pulcher* and *Scipio's* conduct, who was the onely man that now kept up, and afterwards finished the War.

This vast mischance, with those of less concern at *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thracime*, saddened, but daunted not the *Romane* spirit, which ennobled with despair, taking the advantage

So says Plutarch and Polybius, though Livy writes but 42700.

of *Hannibal's* trifling and security, who (as *g Maharbut* told him, and he often confessed: the onely oversight of his life) knew how to gain, but not how to use a victory; to the wonder of the world, not onely secured *Italy*, but provided for *Spain* -- notwithstanding that the fame of this great defeat carried away the *Samnites*, the *Brucians*, the *Lucanians*, the *Calatinians*, the *Atellanians*, with the rich and populous City of *i Capua* it self from their ancient Confederates to the Enemy, who is now received in triumph at his friend *Pacuvius* his house in *Capua*, which hoped upon his conquest to be Mistress of the World: --- But there (to see the fickleness of fate) had he who had escaped the barbarousness of Nations, the stratagems of the *Gauls*, the dangers of the Sea, and the force of his Enemies, fallen by a private hand, I mean *k Tubellius*, *Taura Pecuvius* his son, (I who being a *Roman* in heart, was reconciled to *Hannibal* but in the v) had not old *Pacuvius* his countenance & gravity conjured his son by the Laws of Hospitality not to kill a guest in his house. Here *Hannibal* brought the Senate to submit its self, and *Decius Mayrus* of the *Romane* faction to his mercy, while his brother *Mago* with the a newes of the great victory,

g The General of his Horse.
h All men cannot do all, saith Nestor in Homer. - *Pyrrhus could conquer Kingdoms, but not keep them: Dionysius keep but not conquer, Dion neither keep, nor conquer; Alexander both conquer and keep.*
i Capua was a Tuscan Colony, called at first Voltur-num, and since either from the Governor Capias, or the fruitful Fields adjoining, called in Greek Kapi, Capua; it hath on the Sea side the Suelanians, the Cumanians, the Neapolitans. On the

Land-side, the Catelinians, and the Phœnicians. On the East and South the Dunians, and the Nolians, strongly situated on the one side with the Sea, and on the other with the main Land. k Who of two millions that thronged to see Hannibal, was the onely man that supped with him. a They say that as he came into the Senate, he poured out the Roman Knights rings which were a bushel. Plut. de la Slucc.

his own Eloquence, and the interest of the
b An enemy of the Barcinian faction (against *b* Hanno's prudent advice (as things proved afterwards) for Peace) wrought Carthage to his devot^r, and at once to engage in his Quarrel, and undertake his supply.

After the League with these *Campanians*, and a vain attempt upon *Nola*, where brave *Marcellus* (who first taught the world that *Hannibal* was not invincible) pacifying the sedition within, sallied upon the enemy without with a great onslaught to his own Camp, *Hannibal* besieged *Caslinum*, which neither his threats nor his promises could prevail upon, and disposed of himself to Winter-quarters at *Capua*, where his hardy Soldiers being debauched with Delicacies and Ease, found the *c* pleasures of *Campania* more dangerous than the Armies of *Rome*, or the cliffs of the *Alps*; insomuch, that the next Campaign they were so dispirited, that they could not take *Caslinum*, though brought to Barley-bread and Nuts, but upon composition.

And now the power and hopes of both States are equal: The *Carthaginians* success in *Italy*, their leagues in *Macedon*, and their supplies from home, rendered them Confident. The *Romanes* Victories in *Spain* and *Sardinia*; their wise and valiant *Fabius*, *Sempronius*, *Marcellus* at home, forbid them despair.

At this even lay *Hannibal* is beaten from before *Cumes* by *Sempronius*, and from *Nola* by

by *Marcellus*, with the losse of six thousand men; and the *Romanes* revived with their good fortune, and his retyrement to *d* *Apulia*, his siege tracherous *Capua*, which *Hannibal* upon their request (now afraid of the *Romanes*) would have relieved, but that while he was watching by a Division he had made in *Nola* to take it. *Marcellus* againe beat him to his Camp and thence to *f* *Tarentum*, where his correspondence with the Traytors, *Nico*, and *Philomenes*, whom he had obliged when his Prisoners, took the City, and his cunning in *g* drawing the ships by Carts to Sea, streightned the Castle.

Whence defeating rash *Centeneus* and his Legion by a stratagem, and wary *Fabius* and his three Legions by an Ambuscado, he drew towards *Capua*, whence he set on the *Roman* Army on the one side, and gave the *Capuans* a signal to sally upon them on the other. The *Romanes* understood his subtleties, and with one half of their Army beat in the besieged, and (notwithstanding his stratagem in sending a *Latine* to cry, as by the Consuls order in the middle of their Camp, *You are surrounded, you are surrounded, Flye, flye*, and his valour wherein he acted beyond himself) pursued him to his Camp; where all his Arts failing him to raise the siege, sorry he was to leave his Confederates, and yet advised by his *b* Council of War to passe over *Vultur-* *nus*, and coast with Ensigns displayed through the *Sidicinians*, the *Alifanians*, and *Cass-*

c Had his horse run in b. time, he had utterly overthrown him.

f A city of the *Silentinians*, *g* which he durst not launch neer the Castle which was upon the Sea.

h which (saith my Author) he never called but in extremity.

e Pleasure (saith Plato) is the base of virtue, and the bait of vice.

nians Countrey, to the very Gates of Rome, to draw the siege off the walls of *Capua*.

A Field-Consul.

The amazed City astonished at his presence whom they dreaded at distance, ordereth *F. Flaccus* from *Capua*, *S. Galba*, and *C. Centimalus* to the Field, *C. Cassurnius* to the Capitol, leaving the gravest Citizens with their countenance and authority to compose all seditious distempers in the City. *Hannibal* draweth within a view of the City, *Flaccus* commands his men at Arms against him: The two Armies face one another with equal resolution; the one for its own security, its Countrey, its Liberty, and its Gods; the other for the Empire of the World:-- a great storm, at once their wonder and their fear, parts them. *Hannibal* is discontented at two particulars;

1. That when he could take Rome, he would not; and when he would, he could not.

2. That they durst send ayd into Spain even while he was in Italy. --- Sometimes he must needs in a rage let all the Goldsmiths shops and Bankers shops to sale by the Cryer, another while he must ransack holy Woods and Temples, and at another time he must lay waste his own Cities; insomuch that his renown slugged, his confederate Countreys revolted, *Capua* yielded, *Sulapia* was delivered up, and he who was hitherto cryed up for a civil, obliging, and temperate person, deserted, as most cruel, unconstant, and luxurious.

Yet

*They say he never eat lying, nor drank above a pinte of wine.
† They say his wife was a Spaniard born at Castulo, whom the Carthaginians trusted very much because of the faith of that Nation.

Yet the brave Captain being advertised by his Spials how carelessly *Fulvius* the Vice-Consul (upon his absence among the *Brutians*) encamped before *Herdonia*, surprizeth him, to an overthrow little lesse than that the Consul received at *Capnes*: and when *Marcellus* came up from *Samnium* to their relief, it was a drawn-battel between them, until *Hannibal* stole away to *Apulia*, and *Marcellus* after him, his onely match for policy or conduct.

After some Skirmishes in their Winter-quarters at the opening of the Spring, upon the opening of the new Consul *Fabius* his Letters, *Marcellus* his ambition of a victory, they had three engagements; the first was equal, the second fell out to the *Carthaginians* advantage; the third a bloody one (the *Romanes* being mad that they were conquered, and the *Carthaginians* as mad that they would be quiet neither Conquerours, nor conquered) to the *Romanes* (who fought the more valiantly, that the newes of their victory might be at Rome before that of their overthrow:--) *Fabius* the same day taking *Tarentum* by the same wile it was lost with, insomuch that *Hannibal* should say upon the news of it, Nay then, Rome bath its *Hannibal* too.

But what he lost by force, he gained by policy: for observing a Wood between him and the Enemy, he commanded thither an Ambuscado of *Numidian* Horse: The Consuls designing

designing the like, came to view the place, worse appointed than became their prudence or place, and were cut off. The first whereof *Marcellus* (the stay of *Rome*, and the dread of *Carthage* ; so honourable is vertue even among Enemies) was by *Hannibal* nobly lamented, and buried.

Hannibal having got the Consul's Seal-ring, sends Letters to *Salapia* in their names ; The *Salapians* smell the plot, and provided for his coming. About the fourth watch he draweth towards the City with his Vanguard of Renegado *Romanes* (as if *Marcellus* had been there) and they let them in, but shut the Gates upon the rest. *Hannibal* in a rage goeth to aid the *Locrians*, where *Claudius Nero* the first Consul was too hard for him at his own *Aratagems* ; as *Livy* the other was for his Brother *Hasdrubal* ; whom now drawing towards his Brother, while he was recruiting at *Melapont*, the Consuls fearing the effect of that conjunction, after a tedious march, sodainly set upon at a *Sena*, and overthrew with fifty six thousand men, returning with his head upon *Hannibal*, before he understood they had been gone. Whereupon considering what an encouragement this was to the *Romanes*, and what a discouragement to his Followers, who might observe the wheel of their Fortune going round, he withdrew among the *Brutians*, where you might observe his great spirit bearing up against his Enemies, and his greater

wisdome

a In Ancona,

wisdome, keeping together his *Friends* of so many Nations, under so many Difficulties. Many Brushes he gave *Sempronius* here, and as many he received, ever invading, and ever invaded, till called home the sixteenth year of this Warre, where he complained of the Senate, that they neglected his Supplies ; and of himself, That he had b trifled away his Victories, whereof he erected a c Monument by the Sea-side in *Punick*, and *Greek*, intending at *Adrumelum*, or *Zuma*, when he heard how Affairs went at *Carthage*, to end the War. *Scipio* and he, the two greatest Generals in the world meet together in a Plain, with their respective Interpreters : *Hannibal* considering how the Interest of his Countrey was lost in d Spain, &c. how the War was translated from *Italy* thither ; how his e Confederates were taken, and their f men wasted, made a long Speech for Peace. *Scipio* aiming at the glory of ending that Quarrel his Father had the honour to begin, broke off for a War ; and thereupon beats *Hannibal* at *Zama*, turning his Elephants upon his own Foot, and enclosing his Horse so, that the *Carthaginians* fighting desperately for their lives and goods, and the *Romanes* confidently for Victory, there fell twenty thousand *Carthaginians* : whose fall when *Hannibal* had narrowly escaped, being one of the unhappy Multitude, he first writ, and then came himself to speak for Peace,

b Until the
Romanes still
recruited them-
selves
c viz. a triumphal Arch.

d Sicily and
Sardinia.
e Syphax.
f Inasmuch that
there were not
men enough to
keep the City.

Peace.--- When he heard *Gisgo's* rash Discourse for War, he fell down head-long whilst he was in his Oration; which when they blamed him for, he answered, *I have been so long abroad, you may allow me to be ignorant of Customs at home.*

Upon his Authority the ten Commissioners Articles of Peace were accepted: and when the Annual Tribute, which was one Article, was to be paid, and the *Carthaginians* grudged, and wept, he laughed, saying, *Your Ships, your Armories, your Liberties have lesse teares from you, than your Money.*

But for fear of the enraged, because distressed multitude: And lest his head should buy their Peace with *Scipio*, he retired to *Antiochus* in *Asia*, where his Name commanded civility, and his Service respect: For, 1. He inspirited that sluggish King and Nation. 2. He and his *Barcinian* Faction, with the Kings hundred Ships, sixteen thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, engaged the world against *Rome*, that yet trembled at his name though an Exile: Untill the Envy and Jealousie of that King's Courtiers taking occasion, 1. From *Hannibal's* familiarity with the Ambassador *P. Villus*. 2. From his conference with *Scipio*, when upon his demand, who was the chief Captain, he told him equally to his wonder and content, that *Alexander* was the first, *Pyrrhus* the second, and himself the third (what

(what, said *Scipio*, if thou overcomest me? Then said he, My self) removed out of the Kings Council, under whom yet declaring his Exploit from his youth against *Rome*: And having given such wise counsel about a League with the *Thessalians*, viz. That they should oblige King *Philip*, and they need not care for them of *Thessaly*. Notwithstanding a *Thous* ^{a The Prince of} his suggestion, that *Antiochus* should manage ^{Ætolia.} his own Affairs, he was chief Favourite; the King saying often, *That Hannibal onely saw what was fit.*

When that Prince upon his overthrow in *Greece*, followed his pleasures in *b Asia*, in ^{b At Ephesus;} hope of Peace, *Hannibal* told him he was no where safe from that extended its self over the world; whereupon he and *Apollonius* are appointed to muster up by Sea, and *Pollixenidas* by Land against that potent Enemy, but both with equal success. *Hannibal*, poor man, yielding to that fate that over-ruled the Universe, though he managed his part very well, till his Colleague was defeated, and his Squadron onely left to encounter the whole Navy.

He foresaw that *K. Antiochus* must make his Peace with his Head, and therefore he fled to *Crete*; and lest the Inhabitants should lay hands on him for his gold, he sent potsfull of lead to *Diana's Temple*, where while the people watched, he sayled to *Bythinia* under the King; whereof he being Lieut. General against the ^{c Eumenes;} King of *Pergamus*, he discomfited a Navy by

by throwing Snakes into their Ships.-- But *Flaminius* as renowned for his service to *Rome* as for his hatred against *Hannibal*, demanding him of unconquiant King *Prusias*, he made seven vaults in his house to escape; and when that would not do, he takes poyson at 70 years of age, and saith, *Come rid the Romanes of their fears, and kill an old man half dead already.*

d Where was an ancient prophesie: to this purpose;

The land of *Libyssa* shall cover under Mould

The valiant corps of *Hannibal*, when he is dead & old. *nibal*, and ended in him too.

His Tomb at *d Libyssa* hath no more engraven on it than this, *Here lyeth Hannibal*; and that is enough; That one word speaking the fear of *Rome*, the support of Kings and Kingdoms, the great arbiter of war and peace, the Renowned Exemplar of Conduct, Discipline, and Prudence, in whom *Carthage* rose and fell; all after-ages having voxed, That the strength and skill of that place began in *Hannibal*, and ended in him too.

P. C. S C I P I O



An. Mund.
3603.
Ante Chr.
145.

P. C. S C I P I O called A F F R I C A N U S .

THE *a Noble Scipio* (whose renown-
ed, but modest *b Father* and *c Uncle*
were with the first that engaged
Hannibal in *Italy*, and the last that died a-
gainst him in *Spain*) not more famous for
his conquest of *Affrica*, than his Brother
was for the reducement *d of Asia*, (whose
noble nature promised, and his noble edu-
cation prepared him as well a great pattern
to *Heroick posterity*, as a great subject to
ancient History) was at seventeen years old
in the beginning of the *Carthaginian War*
at once so skilful, watchful, patient, har-
dy, and resolute, as made him his Enemies
fear.

*a He was a Pa-
trician of the
Family of the
Cornelii.
b Publius.
c Cneius.*

*d whence he
was called A-
fricatus.*

e A River by which Hannibal defeated him.

f He would go every day before any business to the Capitol, where some people thought he had some secret communication with the gods, this he did ever since he put on the mans gown.

fear, the Armies Darling, and his Father's wonder, whom in the Battel of *e Thefin* he saved, as he did *Rome* it self in the Plains of *Italy*, when with his own single drawn Sword he made the revolting *Romanes* swear they would not forsake their Countrey; insomuch that the sprightly youth was at 21 in spight of the Tribunes and the Law made *Adile*, and at twenty four against all Competitors, General; when (though the people considering what brave men had fallen in that War, and what great Captains were to be encountred there, repented their Votes and youthful choice) his comely presence attended with a graceful carriage (which with his valour and *f* relation at once *awed* and *pleased* the multitude) and an eloquent and solid speech of *Youth* and *War* confirmed the election.

Numa's conference with *Ageria*, the Snake seen in *Alexander's* Mothers Chamber, gained them not more reverence, than his Morning-prayers at the Capitol did *Scipio*: so much it avails chief Magistrates but to seem to be religious.

Thus esteemed and revered, he went with ten thousand Foot, and thirty Gallies with five Oars a bank by the way of *Emporia* to *Tarracon*; whence calling a Council, giving satisfactory Answers to all Ambassadors, and taking in the broken Legions which *Lucius Martins* had saved: The Soldiers applauding him much for his Ancestors,

cestors, more for his own sake, he commending them for not despairing of their Countreys safety, and both promising themselves wonders from their mutual skill and valour: he and *Martius* (too noble to envy one another) besiege new *Carthage*, the Magazine, the Emporium and Haven of that Countrey, now neglected by the *Punic* Captains, who were gone to secure the other coasts, judging that impregnable. Strong was the place, and resolute the Inhabitants; but *Wit* and *Industry* out-do *Strength* and *Resolution*. *Scipio* ordereth a general onset on one side of the Town; and observing a fordable place in the Moat that the besieged dreamed not of, commanded a party on their backs on the other; who amazed and surrounded, leave that wealthy and well-furnished place to the spoyle of the *Romanes*, whose service *Scipio* rewarded, and honoured (a great contest between two Soldiers which had first scaled the walls, he decided, by saying, *You did it both, and both shall have the Mural Crown*) As he obliged all *Spain*, by delivering them their Hostages he found in *Carthage*, and young *g Lucius* by securing him his fair Wife he spied among the Captives; kindnesses, that made all *Spain* a Profelyte to his modesty, civility, and other vertues; the little Princes whereof joyned with him against *Hasdrubal Barcinian*, now lying at the River *Besula* before *Mago*, and the other

g Prince of the Celtiorians

other *Hafdrubal* (who both deeply resented, though they as deeply dissembled the losse of *Carthage*) joyned with him , where the *Romanes* assaulted his Camp with that valour , that their former successes , and the General's own eye upon them , suggested ; and his Soldiers defended it with that resolution that despair prompted , until *Hafdrubal* with few men escaped , and all the rest (particularly *Masinissa's* Nephew, whom *Scipio* sent to him with Presents) became the objects first of *Scipio's* mercy, and then of his bounty , which extorted from the *Barbarians* to him the title of King, a title so invidious to the humour of the Nobility , and so prejudiciall to the Liberty of the people , that he waved it, declaring that the *Spaniards* had no other way to be thankful to him , but to be faithful to *Rome*. After this the three great Captains consult ; *Hafdrubal Barcinian* is sent to *Hannibal*, *Hanno* as he was practising upon new *Carthage*, was surprized by *Syllanus*, and taken. The strong Town of *Oringe* was sacked, *Scipio* wintereth at *Tarracon*, *Mago* and *Hafdrubal* the son of *Gisgo* by the Seaside : Next Summer *Scipio* defeated them at *Besula*, and pursued his successe so far, that the enemy could never make head in the main Land ; insomuch that *Spain* being a now conquered , *Masinissa* afterwards King of *Numidia* brought over ; *Scipio* meditating the conquest of *Africa* , went to oblige *Sy-*

phax

a Though not made a province till after Augustus his time.

phax King of the *Masilians*, where he found *Hafdrubal* dealing with him, who observed in *Scipio's* face the fate of *Carthage*. *Syphax* was equally civil to both, until *Scipio* urging, and representing the majesty and Senate of *Rome*, prevailed with him : And now having finished his conquests of *Spain*, and taken the b plea- b He had a sen-
sures and honour due to his performances, as cing shew be-
an allay of his great successes , he falleth sick. fore him at
Whereupon the *Spaniards* revolt , the Disci- Carthage,
pline of his Army is corrupted , the Legions where two co-
mutiny, and change their Officers , the Com- sins that quar-
petitors for the Kingdoms fall upon his Con- relled for the
siderates : but upon his recovery all was hush- Kingdom, fell
ed ; the Mutineers he refers to the Council, in a Duck: their
they vote the leaders should be made a terror names were
to the rest , the Army trusting their Ge- Corbiis and
neral's clemency , who would say, he had ra- Orsua.
ther save one *Roman* , than kill a thousand
Citizens, together with their own Apologies, and the present exigence, came up to new
Carthage , the old Legions encompassed
them ; they are disarmed ; the Generals pre-
sence now recovered ; his sharp speech and
were c punishment on the Leaders of them
mazing the poor men to a dreadful silence ; c They are
until *Scipio* swearing them again, commanded whipped and
them against *Mandonius* and *Indibilis* the two beheaded.
competitors that had fallen off in his sickness,
and distressed the *Suessitans*, had amassed to-
gether twenty two thousand Foot, and two
thousand Horse ; but were so surrounded by
Scipio before they could joyn with any more

C c c 2

Rebels,

d. i. e. The two
Spains.

Rebels, that they submitted to his clemency, who overcame many Nations by his prowess, more by his mercy: - whereupon having entertained *Masinissa* (who came to see that grave, that wife, that majestick Gentleman he had heard of, and to make that good in his own person that he had promised by his Nephew, to shew *Scipio* that he was not less than his word, and to see that *Scipio* was not lesse than the report of him) and left the Province to *L. Lentulus*; and *Manlius Acidinus*, he went homewards, where he first recapitulated his conquests of four Captains, four Armies, and two Nations, before the Senate in the Temple of *Bellona*; and (when all voted him a Triumph, but himself, who would not break a custom, and enjoy that honour when but *Vice-Consul*) then was made *Consul* in the greatest Assembly of people that Rome ever saw; whereof some came to see the solemnity, but most to see him, whom the generality of the People (after they had gazed on him sufficiently) voted first in their wishes, & (when he had perswaded *T. Maximus*, that there was no other way to beat *Hannibal* out of *Italy*) all in the publick Assembly General for *Affrica*: a great enterprize, considering the poverty and weaknesse of the Commonwealth: but the expectations of men from this Gentleman were so great, and his resolution to answer this expectation so firm, that the neighbouring Countreys furnished him with necessaries, his Army and Navy was read

in 45 dayes. The *Sicilians* between fear and hope complied with him; and he pitched upon *Marcellus* his Legion for his own Guard, (and (by the way commanding 300 of the noblest young men thereabout to come in well armed; which when they did, he put it to their choice whether they would serve in the Wars themselves, or give up their Horses and Arms to as many noble young *Romanes* that he had by him) he obliged all *Sicily* by a Proclamation, That all spoils should be restored to the *Syraculans*. *Masinissa* writes to him to dispatch with speed to *Affrica*, which now desired nothing but a fair opportunity to rebel; he recovereth *Locris*, and setteth *Sicily*; but (as Prosperity is as naturally attended with its adversity, as day with its night) his Deputy *Pleminius* his insolencies at *Locris*, his debauchery and oppression was improved by *Fabius Maximus* and others of *Scipio's* enemies, so much to his and his Armies disparagement, that had not the ten Commissioners appointed to oversee him, reported him a Commander in all things, save his mildnesse beyond a Parallel, and his Army, his Magazine, his Ships and his Discipline beyond expectation, he had been cashiered: But nobly waving this, and as nobly dissembling King *Syphax* his revolt to, and alliance with *Hasdrubal* (whom by his Ambassadors that warned him from *Affrica*, he admonished to do nothing unworthy of a *Romane* or *King*, and he would do nothing unbecoming a General) he published in the head of

c Especially for
mercy, courtesie,
and civility.

of the best appointed Army that ever *Sicily* saw, that *Syphax* as well as *Masiniſſa* had writ to him to haſten, and accordingly in few days (his wiſhes chiding even the winds for ſloth) he was in *Affrica*, to the great terrour of a *Carthage* now in an uproar at *Scipio's* bare name, who laid waſte the Countrey, encamp'd before that wealthy and commodious City *Utica*; commanded ingenious and noble *Masiniſſa* to watch, and provoke the *Carthaginians* before they could get to any head; which he did with that ſucceſs, that tired *Hannibal* after a long march fell among *Scipio's* freſh Legions, to his utter overthrow and ruine.

Scipio takes a great hill, whence he might moleſt *Utica*, ſecure his Fleet, and engage his enemy: and then judging that *Syphax* his league with *Carthage*, cooled with his love to *b Sophoniſba*, he treats with him, and withal diſpatcherh ſome Soldiers in the habit of Slaves, with the Embaſſadors to view the Army, upon whoſe return openly pretending the ſiege of *Utica*, but privately communicating to his Commanders the ſituation and materials of the Enemies *c* Camp, he firſt burnt it, and under the ſmoak ſlew forty thouſand *Carthaginians*; as he did, when the pride and wealth of the *Barcinian* faction againſt the general opinion that was for Peace, recruited the Army, as many more, none ſtanding before the confident becauſe ſucceſſful *Romans*: *Syphax* being defeated and taken by *Masiniſſa*, to the joy indeed, but pity too of the whole

^a That had not heard of a Roman Army fifty years before, i.e. ſince *Regulus* his time.

^b *Hannibal's* daughter.

^c Which was all of reeds, as their Tents & Cabins were wood.

whole Camp, where *Scipio* gently expoſtulated his apoſtacy; for which he urged nothing but the love of his Wife, adding that he was an example to all Vow-breakers, and unhappy, but that his enemy *Masiniſſa* himſelf at *Cyrtha* fell in love with the ſame woman againſt the Conſul's authority and example (than whom none more tender of Ladies) who yet upon the good Conſul's ſmart, but private check, finding he could not ſecure his love, ſent her a potion and his love to convey her to an happier world.

But *Hannibal* being now rather to keep, than enlarge the Dominions of *Carthage*, returns out of *Italy*; and fearing either *Scipio's* fortune, or his Countreys fate, had an interview and treaty with him, whoſe termes ſpeaking him rather reſolved for conqueſt, than inclined to peace, the two greateſt Captains in the world try for the Empire of it at *Zama*, where the *Romans*, beating the Elephants back on the Horſe, and the Horſe on the Foot, ſlew forty thouſand *Carthaginians*, *Hannibal* having done beyond himſelf that day in *d* encamping and bringing on his Army (his enemies themſelves being Judges) hardly elcaping, with *K. Scyphax* his ſon, *Vormina* juſt coming as *Scipio* foreſaw to his aſſiſtance. And now have at *Carthage* it ſelf, which yeſt fluſhed with victories, aſpir'd to the conqueſt of the World, but is at preſent confined to its walls (the frailty of humane affairs) it owed to the Conquerours mercy, who

Gcc +

burns

^d Making uſe of all the advantages the place could afford.

e Giving him K.
Scyphax his
Dominions, be-
sides his own
that Scyphax
had usurped.
f Scyphax, as
Polyb. writes,
though others
say he was
dead.
g Terentius
Culco.

h with Ælius
Pærus.

burns their Navy (500 Ships) before their eyes, as much to their terrour as if he had razed the City: and when he had done so, made *Masiniſſa* the e mightiest King in *Affrica*; which he settled, and returned to *Rome* in triumph, a f captive King bare-headed following his Chariot, and a g ransomed Consul with his hat on going before it, all Nations beholding the solemnity now so much the more glorious, than those that either passed, or were to come; as the conquest of one *Hannibal* and *Carthage* out-did that of all other Kings and Nations, after which no people thought it below themselves to submit to *Rome*.

Neither is his honour lesse than his service (being chosen h Censor that year, before all the Noble-men, Consul the next against the Law, and Prince of the Senate; every year against all the Generals, until he divided the People from the Senators in the shew-places; an individious piece of innovation that he repented of.

But his advancements slackned not his services: For 1. being employed to compose a difference between *Masiniſſa* and the *Carthaginians*, he improved it, judging their Wars the Peace of *Rome*. 2. *Asia* being to be added to *Affrica*, there was a contrast between C. *Lælius*, and L. *Scipio* about the government of it, until *Scipio* like a faithful brother, commended the last for General, and like a brave Patriot offered himself for Lieuten. General, when

when the whole multitude afore enclined to *Lælius*, but now admiring, first His natural affection, and next his humility, with no less unanimity than joy, voted it not without a happy issue; for L. *Scipio* being guided by his brother, who was yet commanded by him, 1. made a six months Truce with the *Ætolians*.

2. Engaged *Prusias* K. of *Bythia*: As 3. his a brother *Antiochus* did when suborned with a private overtures (even that of the delivery of his own Son) from him and other Potentates, being as faithful as he was valiant, and assuring him of any private favor: but for the publick, advising him to Peace upon the Senates terms; which upon a b Defeat neer *Magnesia*,

they had accepted of; & with the *Africans* mediation, infinitely obliged to him for his son: *Scipio* telling him upon his submission, that it was the *Roman* way, Neither to stoop in adversity, nor to be haughty in prosperity. The terms were, 1. That he should not meddle with *Europe*. 2. That he should surrender all *Asia* from *Taurus* to *Tanais*. 3. That he should pay 20 years Tribute; and 4. deliver up c *Hannibal*:

Termes that *Antiochus* thanked them for, as which rather eased, than deprived him; and as he said, gave him a little Kingdom, and a little Care.

(Crown)

"It's neither Wealth nor Scepter, Robe, nor

"I wish, it's not yet renown,

"But innocence and mirth to look

"Aloof upon the troubled seas that are so
hard to brook,

Now

a To whom all
Ambassadors
addressed them-
selves.

b Fighting a-
gainst *Scipio's*
advice, which
he promised to
be ruled by.

c who was at
the battel, and
upon this treaty
fled.

Now the *Scipio's* and *Cornelii* were at highest a subject could be in a free City; one Brother carrying *Asia* in his name, the other *Africa*; this being Prince of the Senate, the other Quæstor, a height that must have its envy as naturally, as any Pyramide its shadow; for the busie *Tribunes* d charge *Affrican* with embezling those spoils to his private use, that were due to the common Treasure; whereupon *Scipio* comes guarded with his friends to the Pulpit of Orations, where he said no more, but *This day I obtained a victory against Hannibal; therefore waving this contention, let us to the Capitol to give Thanks.* -- And the whole multitude followed him, leaving the Tribune all alone, with their Serjeants & their malice.

But whether in anger to the ingratitude of his unfaithful Countrey, or out of a kindnesse for its peace, he retyred thenceforward to *Linterum*, where having bestowed one daughter on *e Tiberius Gracchus* (formerly his enemy, but now being Tribune, his friend, that one Tribune might not be overcome but by another) and the other upon *Scipio Nasica*, he died full of honour, though not of years, leaving behind him three things; 1. A lasting name. 2. Two sentences, whereof the first, *I am never lesse idle than when at Ease*: and the 2d. *Never left alone, then when alone.* And 3. a Monument some say at *Rome*; others at *Linterum* for himself, his brother and his friend *Ennius* (nobleness and ingenuity dwell in one breast,

breast, and in one grave) which as many came to visit when he was dead, as came to see him when alive. Vertue commands good mens respect, evil mens reverence, and all mens honour.

“When characters engraved in Brasse shall disappear as if they were written in Dust; “When Elogies committed to the trust of “Marbles, shall be illegible as whispered “accents; When Pyramides dissolved, shall “want themselves a Monument, to evidence “they were once so much as ruine: It shall be writ that *Carthage* was taken, that *Hannibal* was conquered, that *Rome* was ungrateful, and that *Scipio* was an *Heroe*.

The Parallel.

H *Annibal* and *Scipio*, who were beyond parallel while they lived, and have continued so since they have been dead, are equally admired, for that they broke through so much opposition at home (the first of potent *Hanno* against his going to *Italy*; The second of popular *Fabius* against his expedition to *Affrica*) and for that yet they performed so many wonders abroad; the one, after sundry successes of his own, and others his name engaged, awing *Rome* that the world feared; The other after the defeat of four Captains and their Armies, the conquest of ten Nations and their Kings, making *Carthage* *Rome's* Tributary,

butary, that had been its Competitor.

If *Fabius* be renowned for *escaping Hannibal*, what is *Scipio* for *overcoming him* ! *Scipio* was resolute and open, *Hannibal* subtle and reserved. -- The first's blemish is the frequent mutinies in his Army of one Nation ; The second's honour is the constant peace in his of many ; the first arguing not a softer easiness, than the other did a solid prudence. *Scipio's* was indeed mutinous, but *Hannibal's* was debauched ; the last not more happy in the gaining of a victory, than the first close in the pursuit of It. Cruel was the one even to Women and children ; civil and temperate was the other towards all ; his enemies exercising his valour, the vanquished his clemency, and all his faithfulness.

^aThey say Hannibal writ in Greek the deeds of Manlius Volso. Vide Cic. de Orat.

Both well educated, both *a* Scholars, and Scholars patrons, the one of *Socillus*, the other of *Ennius* ; both graceful in their speech, but *Hannibal* smart and witty : For when *Antiochus* brought an Army into the Field, rather rich than armed, and asked *Hannibal* whether they were sufficient for the *Romanes* ? Yea Sir, quoth he, *were they never so covetous*. --- *Hannibal's* victories undid his Countrey ; *Scipio's* saved his, though unworthy both of the man, & his service, since they chose rather to affront him out of the City, then to check the seditious in it ; -- an effect rather of their cowardise than their ingratitude, since (as appeared from the Senates thanks to *Tib: Gracchus* for defending him, &c.) the most wished him well, when the worst used him so ill.

Well

Well did he deserve of his Countreys peace, when he would revenge himself on it as *M. Coriolanus*, &c. with War. Better of their liberty, when he refused the Title of King, the honour of Dictator, and the Statue of a General. *Scipio* excels in a private capacity, they are equal in their publick, both living valiantly for their Countries, both dying discontented out of them ; the one banished, the other abused ; both Champions of War, and patterns of all virtues, reserved for Masteries, and combats of Exigence and hazard, to do great things, and suffer greater.

FINIS.

Reader,

Here followeth the latter part of Seneca's Life, to be inserted in page 731. where it was omitted by an unavoidable mistake.

All other things being but foils to set off Vertue & Immortality,-- Discourses I must needs say too high for the dregs of *Romulus* (*ὁ δὲ ῥωμὺς ἄνθρωπος*) Mankind in this state, as Religion teacheth us, and Reason taught the *a* Heathens. And for himself, who with this wise man must needs dye, distrusting providence, and breaking the rule of humane society.

a And among the rest, Plutarch in a book of common conceptions; and that which is intitled, The Contradiction of Stoicks.
b But the style of those Letters betray their adulterateness.

Some say he was a secret Christian, and produce *b* Letters between him and St. Paul. However, a Christian may learn four things from his writings, 1. To rely on Providence. 2. To set God always before him. 3. To look beyond death. 4. To be unconcerned in outward accidents: And as many from his Life (however censured by *Dion* and others for Avarice, Epicurism, Ambition, Uncleanneſs) 1. Not to aspire. 2. If we are raised in Fortune, not to be so in Minde. 3. That we fear prosperity, and sit loose from it. 4. That in all we do or say, there shine the love and reverence of true piety and justice. --- Read *Seneca*, saith one that was well versed in him, as if he were a Christian, remembering alwayes that he is a Pagan.

1. 1900
H. 1900
1900